PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

1913–1914

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

Sir A. W. WARD

Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge

July 1, 1913

To the losses of the British Academy which I had with deep regret to note when addressing the Fellows in October last, yet another has been added by the death, on March 2 of the present year, of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, the historian of *Italy and her Invaders*. He passed away on the eve of the International Historical Congress, over one of the Sections of which he had consented to preside, but at whose opening meeting, instead of welcoming him among us, we had to commemorate as best we could his services to historical science and to the art of historical narrative, long one of the proudest possessions of our national literature. He was himself one of the most unassuming as he was one of the most open-minded of men; but he is to be accounted fortunate in having left behind him the book to which he devoted so much labour as a completed work. His last (eighth) volume brings up the story of the Empire of the West to the death and canonization of Charles the Great, while in its Venetian chapter it looks forward to the development of a unique growth excluded from the system of that Empire. Thus, like his great exemplar Gibbon, he succeeded in finishing what he had begun, although, again like Gibbon, he was unable to confine his intellectual curiosity, even as a historian, to a single theme, however great. We at our Academy have profited by the breadth and variety of his intellectual and moral sympathies—and not we alone, but all who through his writings or spoken words have been brought under the influence of his free and humane spirit.

A reference to our losses is naturally followed and relieved by a mention of our prospective gains. The names of those proposed to

you by the Council, after consideration by the respective Sections, for election as Fellows of the Academy, are seven in number, and their election would bring the total number of our body up to 98. I do not think that it behoves me to say more on this head than that, in my belief as well as in that of the Council, our several Sections would be greatly strengthened by your acceptance of its proposals. You will at the same time be asked to approve of the Council's further motion that five scholars of European reputation should be added to the number of Corresponding Fellows of the Academy—a distinguished group in whose intimate association with our own body we take especial pride.

The chief event in the history of our last Academical year has been the meeting in London of the International Historical Congress. As you are aware, the British Academy was charged with the initial responsibility of the measures necessary for the preparation and organization of this important gathering. After the Organizing Committee (to which the Academy had summoned representatives of a large number of learned bodies, including the national Universities, as well as of His Majesty's Government) had appointed an Executive Committee, and the Sections had been formed and their officers named, the conduct of the affairs of the Congress passed to these authorities. But I do not go too far in saying that from first to last no small share of the burden fell upon the shoulders of members of our own body, and that a particular debt is owing to the devoted and single-minded labours of our Honorary Secretary as Secretary of the Congress and to the energy and tact of one of our Fellows as Chairman of one of its most important and heavily-tasked committees. Inasmuch as, in the unavoidable absence of the distinguished Fellow of the Academy, who had been elected President of the Congress, I was as your President called upon to take his place, I can speak with knowledge in publicly thanking Professor Gollancz and Dr. Prothero on behalf of the Academy, and they will, I know, wish that I should associate with their names those of our friend Professor Whitney, the Secretary for Papers, and the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries of the several Sections and Subsections, whether or not they were members of our body, in acknowledging the indefatigable exertions without which so numerous and polyglot a gathering in a city so centrifugal could not have attained to the success which it actually achieved. What that success has been from the point of view of the advancement of historical science, time will show; meanwhile, this may not be an unfitting occasion, before passing from this subject, to place on record a few facts and figures connected with it.

In the first place, the designation of this gathering as an *International* Congress will be thought to find a sufficient warrant in the statement that of the 1100 members (including associates) whose names were enrolled in the offices of the Congress between 300 and 350 were subjects of other Governments than our own. It should be added that the official representatives who attended included those of not less than sixteen distinct Governments, of about seventy non-British Academies and learned Societies, and of about seventy non-British Universities. Without any wish to institute comparisons, it may be pointed out that no previous historical congress has presented an equally international aspect.

In the second place, I should like to be allowed to touch—I can do no more within the limits of this brief address—on the extraordinary activity displayed by the Congress in what I regard as its supreme function—the intercommunication of the results of individual historical research, study, and criticism. The number of papers read at the Congress exceeded 200—and they were distributed far less unevenly than might have been expected, through the nine sections and their subsections into which the work was divided. As a member of the Congress who listened to as many of these papers as the locomotive facilities of the metropolis made it possible for him to hear, I will venture to say that those who organized and those who attended this great meeting of historians had every reason for congratulating themselves on the readiness with which the firstfruits of so much learning and ability were laid before them for their acceptance. A very general desire was naturally felt and expressed for the preservation in printed form of as many as possible of these papers. Neither the Congress, nor I may add the Academy, had funds at their disposal which would have enabled them to contemplate from the first the publication of the whole body of papers.

The whole matter was considered as fully as possible by the authorities of the Congress, after report from the sections and subsections, and it was agreed that, while the liberty of individual publication was as a matter of course assured, those sections or subsections which desired to publish in a collective form all or most of the papers read before them should be left free to take this course. So far as our Academy was concerned, the Council resolved to include in our Proceedings any papers read at the Congress by any of our Fellows or by any Fellow of the Royal Society, so far as the writer had no other destination for his contribution. The Presidential Address had already been issued in the same form by the Academy.

I may add, for the information of the present audience, that at

the Congress a very general desire was expressed for some permanent record of its meeting and proceedings; and it was accordingly agreed that such an account should be prepared and published under the editorship of Professor Whitney, the late Secretary for Papers, the expenses incurred being defrayed from a surplus fund, sufficient for the purpose, in the hands of the Secretary of the Congress. This volume, which will include brief summaries of all the papers read at the general and sectional meetings, furnished in the large majority of cases by the authors of the papers, will shortly be issued on behalf of the Congress.

Before passing from the subject of the Congress, I should add that among the papers read at its meetings was one by Mr. R. J. Whitwell, of Oxford, containing a proposal for the preparation of a Mediaeval Latin Dictionary, which, while paying due attention to previous labours on the subject, should correspond to the demands of more recent philological, legal, and historical learning. This proposal was committed by the Congress to the consideration of the British Academy with a view to its communication, with such observations as might be thought fit, to other Academies.

The papers contributed by individual Fellows and friends of our Academy to the general and sectional meetings of the International Historical Congress were so numerous that those read at meetings of the Academy itself during the year now ending were fewer in number than has been customary in previous years. We had, however, the pleasure of listening to two special papers of much interest—one by our fellow Academician, Sir John Rhys, *On Celtic Inscriptions in Cisalpine Gaul*, and another by Mr. Sidney Low, *On the Organization of Imperial Studies in England.* Professor Haverfield gave his annual Report on recent excavations in Roman Britain.

The Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, Dr. Johns, delivered to large audiences a series of three lectures on the Schweich foundation, his subject being *The Laws of Babylon and Israel*; and the annual Warton lecture, *On the Historical Character of English Lyric*, was given by a member of our own body, Professor Saintsbury.

I subjoin two announcements, which it gives me the same pleasure to make as that which I felt last year in stating the arrangements to which I have just referred, and which were so successfully carried out during the past Academical year. Professor Burkitt, a Fellow of our Academy, will deliver the next series of lectures under the Schweich Fund, and has chosen *Apocalyptic Literature* as his theme. Professor C. E. Vaughan (late of the University of Leeds) has undertaken to give our annual Warton lecture at our next meeting, when he will

treat of *The Influence of English Poetry on the Romantic Revival of the Continent.*

The Benefactions to which we owe the satisfaction, past or to come, of listening to these addresses, and of being able to invite our friends to participate in our pleasure, have secured to the British Academy what may be called its special opportunities. We are to enjoy another of them to-night in listening to an oration from one of the foremost of living German Shakespeare scholars. I wish with all my heart that these opportunities had been more frequent in the days which no regret can recall; and I may be allowed to say how sincere had been the wish of us that we might welcome among us on such an occasion —or on any occasion—the presence of one of the most learned, as he was one of the most sympathetic, of British literary scholars, the late Professor Dowden. The kindly thoughts which went to him from many of us across St. George's Channel must now seek to reach beyond a broader sea.

It is my duty to report to you that, in consequence of unforeseen difficulties, it was impossible to name a representative of the British Academy at the International Association of Academies which has recently been held at St. Petersburg. A detailed statement of the views entertained by our Academy concerning divers proposals which were expected to be brought forward at this meeting was, however, transmitted to the proper quarter.

As in all well-administered communities, the expenditure of the British Academy is strictly proportioned to its means. The grants which in the course of the year we have been able to make have accordingly been restricted to two provided by the Schweich Fund, which I have already mentioned, and of which the value to the Academy cannot be estimated too highly. A grant of £600 has been made from this Fund to the Egypt Exploration Fund for the Excavation during the season of 1913–14 of Abydos and the Temple of Osiris; while another, smaller, grant of £25 has been made from the same Fund to Professor Souter for researches on Pelagius.

I have also the great satisfaction of informing you that, through Sir Frederic Kenyon, one of our Fellows, an anonymous donor has offered the sum of £1,000 towards the expenses of reprinting in facsimile the Old Testament portion of *Codex Sinaiticus*, the Oxford Clarendon Press undertaking the additional pecuniary risk. The facsimile will be issued as a publication of the British Academy. You are asked to accept this gift, and return the thanks of the Academy to the generous donor. The Academy is not without expectation of further financial aid in the coming Academical year; but as to this

and as to future activities it will be the duty of my successor to report to you.

It remains for me to make one further statement which I ought perhaps to have reserved for a later stage of to-day's proceedings, but with which I hope you will allow me to conclude this brief and, I trust, not wholly unbusinesslike address. You will be asked to elect a President of the Academy, and I feel certain that no happier choice could be made than that on which you are likely to determine. My own period of office, which has already closed, could in no circumstances have lasted longer than for the period to which your indulgence, and in particular that of my colleagues on the Council, has already allowed it to extend. I have felt that indulgence on many occasions, and for many reasons, more keenly than it perhaps becomes a chairman, in whom impassiveness is almost a virtue, to feel anything. And I shall never think except with pride of the honour of having held this office in a body which, in time to come and under more competent guidance than mine, is, as I have never doubted and shall never doubt, destined to exercise a wholly beneficent influence upon the continuous and ever expanding growth of British learning and letters.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M.

July 10, 1914.

MY first duty to-day is to express to the Fellows of the Academy my thanks for the high honour they have done me in choosing me to be their President. It was with the greatest surprise that I received, on arriving in England last September from a journey across China and Siberia, the news that I had been so elected; and it was with much hesitation that I ventured to accept the honour, fearing not only that it might be difficult for me to find time to devote to the functions unexpectedly devolving upon me, but also that my absence from England, which had prevented me for more than six years from following the proceedings of the Academy and from becoming acquainted with the members recently added to its body, would unfit me for adequately discharging the duties of the post. For such deficiencies as have been due to this cause I ask your indulgence.

It would in any case have been difficult to succeed a President in whom there were uniquely combined so many of the requisite qualifications as those possessed by my predecessor, Sir Adolphus Ward. The Master of Peterhouse at Cambridge unites to a profound learning in the field of history and literature an unusually wide acquaintance with the leading workers in those fields all over Europe, and a thorough knowledge of the conditions of higher education and of research in the Universities of our own country. His sound judgement, ripened by long experience, has been eminently serviceable to the Academy, and I gladly acknowledge the help which, not only as my predecessor, but as an intimate friend of nearly fifty years' standing, he has rendered to me whenever I have sought his counsel.

The Academy has lost since its last annual meeting three of its most distinguished Fellows. Professor Robinson Ellis, one of our original members, stood in the front rank of the classical scholars of his time. Born in 1834, elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1858, and professor of Latin in that University since 1894, he had devoted his whole life with intense and unwearied industry to the

study of the Greek and Latin languages. His writings, and especially his work on the text of Latin authors, are sufficient evidence of the accuracy and range of his attainments, of the delicacy of his discrimination, and the fineness of his literary taste. Nor was he less admirable as a teacher. It was my privilege to be his pupil when he first began to lecture in Trinity College, and nothing could have been more stimulating to an appreciation of the subtleties of grammar and the elegancies of style than was his method of handling classical texts. He probed every difficulty to the bottom. He caught every shade of meaning. He made us enjoy every hour passed in his room, and created in us a bond of affection for himself which lasted through our lives.

Another Fellow whose loss we have to mourn, Canon Samuel Driver, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, resembled Professor Ellis in the exactness of his learning and in his single-minded devotion to the subject which he had chosen to make his own. All the labours of his life were given to the Semitic languages, and in those studies he had won a place second to none of his contemporaries. As a Biblical critic he was equally eminent for his candour and for his caution. He was never afraid to avow any conclusion to which his researches led him, but he never yielded to the temptation to be novel for the sake of novelty. The lectures he delivered for the Academy on the Schweich Foundation witness to the soundness of his judgement as well as to the admirable lucidity of his exposition.

The recent departure from among us of Sir William Anson, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, and Senior Member of Parliament for the University, has filled us with an even greater sadness, for he was taken away suddenly, and when we were hoping that the Academy and his University would continue for many years to profit by his ripe wisdom and his self-forgetful readiness to serve the cause of learning and education. You are all familiar with the excellence of his published work in the spheres of law and of constitutional history, and some of you know how much he did for legal teaching at Oxford. His *English Constitution* has become authoritative. His *Introduction to the Law of Contract* is a model of all that a text-book ought to be. His latest work, the Introduction to the *Memoirs of the Duke of Grafton*, shows with what literary skill and historical sense he could handle a political biography. He was, however, not only a student but also a man of affairs, rendering service to his fellow men in many ways, and endearing himself to every one in the University and in Parliament by the simplicity and geniality of his character, and by the perfect fairness with which he approached every question. It is many

years since the University has had equal cause to mourn for any of its sons, and the Council of the Academy on which he had long sat, and on which he had consented, at the earnest request of his colleagues, again to serve, will deplore the absence of that singularly judicious counsel which he never failed to render.

Among our Corresponding Fellows there are only two losses to record, that of Professor Leo of Göttingen, member of the Göttingen Academy, and of M. Georges Perrot, whose death a week ago ended a long and fruitful career as a leading member of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

The Council proposes to you for election as Ordinary Fellows Lord Haldane, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, Lord Fitzmaurice, and Mr. J. W. Mackail, men of an eminence in their respective spheres of work so high and well known that it would be superfluous to descant upon their merits. A few words may, however, be said regarding those whom you are asked to elect as Corresponding Fellows. Two of them are distinguished French scholars—M. Bémont, a most learned historian, and M. Omont, an accomplished palaeographist and Keeper of the Manuscripts in the National Library of France. Signor Villari, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, has been known to us for many years by his masterly works, and especially by those on Machiavelli and Savonarola, and is now the honoured patriarch among the historians of his country. Dr. Charles W. Eliot, who recently retired from the Presidency of Harvard University after nearly fifty years of devoted service, has done more than perhaps any one else among his contemporaries to form and guide opinion upon educational, social, and economic questions in North America, bringing to every topic he has touched in his numerous writings and addresses a vigour of thought, a robust independence, and an elevation of character which have won for him an admiration and deference rarely equalled and certainly never surpassed.

All of these are now respectfully commended to your suffrages. The total number of our Corresponding Fellows is now thirty-five; that of our Ordinary Fellows, at present limited to one hundred, has reached ninety-eight.

During the past year papers have been read by our Fellows upon the following subjects:

'The Origin of the Drama in India,' by Professor Ridgway.

'The Basis of Realism,' by Professor Alexander.

'Roger Bacon, his Life and Writings,' by Sir John Sandys.

'Gleanings in the Italian fields of Celtic Epigraphy,' by Sir John Rhys.

'An Annual Report on the progress of Archaeological Research into Roman remains in Britain,' by Professor Haverfield.

A lecture was also delivered on the Araucanians of Chile, by the Rev. Charles A. Sadleir, who, though not one of our members, consented to give us some account of a group of tribes interesting by their customs and their character, and remarkable as the only American race which successfully repelled the attacks of European invaders. So little has been written regarding them in English that we welcomed the opportunity of obtaining a description from one who had enjoyed exceptional opportunities for observing them.

The usual lectures on the foundations which the Academy administers were also duly delivered.

The Warton lecture on English poetry was entrusted to Professor Vaughan, who, choosing for his subject 'The Influence of English Poetry on the Romantic Revival in Continental Europe', presented views and facts which seemed new to most of his hearers and were greatly appreciated by them.

The annual Shakespeare Lecture was delivered by Professor G. G. Murray to an unusually large audience. His subject was 'Hamlet and Orestes, a Study in Traditional Types', and gave him an opportunity, used with his accustomed literary skill and grace, of illustrating features or elements common to ancient and modern drama.

The course of Lectures on the Schweich Foundation was in the hands of Professor F. C. Burkitt. His subject, 'Jewish and Christian Apocalypses,' also drew many interested listeners, and his treatment of it conveyed to them much new light upon some of the more obscure branches of Hebrew literature.

In connexion with these foundations, all created by gifts in recent years, I have to mention another benefaction which the Academy has just received. Miss Henriette Hertz has bequeathed to us a sum which, after the deduction of legacy duty, amounts to £5,400, to be applied to the following purposes, viz. (1) an annual lecture or investigation or paper on a philosophical problem or some problems bearing on the philosophy of Western or Eastern civilization in ancient or modern times, or on discussions of theories of the phenomena of life in relation to eternity; (2) an annual lecture on some problem or aspect of the relation of Art in any of its manifestations to human culture (Art including Poetry and Music as well as Sculpture and Painting); and (3) an Annual Public Lecture on some Master-mind considered individually with reference to his life and work, especially in order to appraise the essential elements of his genius: the subject to be chosen from the great Philosophers, Artists, Poets, and

Musicians; and (4) for the publication of some philosophical work or to reward some meritorious publication in the department of philosophy. This bequest has been gratefully accepted by the Council, and a trust deed has been drawn up under which the annual income of the fund will be administered for the purposes indicated. I desire to put on record our appreciation of this act of munificence, and to inform you, conformably to the wish expressed by Miss Hertz, that we owe it largely to the personal friendship she entertained for her nephew, our honorary Secretary, whom she had consulted, and of whose zeal for the interests of the Academy you are aware. It is matter for satisfaction that the testatrix should have, very wisely, conferred upon the Council of the Academy a wide discretion as to the particular form in which a part of the income may be applied; and we believe that by a judicious use of that part it may be found possible to promote as well as to reward research into various departments of learning whose importance cannot be measured by their popularity with the public at large. Nothing is more to be desired than that such a body as ours should have the means of encouraging and aiding inquiries of real value not materially profitable to those who undertake them, and of paying for the publication of works needed by students but which cannot be expected to command a remunerative sale.

Several enterprises of this nature have already been undertaken by the Academy whose progress it is fitting here to note.

One of them is the great Dictionary of Islam, in the preparation of which we undertook some years ago to co-operate with the chief Academies of the Continent. At the instance of the British Academy, the India Office consented to make an annual grant of £200 towards its completion, and this sum we receive and apply accordingly in every year. The work goes on, slowly of course, as is to be expected in a thing of such magnitude, but steadily.

Another is the Bibliography of British History, which is under the charge of one of our most active and earnest workers in the field of History, Dr. George W. Prothero. We are paying this year to it the second of three grants of £25.

A third is the new and carefully revised edition of the text of the *Mahabharata*, towards which the India Office has made an increased grant of £100 for each of the first five volumes of this huge work.

A fourth is the grant of £20 in three successive years which the Academy is making for the publication of the accounts of the Sound Dues, a useful contribution to the history of a subject less known

than its international significance demands. Other contributions have been made by some of our Fellows.

A fifth enterprise needs a somewhat fuller notice. Almost since the foundation of the Academy representations have been addressed on its behalf to the Executive Government suggesting that it would be in the general interest of British learning and research that a grant should be made to the Academy to be applied by it for the furtherance of research, for the publication of MS. materials of historical interest, and for the re-editing and issuing of texts of works either not accessible or accessible only in imperfect editions. Ample justification for such grants would be found both in the practice of the chief nations of Continental Europe and in that followed as respects scientific inquiries, grants for which are regularly made to the Royal Society to be administered by that eminent body.

Seeing that the British Academy holds in this country a position in regard to what are called the Human Sciences corresponding to that which the Royal Society holds as regards the sciences of Nature, it would seem fitting that the nation should enable it to accomplish for the benefit of humanistic studies much more than the Academy can now effect from its own very scanty funds.

These representations have at last, thanks largely to the tact and judgement of our late President and to the representations made with persistent earnestness by one of the most learned of our body, Principal Rhys of Jesus College, Oxford (Professor of Celtic), so far prevailed that in 1913 an annual grant of £400, voted by Parliament on the proposal of the Lords Commissioners, was placed at our disposal by H.M. Treasury towards the expenses of the editing and publication of a series of volumes to be called 'Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales'. The first volume of this series, containing the Survey of the Honour of Denbigh made in A.D. 1334, has just been published, edited by one of our Fellows, Professor Vinogradoff of the University of Oxford, and by Mr. Frank Morgan, tutor of Keble College in that University. The Academy is fortunate in possessing in Professor Vinogradoff a scholar of wide learning and world-wide authority, who brings to the elucidation of the earlier periods of British economic history a familiarity with the conditions of the holding and use of land in many other countries and a critical capacity matured by long experience. I quote from the Preface to this most interesting volume some words on the character of the projected series which seem to deserve your attention:—

'England possesses the most remarkable set of records of economic

and social history in the world. Beginning with the Domesday Survey, that unique description of eleventh-century society, we get a continuous series of cartularies, extents, ministers' accounts, terriers, revenue-rolls, agricultural, industrial, and commercial documents of all kinds, ranging to the present time. Unfortunately only a comparatively small portion of them has been published or even described. The importance of such publications as those of the Abingdon, Gloucester, Ramsey Cartularies in the Rolls Series, the Domesday of St. Paul's, the Black Book of Peterborough, the Cartulary of Battle Abbey in the Camden Series, brings forcibly home the necessity of rendering accessible to the public a vast store of similar documents. There is at present no Society able to proceed with such work in a systematic manner worthy of its national and scientific importance. The publications of the Rolls Series have been discontinued; the Royal Historical Society, which has taken over the Camden Series, has to divide its energies among many subjects; local societies bring from time to time welcome contributions, but these are scattered and difficult of access, and appear more or less accidentally without any systematic co-ordination. There is surely a field here for a great national undertaking, which at the same time would be highly appreciated by scholars abroad, and the British Academy has decided to make an attempt to call forth and organize efforts in this direction.'

It is much to be hoped not only that this Series will proceed steadily on the lines indicated in the passage I have quoted, but also that the policy which the Treasury and Parliament have adopted in making grants for the publication of documents of high historic value and entrusting the application of these grants to the Academy will be continued, and will be amply justified by the results. The Introduction which Professor Vinogradoff has prefixed to the text is itself a valuable contribution to the history of Mediaeval Wales.

I am glad to inform you that other volumes of the series are in a forward state. One or two will shortly appear.

In continuance of this chronicle of what has been accomplished during the past year, there are to be recorded two Celebrations at which the Academy has been represented. One is the tercentenary anniversary of the foundation of the University of Groningen. Our felicitations to that ancient and respected seat of learning could not have been better conveyed than they were by our former President, Lord Reay, who is equally at home in Britain, the land of his ancient house, and in Holland, where his family had dwelt for several generations before he himself resumed British citizenship and held high office under the Crown. The other celebration was that of the jubilee

(at Weimar, the city of Goethe and Schiller) of the German Shakespeare Society. Our energetic and devoted Secretary, Professor Gollancz, expressed the pleasure felt in this country at the ardour and success with which the study of Shakespeare is pursued among our Teutonic relatives in the old Teutonic motherland, and was rewarded for the fatigue of his journey by the assurances given him of the sympathy felt in Germany for the approaching celebration in England of the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's death, and of the wish of German men of letters to be associated therewith.

This leads me to mention a matter which occupied a good deal of the time and thought of the Council during the earlier part of the year. As far back as December last we were apprised that there existed in many quarters a strong desire that the anniversary I have just referred to should be commemorated in a manner worthy of our greatest poet and of the lustre he has reflected on his country. This wish was not confined to England, and many inquiries were addressed from abroad to English literary men as to the mode proposed for the conduct of a celebration which was assumed to be inevitable. In England itself there were several societies and organizations warmly interested in the idea, and some of these had begun to discuss the means of securing an adequate celebration. It presently appeared, however, that none of these organizations was strong enough to carry through so large an undertaking, nor did there appear to be a prospect of their forming a combination adequate to the purpose. Representations were accordingly addressed to the Council suggesting that here was a *nodus tanto vindice dignus*, an occasion which needed the intervention of a body holding a position of authority and standing apart from the competing pretensions and possible jealousies of the other organizations which had begun to concern themselves with the matter. The Council was at first disposed to consider that although the study of Shakespeare, regarded as a part of the history of literature, fell within our province, a commemoration of his greatness as a poet was a matter fitter for a body constituted for purely literary purposes than for this Academy. As, however, there did not seem to exist in England any such body, enjoying a recognized authority, which was prepared to meet the desire, in itself legitimate, and very generally felt, for a Tercentenary Celebration, the Council ultimately yielded to the requests made, and agreed to call a meeting to which the societies interested in the proposal should send delegates for the consideration of the matter. Invitations were issued, and a meeting was held in the rooms of the Royal Society on March 24th, at which delegates from the societies aforesaid, together with other persons of

literary distinction, were present. This meeting urged the Council to continue to give its approval and guidance to the enterprise. They were told that they might hope for this so far as regarded the starting of the movement, but that the Academy could not undertake to be responsible for carrying it through. What we would do for them was to take steps for creating a special organization which might, by the number and weight of the persons composing it, be able to command public confidence, and to bring to a successful issue what was likely to be, if not an arduous, yet a long and laborious undertaking. Thereupon a circular letter was sent on behalf of the Academy to a large number of societies and persons of eminence, explaining the situation, asking them to say whether they approved of the proposal to commemorate the anniversary, and inviting them, if they did so approve, to become members of a General Tercentenary Celebration Committee. To this circular letter replies were received expressing approval, and acceptance of membership of the Committee, from about 350 societies and persons, including the Ambassadors and Ministers in London of nearly all the nations of the world, the principal foreign Academies, and a large number of Universities in the United States, as well from many men of the highest distinction in literature, science, art, education, and politics. A meeting of these persons and representatives of societies convoked at the rooms of the Royal Society on July 3rd, passed resolutions approving of the proposed celebration, constituting a General Committee, and appointing an Executive Committee to consider the best method for carrying through the Commemoration, and to take the practical direction of it. This meeting was addressed among others by the American and Spanish Ambassadors, the High Commissioner for Australia, one of the Canadian Ministers, Mr. Perley, acting as High Commissioner for Canada, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Arthur Balfour, as also by Mr. A. E. W. Mason and Mr. H. B. Irving.

Thus the project has been launched with good omens in its favour. The Academy has no further official responsibility in the matter, though many of our Fellows are members of the General and some are members also of the Executive Committee. I have given this sketch of the steps taken for the sake of indicating a class of cases in which the name and authority of the Academy may be used to promote laudable aims which do not come so clearly within the normal scope of its action as to require or justify its taking them up and making them its own.

In two other recent instances the action of the Academy has had

what promise to be useful results. A paper read before the Academy by Professor Rhys Davids, one of our Fellows, marked the beginning of a movement which has now culminated in the foundation in London of a School of Oriental Studies. A Charter has been within the last few months issued to this School, and a suitable local dwelling found for it at the London Institution in Finsbury, while the position of the Academy as an organ of British learning has been duly recognized by giving to it representation upon the Governing Body of this new Institution. I need hardly say how eminently fitting it is that the nation which among all the nations of the West has had most to do with opening up the treasures of Eastern lore, and which also exerts the widest influence to-day upon Eastern peoples, in Egypt, India, China, and Japan, should possess in the centre of the Empire an organization for providing instruction and directing research in every branch of knowledge connected with these and other Eastern countries. May I venture to suggest that the complement of such a School now created here should be the establishment in some Eastern centre of study, say in Cairo, of an institution similar to the British School at Athens and the British School at Rome for the prosecution on the spot of the study of the languages, history, and archaeology of the Near Eastern countries? And if this be deemed desirable, it would seem to be a matter in which the influence of the Academy might properly be exerted.

Another paper read before the Academy by Mr. Sidney Low in November, 1912, on the Organization of Imperial Studies in London, has been followed, and this time more quickly, by tangible consequences. The University of London took up the idea started by Mr. Low, and is organizing such a School as he recommended, endeavouring to provide, especially for young men who are going out to serve in various parts of the Colonial dominions of Britain, a thorough and comprehensive instruction in those branches of knowledge which will be specially useful to them as administrative officials. The Academy may, I trust, find opportunities not only for gathering knowledge from the labours of men so trained, but for rendering practical service in bringing those of its members who are masters of special departments of research into a reciprocally helpful relation with those who are dealing with the social and economic phenomena which the less developed parts of our overseas dominions present.

This record of the year's work may close with the expression of our indebtedness to the Royal Society for the courtesy with which it has continued to place its rooms at our disposal for meetings.

A like word of thanks is due to the Chemical Society and to the Astronomical Society, both of which have allowed the Council, or a Committee, to meet in their apartments when those of the Royal Society were not available.

It is greatly to be desired that some permanent habitation should be allotted to the Academy, and whenever the question of providing better accommodation for the Civil Service Examinations and other kinds of work connected with education or research in which the State is interested, comes to be settled, the Academy ought to urge its claim to have some meeting-place assigned to it in the buildings to be erected for any such purposes. It has been long felt that what may be called the social side of our work, viz. the providing of fuller and more frequent opportunities for the Fellows to meet one another for the discussion in a friendly and informal way of topics which are of interest to them, or to particular sections, ought to be developed; and this can hardly be arranged until a proper local habitation has been provided for it. I venture to believe that one of the chief utilities of the Academy consists in bringing together those who are pursuing researches on similar lines, making them personally acquainted, and putting them in a better position for helping one another. More frequent social intercourse has for men of letters and learning more than a merely social value. We are all fellow workers in the cause of knowledge and truth, and feel, as every such worker should, that there is nothing either more profitable or more enjoyable than the giving to as well as the receiving from other students of all the information, all the friendly criticisms, all the ideas and suggestions which one mind can place at the disposal of another.

My long absence from this country makes me distrust my own competence to attempt any survey, however slight, of what has been accomplished during the past year either here or by the scholars of Continental Europe in the fields of study and research which belong to our province. It may however be worth while to take this opportunity of offering to you a few scattered remarks on the present position of those studies in some of those countries outside Europe which I have visited in the course of several recent journeys, viz. Japan and China, the Australasian Colonies, and South America.

Japan, as you know, has during the last thirty years been making extraordinary efforts to reach the level of Europe in regard to every branch of human knowledge which can contribute to practical efficiency. She seems resolved to make up for her long centuries of silence and isolation by founding institutions dedicated to the higher education, and by encouraging her children to emulate the

most advanced nations in bearing their share in the advance of thought and the accumulation of knowledge both in the human subjects and in the sciences of nature. Into the latter department I will not enter, except to testify to the zeal with which physical science is cultivated, and to some discoveries made in the biological sphere which prove that Japanese inquirers are competent to employ with success modern methods of research.

The Universities founded by the Government have been well equipped with libraries, laboratories, and museums, and now possess a strong staff of highly educated professors. The chairs were at first largely filled by Europeans and North Americans, but latterly a generation of native teachers has grown up, many of whom have completed their training in the Universities of Germany and the United States, so that at this moment nearly all the instruction is given by Japanese. To these State Universities several others have been added by the action of enlightened private citizens who think that there ought to exist institutions where instruction can be given with more freedom and less official supervision than is possible in the State-supported Universities, for the Japanese incline to bureaucratic methods in education as well as in the other departments of administration. The University founded in Tokyo by the venerable but still vigorous and alert Count Okuma, once Prime Minister, is an instance. It devotes itself specially to the political and economic sciences.

That a country which had much leeway to make up in the applications of science to industry should pay more attention to such subjects as physics and engineering than to philology or history or philosophy need excite no surprise. Nevertheless, the latter subjects are not altogether neglected. Some treatises of real value have been produced bearing on economic and social historical topics: for these are deemed to have 'actuality'. For history less has been so far done, yet evidence of an enlightened spirit is to be found in the lively interest now shown in the preservation of the monuments of antiquity and in the investigation of the early annals and traditions of the nation. As nearly all books that are now produced appear in the Japanese language, it is hard for a stranger to estimate their value, and very few of the European residents combine a knowledge of that difficult tongue with a literary taste sufficient to give authority to their judgement. I cannot therefore venture to say about the prospects of purely intellectual development in Japan more than this, that the people are highly alert, intensely ambitious, eager to emulate the West in literary as well as in scientific production. They will, unless distracted by internal troubles, produce work in many branches

of knowledge. But the real question is: How far will that work be original, distinctive, a permanent addition to human thought?

The Japanese are a people of some remarkable gifts. They have an admirable artistic feeling and power of perception of beauty in nature as well as in art. Quick emotions are combined with dogged perseverance, and though they have thrown overboard that system of feudal institutions which recalled mediaeval Europe, the spirit of chivalry which was embodied in the institutions lives on. Only two years ago one of their most famous soldiers killed himself because he could not bear to survive his lord the Mikado. But they have shown little aptitude for constructive thought, and their poetry, like their art and their written character, owes its origin to the more creative genius of the Chinese. As many centuries ago they, like the Koreans, drew inspiration from China, so now they have been eager to imitate the nations of the West. Having acuteness enough to recognize what the West could give them, they have been as willing to learn from Europe now as they were to learn from China and even from the Koreans, in ages long since past, and the upper classes have gone so far as to adopt the dress and many of the social usages of the West. Yet with this readiness to imitate there has been also within the last few decades, and especially since the war in which they overcame Russia, a development of intense national feeling which makes the nation eager to show itself capable of standing alone in literature as well as in politics, and of emulating the West in literature and science as in other things. The desire (already noted) to preserve ancient monuments is an instance both of this and of the growth of an imaginative feeling for history. National feeling and ambition and perseverance are not enough to make a people creative in the sphere of thought. Yet it may be that as there have been nations in which productive literary power has died out—such for instance as the Persians—there may be others in which the stimulus of ideas from without, falling on a fertile soil, may evoke latent capacities and give birth to great works, as happened to the Italians in the days of Lucretius and Catullus under the stimulus of the Hellenic spirit preserved in its writers of the classical age. This will be a topic fit to be discussed by our successors in the Academy fifty years hence.

A remarkable contrast is disclosed when the traveller passes from Japan to China. National feeling had almost died out in China under the Manchu dynasty: and what seemed a revival of it in the so-called Boxer rising was little more than an expression of antagonism to aggressive foreign influence. The dynasty has now been overthrown, overthrown by a handful of youthful conspirators taking advantage of

local troubles in some of the Western and Southern provinces where the Manchu power had always been weakest.

A republic has been proclaimed at the instance of students who had imbibed democratic notions at foreign universities, those who had lived in Japan showing themselves more advanced than even those whose teaching had been received in America. Much that was most characteristic of the old order has been swept away. Pigtails have been shorn off. The feet of women are allowed to grow. The cultivation of opium is forbidden. Cruel punishments have, at least on paper, been abolished, although rebels are still put to death by hecatombs. Even the time-honoured examination cells, most curious monuments of the custom which awarded public office and emolument to those who excelled in the imitation of the ancient poetry, are being fast destroyed as useless, now that the examinations themselves have disappeared. The Cambridge graduate can no longer rejoice to draw a parallel between the country which awarded the posts of governor and general to those who showed most knowledge of the ancient Chinese classics, and that in which prime ministers bestowed bishoprics on the editors of Greek plays. No interest is taken in, no care given to the preservation of the memorials, noble by their strength and lovely by their colouring, of a rich and splendid civilization as old as those of Egypt or Babylon. So too the old worships are languishing. The famous Confucian temple at Peking draws scarcely a worshipper: it is only among the uneducated classes that what we should call religion can now be found. There is space—a vast vacant space—for a new religion, new institutions, a new literature. But so far one sees only destruction. The ancient learning is gone, and nothing has yet come to take its place. Never did an ancient civilization fall so swiftly and, to outward appearance, so utterly. Yet all the while the self-confidence and self-esteem of this strange people have not been affected. They continue to regard us Westerns much as the supercilious Egyptian priests whom Herodotus talked to regarded the Greeks. They are afraid of us, and are now seldom heard to call the passing European a foreign devil. But they are as much convinced as ever of their own superiority, except as respects mechanical inventions, to the outer world: and this is, after all, a hopeful feature, indicating the strength of national fibre, for it coexists with a sense among the better educated that, however inferior the foreign devil may be, they must learn and profit by all that he has to teach them. In this state of things, and in the confusion due to widespread brigandage by land and sea, rising in some provinces almost to the dimensions of civil war, there can be no question of literary production. The only work done for learning, philological or historical,

is being done by a few European scholars. It is much to be wished that some of our students of history should set themselves to observing and recording the singular phenomena, without parallel in the annals of the world, which this disintegration and dissolution of one of the oldest and most compact of all civilizations presents. Such phenomena can never recur again elsewhere, for Chinese civilization had outlived every other system of ancient government, every other type of ancient art and learning.

From China to Peru it is a far cry. There are in that country, and in some of the other Spanish American states, a few persons of superior attainments who cultivate letters and produce books of a certain merit. But neither there nor in Colombia, and still less in Venezuela and the republics of Central America or of the Antilles, is there anything that can be called a learned class, occupied with serious study. The Central American states have made scarcely any progress, except in the production of sugar, coffee, cocoa, and bananas, during the century of their independence. Even Mexico, which had, under the rule of Porfirio Diaz, been advancing so rapidly in material prosperity that when I visited it twelve years ago there seemed hopes for the upspringing of literature and the spread of higher education, has now fallen back to the level of Guatemala. Even then, however, the backwardness of Mexican interest in learning appeared in the fact that nearly all archaeological research was being conducted by scholars from the United States or England. When I inquired as to whether there were any ancient Aztec legends or songs current among the people, the only person in the city of Mexico mentioned as capable of giving information was an Irish priest, who had formed a school for Indian children, and took me to hear them sing ditties in the ancient language. It is now only in the three great southern republics, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, that one finds a number of men interested in the things of the mind, for it is only there that the conditions needed for the production of works making contributions to human knowledge have begun to emerge from the disorders of many years. Chile and Argentina have organized regular universities on the model of Germany and the United States, and books of substantial merit, chiefly dealing with legal and economic topics, but sometimes also with history, are now published in their capitals. In Brazil, however, with nearly seventeen millions of people, there exists no university, only institutions intended to prepare for the professions. Disappointing as this is, one ought to add that there remains in the race that produced Camoens a true literary gift; and among many who do not show any creative power one finds an appreciation of literary excellence which

maintains the general level of taste. Taking Latin America as a whole, though at present it does comparatively little for any of the studies for the promotion of which this Academy exists, there are ample grounds for hope that in the two or three now stable and prosperous states, the growth of material prosperity will be followed by an increase in the numbers of the educated class, which in its turn will produce minds capable of applying scientific methods primarily to those studies which are most related to the conditions of the country, such as law, politics, and economics, but ultimately to the whole range of human endeavour. The interest which some Argentines and a few Brazilians show in the sociological writings of some recent European writers whose reputation stands higher in South America than it does in Europe is at least an indication of the growth of a spirit which does not wish to rest content with the production of more cattle, more wheat, more sugar, and more coffee. There seems no reason why within another half-century we shall not have to take account of the literary output of those nations as an element in the intellectual progress of the world. *Inter arma silent Musae* has too long been true of Spanish America, but the new forces which will enable the Muses to be heard seem to be now in the ascendant over a large part of those vast regions which have fallen to the lot of the Iberian race.

I had hoped to add here some reflections upon the causes, physical and economic, political and social, which have depressed intellectual life in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies and made their literary history so different from that of the United States, or of the newer British dominions, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. But the subject is too large a one to be introduced at the end of such an address as this.

These things, therefore, interesting as they are—

spatiis exclusus iniquis
Praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.

THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF CISALPINE GAUL

By SIR JOHN RHYS

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read Jan. 29, 1913

THIS paper is a belated contribution to the study of a subject of great interest to Celtic scholars. I had long been aware of the existence of a few remarkable Celtic inscriptions on ancient tombstones in Italy, and following in the path of our illustrious colleague, the late Whitley Stokes, I wrote about some of them and set others aside as being in my opinion not Celtic, though he had accepted them as such. I am referring to my paper read to the Academy in 1906 on 'The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy', a title which was too wide, seeing how little Italy figured in my list at that time. I was also aware that there was a mass of inscribed objects to which Carl Pauli had devoted the first part of his *Altitalische Forschungen* as early as 1885; but I regarded most of that as a field too dangerous to invade, all the more so as Mommsen had previously covered most of the ground and had often struggled in vain with the inadequate data supplied to him.

My reluctance to study the kind of material to which I allude, in quest of more early Celtic, was overcome by a recent paper by the Upsala professor, Dr. Danielsson, *Zu den venetischen und lepontischen Inschriften*, and by his friendly challenge on his nineteenth page. Here I may explain that to avoid committing himself beforehand to the celticity of the inscriptions which occupy these notes, he uses *lepontisch* as a neutral term derived from the name of the ancient Lepontii, referring to whom Caesar wrote (iv. 10): 'Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt.' Modern geographers have accustomed us to the term Lepontine Alps, but what is more interesting is the fact that the upper course of the Ticino is called the 'Val *Leventina*', thereby perpetuating the ancient name in all probability without any interruption of phonological continuity.

In the summer of 1911 I began to make inquiries as to the places where to look for the inscriptions which had begun to interest me; that is, in what collections, public or private, I could actually see and handle them. On the whole the scholars who had written about them produced on me the impression that they had entered into a conspiracy of silence on the point. that impression was of course wrong. It was not a conspiracy of silence, it was ignorance of facts, which they had not made serious efforts to remove. I soon found that this was by no means easy to do, and my first trouble was that I did not know whither to direct my inquiries. At last I seemed to have got my information complete, but when I proceeded to put it to the test, I found that, except in the case of two or three of the more important museums, hardly anything was to be found where I had been led to expect it. What with my own stupidity and that of others, I never had so many disappointments in any other single month as in that of April, 1912. On the other hand, I cannot speak too gratefully of the invariable kindness with which I was treated, and of the help I received in all possible ways. Moreover, it is right to say that sometimes when I failed to find what I was looking for, I found something else, perhaps of no less value, apart from its being in any case an addition to the list, it being understood, of course, that what I missed had been recorded and had, to take even the worst view of it, not been wholly lost to archæological science.

Nevertheless, one likes to see and handle the precious remains themselves, and partly for a reason which the student of the ancient lapidary literature of the Latin language can hardly be expected fully to appreciate. Latin inscriptions exist in their thousands, and they help to interpret one another. They are also on an average comparatively easy to read, owing to the letters being well cut and to the cutting having been done on a surface levelled and polished for the purpose. But one is told, 'You can always get photographs.' That is true, but the value of a photograph is often rendered questionable by the senseless habit which they have in some museums of undertaking to paint the grooves of the letters, in North Italy with some kind of black pigment, and in France with red lead, which, let us hope, is no longer used there for such a purpose. In this process what happens is that letters receive features not their own, while others lose a limb or two. Who does the painting I have never succeeded in ascertaining: he is always anonymous. For short, therefore, we may call him the Office Boy, and it is intolerable that he should be the one to provide the texts for the study of epigraphy and ancient phonology. In Greek and Latin inscriptions the mischief cannot be so serious, since those

languages are so well known to scholars that they can seldom be led far astray. It is far otherwise in the case, for instance, of early Celtic, of which we have only a glimmering idea: hence the importance to the student of seeing for himself the texts on which he has to base the foundations of his study. I could illustrate my words by means of photographs which I have had procured for me on various occasions: some of them are worse than useless, inasmuch as they are definitely misleading. I cannot use them except now and then, perhaps, to give a general idea of an inscription and the distribution of it on the stone that bears it.

The plan of this paper is very simple: it divides the area with which it deals into four districts, as follows:—

I. Lugano and the country immediately surrounding it in the Canton Ticino. And there, having begun with a tombstone bearing two inscriptions of a philologically instructive nature, and having described them, I append some account of the treatment of the disputed question of dative and genitive to which they give rise, and the way in which it has been dealt with by the scholars who have discussed it. Then the other inscriptions of the district are gone through one by one in the light of the two previously chosen for treatment.

II. The *Vallis Diubiasca*, the name of which is perpetuated in the modern Giubiasco, the centre of numerous and important finds, covering the valley embracing the basin of the Ticino from Locarno at the head of Lago Maggiore to some distance beyond Bellinzona, its present political centre. To this I have ventured to add the course of the Moësa, with the little town of Mesocco in the southern corner of the Canton Graubünden, or the Grisons, as people speaking French call it.

III. The third region is politically all in Italy, and forms a sort of zone south of the Lugano district and bounded by a curve drawn from the neighbourhood of Lecco to Milan, thence to Novara, and from there to Lago d'Orta and Ornavasso on the way to Domodossola.

IV. There are a few inscriptions which are so placed as to suggest a fourth district, to wit, the country round the Lago di Garda.

Those four regions make up the Cisalpine Gaul of this paper, linguistic areas the boundaries of which may be expected to be enlarged by future finds.

I

1. The first inscriptions which I wish to mention are two that occur on a tombstone found at Davesco in the Valle Capriasca, north-east of Lugano, in the Swiss Canton of the Ticino. It seems to commemorate a man and his wife, and it forms Pauli's no. 11: he quotes a statement that near it were found many human bones. According to him, in 1885, the stone was in the possession of a certain Dr. Vanelli; since then it has found its way to the museum at Chur (pronounced Kūr, French Coire, Italian Coira), where I saw it in April, 1912. In both cases the lines containing the inscription approach one another so as to form the crude outline of a human head. Two other epitaphs have dots on the face crudely indicating the eyes: see photograph I, 5 (1) Stabbio, and Pauli's facsimile of the Sorengo stone, his no. 14: see also pages 38 and 42 below. I owe the Chur photographs to the kindness of Dr. Jecklin, the keeper of the museum, whose help in various ways during my visit was most acceptable; since then he has also kindly answered questions of mine more than once.

(1) One of the epitaphs runs as follows, reading from right to left:—

ΛᒧΛ1 : IΛᒧΛK◁ƎV : IΛIMΛᒧ≶

That is, *Slaniai Verkalai Pala*, which may be literally rendered 'For Slania Verkala, a grave or burial place'. The fact that this alphabet had no letters for the voiced consonants *b*, *d*, *g* leaves us at liberty to treat *Verkalai* as representing *Vergalai*, which will be seen presently have been the probable pronunciation; but it is not open to us to treat *pala* as *bala* for the reason that *pala* occurs with *p* in an inscription which is written in the Roman alphabet, and is to be noticed later. The interpretation of *pala* as grave or tomb is due to the well-known philologist, Paul Kretschmer: see Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, XXXVIII. 101, where he connects it with Welsh and Cornish *pal* 'a spade', Welsh *palu* 'to dig', Corn. *palas*, the same. To *pal*, pronounced (according to the rule for unblocked vowels in Mod. Welsh monosyllables) *pâl*, one may add *paladr* 'a shaft', Irish *celtair* 'a spear or lance'. That would go to prove the stem to have been *q̯al-*, represented in Latin by *vallus* 'a stake, a palisade', and *vallum* 'a wall provided with stakes, a paling, intrenchment'. See Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. vv. *vallus*, *valles*, and *vapor*, which he would trace to a stem *q̯ap-*.[1] Should this con-

[1] When Stokes in his *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, forming volume II of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, p. 57, referred Welsh *palu* 'to dig' and such Old

jecture prove tenable *pala* would seem to be a Gaulish word indicating a plot of ground marked off for a burial place with stakes. In the instances where the *pala* formula occurs, we may presume that the burial ground was secured in the lifetime of the person or persons who intended to be interred there, a practice not unusual in the case of Roman monuments as proved by such formulæ as *se vivo* or *et sibi et suis*.

In any case the 'pala' was something to or for the person mentioned; for it is impossible for the most part to make anything of the endings of the names in the formula except endings of the dative case. In this instance we have a woman's name *Slaniai Vergalai*; and by its side occurs on the same stone, a man's name, probably her husband's, *Tisiui Pivotialui*; and the other Lepontine inscriptions of the same district, to wit, Lugano, count among them the following instances of *pala*:—(*Ve*)*rkomui pala*, mas. (p. 37). *Aai pala*, fem. (p. 36). *Otiui pala*, mas. (p. 36) . . . *kionei p*(*ala*), and . . . *aniui p*(*ala*), mas. (p. 44). *Pivonei Tekialui pala*, mas. (p. 42). These names, if masculine, would probably be in the nominative *Tisios Pivotialos*, (*Ve*)*r-komos*, *Otios*, . . . *anios*, *Pivonis Tekialos*; and the feminine singular nominatives would be *Slaniā Verkalā* and *Aā*, while *Pivonei* and . . . *kionei* being presumably of the *i* declension would have the nominatives *Pivonis* and . . . *kionis* of either gender. Here we are immediately concerned with the feminine dative in *-āi* which is countenanced by instances in Gaul, namely, Αιουνιαι 'to or for the goddess Aiunia', and Εσκεγγαι Βλανδοουικουνιαι[1] 'to Escenga daughter of Blandouicunos'; see my *Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, nos. viii and ix (pp. 19–21).

The name here in question *Slaniai Verkalai* represents, as already suggested, the nominative *Slāniā Vergālā*. To begin with

Irish forms as *cechlatar* 'foderunt', ro-*chloth* 'fundata est', and *to-chlaim* 'ich grabe' to the same root *qual-*, he left out the Welsh forms *cladu* 'to dig or hollow out a place in the ground, oftener now to bury in such hollow', and *clawdd* 'a fosse or ditch, now mostly a dyke or fence standing above ground'. These and kindred forms in Welsh make it impossible to refer the Irish to *qual-*. When an animal such as the dog buries a bone or a piece of flesh in the ground for future food, he has first to scratch a hole in which to make the deposit and then to cover it up: the principal and most tedious operation is the *scratching*, and I should be inclined to refer the *clad-* words here in question to the same origin as English *cratch*, *scratch*, German *kratzen*: see the New English Dictionary. In any case the Welsh vocables are not to be severed from the Irish ones. Windisch noticed this but hesitated to decide: see Kuhn's *Beitrage zur vergl. Sprachforschung*, VIII. 39.

[1] Thurneysen, in his *Handbuch des Altirischen*, p. 181, regards the latter as 'griechische Kasusform'; but he does not give his reason for thinking so. Compare Danielsson's paper, loc. cit., p. 17.

Slāniā;[1] this implies a masculine *Slānios* in early Goidelic. We have compounds also such as *Slánoll* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 19[a], *Slanoll*, ibid. 329[e]), and derivatives such as *Slanán* (Stokes & Strachan's *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II. 364). There is some uncertainty as to the quantity of the vowel of the first syllable; we may perhaps regard it as originally long in them all, and treat the etymon as represented by the common Irish adjective *slán*[2] 'whole, healthy, healed, secure, safe, sound, well, perfect, complete, entire, uninjured'. The simple adjective *slāno-s*, *slānā*, had a derivative *slānio-s*, *slāniā*, which in Gaulish would be sounded *slānii̯o-s*, *slānii̯ā*: it is therefore represented in Welsh by the correct equivalent *llonyđ* 'quiet, contented, tranquil'.

We now come to the next vocable, written *Verkalai*, which I have ventured to treat as *Vergalai*, the dative implying a nominative *Vergalā*, feminine of *Vergalo-s*. I should regard the dative as an adjective qualifying *Slāniāi*, being made up of *u̯erg-* and the termination *-ālo-s*, *-ālā*, which is best known in Welsh in such words as *misáwl*, *mísol* 'monthly' from *mis* 'month', *nefáwl*, *néfol* 'heavenly' from *nef* 'heaven', and hosts of others including among them some which appear to have been substantives, like the Welsh *epául*, *ébol* 'a colt' from *epo-s* 'a horse'; *gwennáwl*, *gwénnol* 'a swallow', Ir. *fannall*, *fandall*, fem. 'a swallow' (Book of the Dunn 62[b], Windisch, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, p. 972[b]); see Stokes (Fick II. 261) who gives the early form as *vannello-* or *vennālo-* the latter of which is supported by the Welsh form; and *morawl* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 111), which is a derivative from *môr* 'sea' and seems to have meant a harbour, or a tract of sea, more or less land-bound, where ships might anchor.[3]

[1] In point of form this would yield in Irish a feminine singular nominative and genitive, *Slane* or *Slaine*, which we appear to have in *Aed Sláne* 'Aed of Sláne': there was a 'civitas quae vocatur *Slane*' in County Meath (*Thes Palaeoh.*, pp. 259, 274, 298), and it was also the name of the river Slaney. But it should be noticed that these names have sometimes a spelling with *ng* instead of *n*, *Slange*, *Slainge* (see Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*): should these latter spellings represent the original pronunciation, the name has no place here; see Stokes in Fick's *Vergleichendes Worterbuch*, II. 319, s. v. *slangio-*.

[2] It is also given as the name of a spring-well; see Stokes's *Patrick*, p. 323, where one reads of the Saint coming to the well of Findmag, which was called *Slan*, 'quia indicatum illi quod honorabant magi fontem et immolaverunt dona ad illum in modum dei'. They also gave it a name which is given in Latin as Aquarum Rex. See also Hogan's *Onom.*, s. v. *Slán*, and *Slán Pátraic*.

[3] Since this type was set up I have called to mind two more—*y vanachol* 'the monastery', and *Hafodol*, now *y Fodol* or *Fodol*, the name of an Anglesey farm, derived from *hafod* 'a summer place or sheiling'. See 'Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi' in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, pp. 110, 274.

The adjectival use of *-āl-o-* corresponds pretty nearly to that of *-āl-i-* in Latin, and just as *annālis* is derived from *annus* 'a year', we may regard *Vergālā* as derived from a name *Vergo-s* (possibly *Vergu-s*) of the same origin as the first element in *Vergobreto-s*, a Gaulish term supposed to mean *iudicio efficax*—according to Mommsen, *Rechtswirker*, one who has power to execute his verdicts. The word is of the same origin as the Old Breton *guerg* '*efficax*' and the English word 'work'; we have it also, or a nearly kindred form, in the Book of Leinster proper name *Forgg* (330[b]), *Forg* (330[c]), genitive *Phuirg* (351[b]), and (*Messin*) *Fuirc* (325[d]), though the commoner forms are of other declensions.[1] Lastly, besides giving as derivatives from *Vergiacus* the place-name *Vergy* in the Côte-d'Or, *Le Vergy* in the Haute-Saône, *Véria* in the Jura, and treating *Vergiacus* as derived from a man's name *Vergius*, Celtic *Vergios*, Holder quotes *Verg-* from two inscriptions occurring at Gurina in Carinthia, and one at Grenoble (*C. I. L.*, III. 12014. 576, XII. 2282). Whether the name in full was *Vergus*, *Vergius*, or some other derivative, it is now impossible to decide; but presumably it was related to our *Vergālai*.

There remains the question of the meaning of the ending *ālo-s*, *-ālā* in Celtic epigraphy. I infer that the adjectives with that ending are to be construed here like those in *-io-s*, *-iā*, as *Riumanio-s* which might be literally rendered 'Riumanian' or 'related to somebody called *Riumanos*', whence *Riumanios* is derived, the special relation in this kind of context being that of son to father (*Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, xxiv). Similarly Σεγομαρος Ουιλλονεος would be Segomaros the Willonian, meaning 'Segomar son of Willonos' (ib. vi). I am now disposed to think that the termination *-eo-s* is a reduced form of *-aio-s*: instances have been collected by Holder, I. 72, and III. 541. In the same light as *-eo-s* may perhaps also be treated the ending *-āco-s*, so that Καβιρος[2] Ουινδιακος would mean

[1] Such as '*Fuirg* a quo *Hui Fargga*' (323[f]) implying an early *Forgi-s*, genitive *Forgi-as* of which we seem to have a later trace in *Hui Forca* (311[c]); but the most common spelling of the genitive in the pedigrees in that MS. appears to be *Forgo* (327[e], 330[a], 331[c3], 335[h], 347[g], 348[e], 349[c]) with an early form *Vorgos* (that is *Vorgōs*) in Ogam on a stone at Dunloe Castle, in Kerry. This suggests the *u* declension with nominative *Vorgu-s*, genitive *Vorgō-s*, with *vorg* for earlier *verg*: compare **Ver-tigernio-s* making in Irish Ogam inscriptions *Vortigern-*, *Vorrtigern-*, and see Thurneysen's *Handbuch*, p. 465. A nominative *Fergg* in the Book of Leinster (366[d]) is probably a blunder rather than a survival of the original stem with *e*. The treatment of the name in the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 502 is characterized by the use of *Forggo* (*Forggu*, *Forgco*) as both genitive and nominative: see Kuno Meyer's *Index* to the same, p. 30. On the question of variant declensions see *Buccos* in the Berlin Corpus, vol. XIII, part iii, p. 119, and the note on it in my *Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul*, p. 19.

[2] In the *Revue Celtique*, XXX. 367, Professor Loth, in a kindly notice of my

'Cabiros the Windian', that is Cabiros son of Windios (*Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, no. 3, p. 6). Thus we already have adjectives of two or three different endings, employed to form patronymics or family names, and I am persuaded that adjectives formed with the termination *-ālo-s*, *-ālā*, were employed in that way by the Celts of the neighbourhood of Lugano. The inscription in question *Slāniāi Verkālāi pala* would therefore mean 'For Slania daughter of Vergos a burial place'. Whether this interpretation is the correct one or not must depend on the degree of success with which the same key can be used in the other cases in point.[1]

(2) The other inscription on the DAVESCO stone reads from right to left like the one already discussed: it is close and parallel to it in position, and corresponds to it in syntax, the only difference being that it is in the masculine gender, as follows:—

ΛΙΛ1 : ΙVΙΛΙΧοVΙ1 : ΙVΙϟΙΧ

That is *Tisiui Pivotialui pala*, which would mean, being translated like the other line, 'For Tisios Pivotialos a burial place'. But the names call for a remark or two on the value of their spelling. In the first place it is not certain whether we should regard the first name as *Tisios* or *Disios*: in favour of the former should be mentioned that there appears to have been such a Celtic name, which is found spelt *Tissio*, as a Latin dative in an inscription from the neighbourhood of Nîmes (*C. I. L.*, XII. 4145), to which Holder adds *Tis*... from Padua (*C. I. L.*, V. 2914), *Tiseno* from Poitiers (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10017. 846), *Tisiācus* 'Thissy' in the dep. of the Yonne, where he also finds a place-name *Tissey*, implying *Tissiācus*, probably from a personal name *Tissios*.

It has been surmised that the other name written *Pivotialui* stands for *Bivotiālūi* (Danielsson, p. 16), the dative of *Bivotiālo-s*, that is 'son of *Bivotio-s*', which we have in Med. Irish as the ordinary adjective *béoda* 'energetic, lively'; see Windisch's *Táin*, pp. 7, 296. We have possibly a form of the same adjective in *Béde*, the name of a Pict who was Grand Steward of Buchan, in the Book of Deir (Stokes's

Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul, writes, among other criticisms, that he regards it improbable that Καβιρος is a borrowed name in our inscriptions. I am happy to accept that view as deciding the doubts which I had on the point.

[1] It is needless to say that the terminations here in question have their own shades of meaning and cannot always be pressed to fit a patronymic interpretation; as a rule they must be immediately preceded by a man or woman's name in an epitaph. Vice versa in such a position almost any adjectival termination of a wide application would seem to require to be interpreted in the patronymic sense.

Goidelica, p. 108). *Bivotios* seems derived from *bivoto-*, which probably meant 'life', and is to be referred to *biu̯o-* 'quick, living', Irish *béo*, Welsh *byw*, Latin *vīvus, vīva, vīvum*. This *bivoto-* seems to equate with the Greek *βίοτο-ς* 'life, sustenance', O. Bulgarian *životŭ* 'life': compare Lithuanian *gyvatà* 'life'. On the other hand Irish *béothu* 'life', genitive *bethoth* (Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, p. 26), and *bethad* (Thurneysen's *Handbuch*, p. 122), Welsh *bywyd*[1] 'life', come nearer to the Greek *βιότης*, genitive *βιότητος*, of the same meaning. In any case we appear to have *bivoto-* in the *beod* of such Irish names as *Beothin* (Bk. of Leinster, 365[e]) and the genitives *Beodain, Beodan* (ib. 348[h], 368[f], 369[d]), *Beodgna* (ib. 352[f]), and *Beadri* (ib. 369[d]). With Celtic names from *béo, byw*, to which may be added such instances from the Continent as Holder's *Biuvo(n)* (read *Bivvo(n)* or *Biuuo(n)*), feminine *Bivonia*, both from Brescia or its vicinity (*C.I.L.*, V. 4136, 4487) and *Bivito(n)* or *Bivitonus* from Langres, may be compared the Latin *Vitalis, Vitalianus*, and *Vitalinus*,[2] from *vita* 'life'.

It remains to add some further notes on the dative masculine singular ending in *-ui*: comparison shows it to have been originally *-ūi* of the same formation as the Greek -ωι in which the ι ceased to be sounded though retained in the spelling -Ωι or -ῳ: in some of the dialects such as Boeotian it was οι, parallel with ᾰι for ᾳ. In Latin the usual ending was ō, but old Latin shows an occasional *oi* as in *Numasioi* and *populoi*, Faliscan *Titoi* and *Zextoi*, while Oscan preserved *Abellanúi* (Brugmann's *Grundriss*, II.[2] II. i. 168, 282–5). In Gaulish the dative of this declension has usually lost its final *i* leaving simply *-o* or *-u*; there is evidence of the former being *-ō*, and presumably the *-u* was *-ū* likewise. As instances may be mentioned

TI..ANNω, ANEVNΩ, ANEVNICNΩ, OCLICNΩ

(*Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 47, 49, 55, photo. 9[a]). In other instances, to wit, in letters exclusively Latin, we have the final of the dative written V, that is *-u*, as in *Alisanu* (*Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. iii, p. 10), *Anvalonnacu* (ib. no. v, p. 12). But even in Gaul

[1] The articles in point in Fick's II. p. 165, want revising: thus Welsh *bywyd* 'life' is not the equivalent of Irish *biad* 'food', but the Welsh *bwyd* 'food', which is unaccountably omitted It is doubtful, however, whether *biad* and *bwyd* have any right to appear there at all. Under *biu̯os* 'life' should appear the Welsh substantive *byw*; and Irish *it biu* 'in thy life' has its equivalent in the Welsh 'yn dy fyw', probably for an older *i'th fyw*.

[2] These were used apparently by the Déssi to render their *béo* names, and carried as far west as the barony of Corkaguiny in Kerry, where an Ogam was found some years ago reading *Vitalin*. See the *Cymmrodor*, XXI. 48–50, and *The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul*, p. 65.

there occur a few instances with the *i* intact making the ending -ουι as in Γρασελουι (if that be the right reading and not Γρασελου) and Λαμι. Ειvουι, *Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. iii, p. 29; no. xviii, p. 36). Probably the suggested reading Μαρεοουι should be corrected into Μαρεουι from a nominative Μαρεο-ς for Latin *Marius* (ib. x, p. 21: compare *Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 3). To these I failed to do justice until after becoming familiar with others which yielded readings admitting of no doubt, such as Βαλαυδουι Μακκαριουι, that is *Balaudui Maccariui* 'to Balaudos son of Maccarios', not *Maccarivos* which is probably to be cancelled (ib. p. 5); the man's name ending in .... σουι is probably to be treated as representing the .... *s-ui* (ib. p. 16) of some such name as Αδρεσσουι. Here also should be classed one of the spellings in the double inscription beginning with Αδγενουι δεδε 'gave to Adgen(n)os'. The other version has Αδγενοου δ[εδε] 'gave to Adgen(n)us' (ib. p. 18).[1] The longest inscription in Greek letters at Alesia makes -οου into -ωυ in the dative case Βιρακοτωυ and Κοβριτουλωυ. In a word the dative in -ουι = -*ui* implied a nominative in -ο-ς, of the ο declension, and that in οου (or ωυ) a nominative in -ους = *u-s*, of the *u* declension.

A word must now be said as to the way in which the Lepontine inscriptions have been treated by philologists. Dr. Carl Pauli takes the first place, and his views may be consulted in his *Altitalische Forschungen*, Volume I, 'Die Inschriften nordetruskischen Alphabets,' published at Leipsic in 1885, in which (pp. 70 & seq.) he regards the forms in -*ūi* (from -*ōi*) and -*āi* as genitives and the language as Celtic. Later, in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* for 1900, no. 157, which I have not seen, he seems to have changed his view on the latter point, and to have referred the Lepontine inscriptions to a Ligurian origin; for in the meantime M. d'Arbois de Jubainville had undertaken to prove the language of the Ligurians to have been Indo-European: see the second book of the second edition of his *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*. Moreover, between 1890 and 1894, the Italian archæologist Enrico Bianchetti carried out his numerous and important excavations at St. Bernardo and In Persona, both near Ornavasso at the southern end of the Valle d'Ossola, and wrote his account of the finds, which was published after his death by his friend Professor Ermanno Ferrero at Turin in 1895, with the title *I Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, under the auspices of the *Società di Archeologia e Belle*

[1] On p. 8 of the *C. Inscr. of Gaul* we have the epitaph Μιτιεσι · Μιτις · Μαγουτι · Ονvακουι which I am now inclined to render 'To Mitiesis, Mitis offspring of Magutios and Onna (erected it)'. In any case I treat κουι as *cui*, an equivalent of Latin -*que* 'and'.

Arti per la Provincia di Torino. In the year 1895–6 the Italian savant, Dr. Elia Lattes, discussed the Ornavasso inscriptions in vol. XXXI, pp. 102–8; and some ten years later he contributed an article 'Di un' Iscrizione anteromana trovata a Carcegna sul Lago d'Orta' to the *Atti della R. Accademia di Scienze di Torino*, XXXIX. (1904) p. 449 & seq. These scholars held the view that the names ending in *-ui* and *-ai* were genitives, and this supposition was accepted by Prof. Paul Kretschmer, in an important paper contributed by him under the title, 'Die Inschriften von Ornavasso und die ligurische Sprache', to Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXXVIII, for the year 1905. He came to the logical conclusion that as the genitive singular of the *o* declension hitherto known in Old Celtic, ended in *i* as in Latin, a genitive in *ui* must imply a non-Celtic language, which seemed to him to have been Ligurian. He discusses Ligurian and the people who spoke Ligurian, he examines d'Arbois de Jubainville's theory and confirms it: he makes valuable suggestions of his own. Lastly, Prof. Gustav Herbig in the Zurich *Anzeiger fur schweizerische Altertumskunde*, 1905–6, p. 187 & seq., made advances in the study of the question, but he adhered with certain reservations to Pauli's point of view. He returned to the subject in the *Indog. Forschungen*, XXVIII (1911), *Beiblatt*, pp. 23–6.

Then came Professor Herman Hirt, who in his *Indogermanen* (Strassburg, 1905, 1907) insisted on the inadmissible nature of the genitive theory, and gave the whole question its proper perspective by explaining the disputed forms as datives (II. 564), at the same time that he unavoidably made the language Celtic: compare his general views as to the Ligurians, whom he regards as non-Indo-European (I. 43–9). Next may be mentioned Thurneysen's notes in his *Handbuch*, I. 174, 180: they betray no objection to the notion of datives in *-ui* (derived from *-ōi*) and in *-āi*, of which the author gives as instance the Irish *mnái* 'to a woman'. His difficulty was the evidence for the reading of *-ui* and *-ai* in the inscriptions then known to him as Celtic. This is now removed by such undoubted forms as Ειυουι, Βαλανδουι, and Μακκαριουι, cited above. Lastly, we have Danielsson's paper already mentioned, on the Venetic and Lepontic Inscriptions,[1] to which I owe most of my bibliographical information. He opens his review of the state of the question by calling attention to certain dative instances in Venetic, such as *ontei*, *appioi*, *sselboi*, and others, previously discussed in his pages (8–11, 14). He suggests some corrections (pp. 18, 19) required in Herbig's account of the inscription

[1] It was printed at Upsala in 1909, and is sold there for the Academy, by C. J. Lindström, and at Leipsic by Otto Harrassowitz.

of Carcegna on Lago d'Orta. This will be mentioned presently, together with some of the details noticed by Danielsson in the course of observations intended to distinguish from one another the datives and genitives of the masculine singular, and to demonstrate the language in point to have been Celtic.

2. Viganello, about half a mile to the north of Lugano. My daughter and I spent the 17th of April crossing from Stresa to Lugano, by steamer across Lake Maggiore, then by train to the Lake of Lugano, which we crossed on board another steamer and landed in the lower town of Lugano. We had arranged to stay at the Hotel S. Gothard Terminus, which is on the hill-side near the railway station. That was a mistake it would have been more convenient to have had quarters at one of the hotels down near the lake. But we could see the town below us; and among other places outside the campanile of Viganello was pointed out to us, and next day I went there most of the way by electric tram. I did not feel sanguine as to finding the inscription I wanted to see, as my letters of inquiry to the parish priest, Father Pometta, had elicited the fact that the little oratory of S. Siro, where it should be, had been allowed to fall into ruins. I had no information where the little oratory might be, but a narrow pebbly lane leading uphill towards the campanile guided me to a doorless, roofless little building on the left. In spite of the ordure about the entrance there was no mistaking the fact that the little building had been a place of worship, as witnessed by the frescoes of forlorn saints, holy water places run dry, and the remains of the altar. I began looking for the inscription, but there was no stone of any size visible there except where the altar had been, or where the threshold still lay fixed. I went away to call on Father Pometta, who returned with me to renew the search; but it all proved in vain. He had not long been in the parish and did not know the oratory before the roof had fallen in. We left the place in disappointment, fearing that the inscription had been lost. The only chance of its being there was that it was covered by the rubbish which made it impossible to get at the floor. I have since written to the Cav. Giussani, who is certain that he can find the stone as he knows where to look for it beneath the rubbish. He has promised to make the search when the snow is gone, and it is to be hoped that the stone, when found again, will be removed to the Cantonal Museum at Lugano.

According to Pauli, no. 12, the inscription reads from right to left:

OꓘΛᛘ:IƎ˩ΛᛘV≶

That is *Ṣụnalei Makọ*, for he points the *s*, *u*, and *o* as of doubtful reading: in fact, of the *O* only a bit remains. Those who published the inscription before him had copied it as *sunvlei · mak*; but he was very decided in reading *-alei* for what they made into *-vlei*, and he remarks that Fabretti's drawing of a squeeze by Dr. Balestra showed the first half of the *O* at the end. Giussani in his Tesserete paper[1] agrees with Pauli, remarking only that the writing is now doubtful, and giving the *l* on the strength of the reading of Pauli and other readers of the inscription before his day. Giussani (p. 22) gives the dimensions of the stone as 1·05 metre by 0·32 and the height of the letters as 15 centimetres.

The reading which I am inclined to suggest of the inscription in its original state is *Sunalei Makoni Pala* 'a burial place for Sunalis (son) of Maconios'. I cannot follow Holder in treating *Sunalei* as if it were *Sunalai*: I take it to be the dative of *Sunali-s*, the name of the man or woman commemorated, rather than that of his or her family. He quotes a number of apparently kindred forms, *Sunici* or *Sunuci*, a name of neighbours of the Ubii, *Sunicius*, *Sunilena*, fem., *Sunna*, mas., *Sunnacius*, *Sunnarius*, *Sunnovira*, fem., *Sunua*, fem., *Sunutius*, *Sunutia*, together with others beginning with *son-*. The nearest in point of formation here seems to be *Sunil-ēnā*, suggestive of a masculine *Sunil-ēno-s*: compare such Irish names as *Baith-ēn-e*, *Dorbb-ēn-e*, *Ern-ēn-e* (Latinized as *Ferreolus* in Reeves's Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, p. 237) and without the final *e* (= *i̯os*) *Brēnd-ēn*,[2] one of the various forms of St. Bréndán's name. Irish also throws light on the probable etymon of the names beginning with *sun-*, which we have in Stokes's article on *sunno-* 'shining, bright'; this he gives on the strength of Irish *for-sunnud* 'enlightenment, illumination' and of kindred words in that language: see Fick II. 306. For the other name I have suggested a genitive *Maconi* with the word for son or daughter omitted as usual. Holder cites a Latin inscription with the words

[1] The paper was published in 1902 in the *Rivista archeologica della Provincia e antica Diocesi di Como*, under the title 'L'Iscrizione Nord-Etrusca di Tesserete e le altre Iscrizioni Pre-Romane del nostro Territorio'. At the time of my visit I had unfortunately not seen this article.

[2] Occasionally we have the diminutive suffix *-ēn* represented in Welsh, namely, by *-wyn*, as in *iyrchwyn* 'a little *iwrch* or roebuck', *morwyn* 'a maid, a girl', with the plural *morynion* from a slightly different stem, and *guiannuin*, Med. Welsh *gwaeannbyn* (Skene's *Four anc. Books of Wales*, II. 308), Mod. Welsh *gwannwyn*, and *gwinnuyn*, mas., Cornish *guaintoin* 'the spring of the year', postulating a Protoceltic form *vesant-ēno-s*: compare Latin *vēr* (=*vēsr*) and Sanskrit *vasantá* 'spring'. In point of derivation the French *soleil* supplies a parallel as it presupposes a Latin *soliculus*: compare also such German words as *Hornung* and *Frühling*.

'Tertia Dometia Maconi filia': it comes from Valperga, north-east of Turin, near the river Orgo, which falls into the Po at Chivasso. Here *Maconi* is possibly the genitive of *Maconius*; at any rate both *Maconius* and *Maconia* occur elsewhere, and Holder cites also *Macconus*. The only alternative to *Maconi* of either origin, which I can suggest, is an adjective in the dative *Maconālui* or *Maconālai* according as *Sunalei* was a man's or a woman's name. The other conjecture seems preferable.

3. Tesserete in the Valle Capriasca, to the north of Lugano. A slab of stone, now in the Lugano Museum, was discovered at Tesserete in the year 1900, with writing on both sides of it consisting of three inscriptions. Two of them, on what I may call the first face, commemorate persons who would seem to have been a man and his wife. The remaining one on the second face was a man's. The dimensions given by Giussani in his Tesserete paper are 1 metre by 0·70 by 0·13, and the height of the letters he estimates as 15 centimetres. They are enclosed between two parallel lines in each case. The lines forming the boundaries of the letters of the woman's epitaph meet at the top to form a rude sort of head and face, with the left eye indicated by a point: the right one I could not trace. Where the husband's head should be, the stone is broken off; see Giussani's sketches of these inscriptions.

(1) The feminine inscription reads from right to left:—

⁝ΑᒧΑ⅂⁝ΙΑΑ

That is *Aai pala*, which means 'For Aa a burial place'. The letters of this line slope, and some of them have gentle curves instead of what should otherwise have been vertical straight lines. *Aa* seems a somewhat peculiar name, but possibly a soft consonant has been elided, such as a spirant *g*, between the vowels, and the name represents some such form as *Agā* from a stem nearly related to that of Irish *ág*, genitive *ága* 'conflict, battle': the women of the ancient Irish took a regular part in war. The wife is here given no family name, which is the case also with the two men commemorated.

(2) The husband's epitaph runs parallel with the wife's, and reads:—

Λᒧꟼꟼꟼ∶ΙVΙΧο

The verticals of these letters are lines which do not palpably slope: they can hardly have been cut by the same hand as the wife's epitaph. Giussani gives the punctuation as three points, but I failed to detect the middle one. The reading makes *Otiui Pala*—'For

Otios a burial place'. Whether we should treat the name involved as having initial ŏ or ō is uncertain, but the latter would lend itself to the comparison of *Otios* with the Irish *uath* 'fear, horror'. In that case *Otios* would be an adjectival formation derived from *ōto-*, and might be explained as 'formidable, inspiring fear', as in the Irish *Uathach* 'fearful, to be dreaded', and *Uathmór* 'greatly to be feared'. The stem *ōto-* here assumed would probably admit of being identified with the *otu* of the genitive of *Otu-aneunus* in the Latin inscription on the triumphal arch at Saintes in Western Gaul, for which see the Berlin Corpus, vol. XIII. 1036; also probably with the *uto* of the *Utonoiu* of the Andergia stone, which is to be discussed later.

(3) The inscription on the other face of the stone is partly defective at both the beginning and the end. As it stands it begins with an ᗡ with its perpendicular nearly all gone, and except its first limb the last letter of *pala* is now scarcely traceable. The last joint of the M is also a little damaged; nevertheless the whole reads without any serious doubt from right to left like the other two lines :—

ΑᒧΑ1⁝IVᴍOꓘᗡ

That is in Roman letters . . . *rkomui pala*, where, be it noticed, a letter or two are gone at the beginning: it probably wants a vowel. On trying to complete the name we arrive at the conclusion that a vowel only will not avail. But taking *Komui* alone we see that we have here the dative of *Como-s*, *Comus*, *Comux* (fem. *Coma*), from which is derived the name which comes down in the manuscripts of Caesar's Commentaries as *Commius*, while *Tincommius* was the name of one of his sons, on British coins *Commios* and *Tincommios*, probably contracted from *Tinco-commios* (*C. Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 27), also *Comiacus*, the existence of which is proved by such place-names as *Comiac* and *Congé* or *Congy*: see Holder's details. A variety of Irish derivative names of this stock occur in the Book of Leinster pedigrees, such as *Comman*, *Cummin*, *Commine*, *Cummene*; and we seem to have the etymon in the form Stokes gives as *kombo-* whence he derives Irish *comm* (*coimm*) 'clothing, shelter'. In that case *Commios* may have meant one who affords shelter, a protector or guardian, and *Tincommios* 'protector of the thing or court'. Stokes connects his *kombo-* with the Greek κόμβος 'a roll, band or girth': compare the Hesychian κόμβωμα 'that which is girded, a robe'. This would suggest another interpretation of the name *Commios*, to wit, that of 'one who is arrayed in fine raiment'. But neither interpretation may have been the true one: we can only form a conjecture. Now if we have a dative in *Komui* or any complete name, we cannot

well be mistaken as to the preceding *r*: it is the remains of the prefix *ver* as in *Ver-cassivellaunos*, *Ver-cingetorix* and the like. In the present case the whole name was probably *Ver-comui*, the dative of *Ver-comos*, better *Ver-commos*.

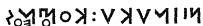
4. Maroggia is a little place on the south-eastern shore of the Lake of Lugano, at the foot of Monte Generoso. There, in a heap of stones thrown away on the brink of the water, was found in 1904 a piece of sandstone bearing an ancient inscription enclosed by grooves forming a roughly drawn oblong boundary, which the extremes of the lettering touch at top and bottom. The stone measures 0^{m} 70 by 0^{m} 47 by 0^{m} 14, and, thanks to Giussani, it is now in the Cantonal Museum at Lugano, where I saw it last April.

I take these details from his account of the stone which he published, with a photograph, in 1907 in the Como *Rivista*. He suggests two readings OQ1IA, that is *Aipro*, and OQƎIA, that is *Aiero*. He gives the preference to the former, and compares it with the *aipra-upz* of an inscription on an Etruscan urn in the Bucelli Museum at Montepulciano. On the other hand I feel forced to prefer the reading *Aiero*, either for an older nominative *Aiero-s* or an older dative *Aieroi*. Assuming this reading to be correct, the composition of the name may possibly have been *aies-ro-s* with the Celtic affix *-ro-* of which Holder has collected instances. The name would mean 'of the nature of metal, like metal'; that is to say, like the chief metal in use when the name was formed, whether bronze or iron; for when *aies-* did not mean metal or ore generally, it is not certain which metal was meant by the Aryan word postulated. Thus the name *Ai̯ero-* and its etymon may be taken as a sort of parallel to the Latin adjective *aenus*, *ahenus* 'of copper or bronze, firm or invincible, hard and inexorable', and to its etymon *aes*, *aeris*. On *ai̯es-* see Brugmann's *Grundriss*, II^{2}. I. 519.

5. (1) S. Pietro di Stabbio, a village to the west of Mendrisio, which is south of the Lake of Lugano. There, in 1864, was found a stone reading from right to left in the direction away from the head, which is broad in the face and marked by two dots indicating the eyes. The lines enclosing the inscription and ending in the broad face are not straight grooves but punched outlines, apparently of a rather tight dress without any suggestion of arms or hands, while nearly opposite the perpendicular of the last 𐌌 there are short grooves pointing outwards on both sides, which may have been intended to indicate the points of the figure's feet. It is Pauli's no. 16, and it is given also in Giussani's *Tesserete*, p. 18, where the dimensions are mentioned as 1^{m} 50 by 0^{m} 50. I saw it in the museum at Chur,

and Dr. Jecklin's photograph numbered I, 5 (1) Stabbio, should be consulted, let me say, for more reasons than one, as the following remarks will serve to show.

The reading seems to be:—

ƧO∃ИOMOK:VKVИIM

That is *Minuku Komoneos.* Here we have the O made small and also the ∃, for the O∃ are placed beneath the arm of the И preceding them; similarly, the second O is placed beneath the outstretching parts of the M. This last means *m*, and is perhaps derived from the old M (=*m*) of five joints, while the first *m* in the same line is so crude that I cannot analyse it with certainty; but I have no doubt that the two were meant for *m*. Traces of the same sort of *m* occur also in one of the Giubiasco graffiti, which will come under notice later. Lastly, the photograph will be found to establish the presence of a small ∃ (= *e*) underneath the branch of the last И (= *n*). This is left out in Pauli's reading, which accordingly has led everybody to think this patronymic a different word from the first of the vocables in the next epitaph, which comes from the same place.

As to the name *Minuku*, it happens that a remarkable monument found at Turin mentions a person called T. Minuconius Alexander (*C. I. L.*, V. 6953), where *Minuconius* analyses itself into *Minu-conius*, which may have meant Minuconian in the probable sense of 'son of *Minucu*', that is *Minu-cū*. For we have here *cū*, with the oblique-case stem *cŏn-* yielding in the genitive, for instance, **con-os*, in Irish Ogam *conas* or *cunas*, as in *Glasiconas* from Gortatlea and Ballintaggart, and *Gamicunas* from Lugnagappul, all in Kerry, and *Maglicunas* from the bilingual at Nevern, in Pembrokeshire. For other names beginning with *min-* see Holder, who has, besides *Minuconius*, inscriptions reading *Minui. M(anu)*, *Minui O(fficina)* and *O(fficina) Minui*, as well as the derivative names *Minutus* and *Minuta*, which may be Celtic and not Latin, for they occur in Britain, Spain, Gaul, and the Rhine region. The remarkable inscription *Dieupala Minui* has already been alluded to as to be discussed later. Now the least common factor of these names appears to be *minu̯-* which seems to have meant in Irish 'little or small'; the spelling is given by Stokes as *menb*, pronounced *menv*, in Modern Irish *meanbh* 'small', and *meanbhacha* 'small particles, *smithereens*'. In the Welsh story of 'Kulhwch and Olwen' the equivalent is *Menw*, the name of a magician who shifts his shape into that of a bird (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 135). Further afield we have an equivalent in Oscan *menvum* '*minuere*', and in that Latin word itself. Thus *Minu-ku*, genitive **minu-con-os*, would

literally mean 'little hound, little dog', in the sense of 'little guardian', with *cū* meaning, as it usually does in Celtic personal names, protector or champion.

The other word *Komoneos*, derived from a form *Commono-s* (or *Common-* of the *n* declension), is related to the *Comos*, better *Commos*, already mentioned as the form from which *Commios* has been derived, and like the latter it is probably to be regarded as an adjective with the termination *-eo-s*, of which an instance Ουιλλονεος, from Gaul, was given on p. 29 above. Treated in the same way we should have to interpret *Komoneos* as meaning 'son of *Kommonos* (or of *Kommon-*)'. The Irish names, to which those beginning here with *comm-* correspond, have been mentioned on p. 37 above.

5. (2) S. Pietro di Stabbio. In 1875 a peasant digging a place for vines found an inscribed stone measuring a metre by $0^{m}40$ and a thickness averaging $0^{m}10$, together with some urns and fibulae, which, as well as the stone, are preserved in the Archæological Museum in the Castello Sforzesco at Milan. The stone forms Pauli's no. 17, and is to be seen attached to the wall of a ground-floor room in the Rocchetta. It is a rough slab supposed to have been placed over a sarcophagus, and it reads from right to left, thus:—

ᛋOƎꟽOꟽOꓘ
ᛋOƎꓶIᛋᗡΛV

That is *Komoneos Varsileos*: I could detect no straight lines enclosing the two rows of letters. The latter are complete except the last Ǝ, which is damaged and disjointed at the top; the only other possible reading would be *Varsilaos*, which leaves the interpretation open to doubt; but the inscription probably means 'Com(m)onean Varsilean', that is, 'belonging or relating to Com(m)onos who belongs to Varsilos', or 'Son of Com(m)onos son of Varsilos', or else 'Son of Com(m)onos and of Varsila'. I am inclined to the last view, that the unnamed person interred was son of parents named Com(m)onos and Varsila. The reason for his not being named was, I take it, his being an infant that had not lived long enough to receive a name of its own.

Komoneos has been already discussed, but the other name *Varsileos* implies *Varsilos* or *Varsila*, which, however, are not given by Holder: only the derivatives *Varsilios*, *Varsilia*, appear, with the simpler feminine which he quotes as a Latin dative *Varsae*, implying a nominative *Varsa*. The origin of that name, if Celtic, is vaguely indicated by the Irish *farr* 'a pillar or column' from an early *varsos*, Welsh *gwarr*, now written *gwâr*, 'the uppermost part of anything, the top of the back, the nape of the neck': see Stokes (Fick,

II. 275), s. v. *varsos-*. Holder states that Pauli saw in *Varsa* a Venetic name, and the former alludes to an Etruscan *Varsilius*. Though the language of the inscription is undoubtedly Celtic, I should not feel surprised if the names *Varsa*, *Varsilius* and kindred forms should prove to be not of Celtic origin.

5. (3) S. Pietro di Stabbio. Here, according to Giussani (loc. cit., p. 17), was found in 1857 a rough stone reading, from left to right in the Etruscan alphabet, the following two lines :—

ᚨᛚKOVIᛗOᛋ
ᚨIXFKOᛗEXI

The S of the first line is inverted and the second line offers a difficulty: through the middle of the first six letters a sort of groove runs which was probably the result of an accident. The A, I, T are all plain; then comes what looks like an F joined at the top to the K, but the two bars are horizontal, with the upper one ending at the top end of the vertical part of the K and the other at the middle of it. This lower bar, however, might be only a portion of the groove to which I have already referred as produced through the KO. We should then have as the writing, ΓK with the Γ joining the top end of the perpendicular of the K, but a Greek Γ has no business here, and I fall back on F = ᚨ, that is A, though Pauli (no. 15) does not give the bars of the ᚨ but merely I: in other words, my reading would be AIXAKONEXI while his was AIXIKONEXI. He goes further, and in his mind he squeezes the I, X, I into contact one with another, with the result of producing one of the forms of the sibilant which he transcribes *ś*. This he did because he fancied that *Aitikoneti* sounded very improbable, 'eine Form *aitikoneti* hat einen sehr unwahrscheinlichen Klang,' a most unsatisfactory reason. I see no excuse for reading anything but *Aitakoneti* or else *Aitikoneti*, which is, perhaps, somewhat less probable.

We now come to the syntax, which is at once seen to differ from that of most of the previous inscriptions, as we have here a nominative followed by a genitive, and we render it into Latin as *Alcouinus Aetaconeti* (*filius*), that is 'Alcovinos son of Aitaconetos': compare *Martialis Dannotali* 'Martial son of Dannotalos', or *Doiros Segomari* 'Doiros son of Segomaros' (*C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 4, 10). The names before us are difficult to explain, though they may both be compounds, *Alko-u̯inos* and *Aita-coneti*, the genitive of *Aita-conetos*. In these inscriptions consonants are not doubled, so we might expect to find the name *Aita-coneti* written elsewhere *Aita-conneti*: compare *Con-conneto-dubnus* or *Con-conneto-dumnus*, and see the *Revue Celtique*, IX. 82. The other element in *Aita-con(n)etos* occurs incomplete as

Ait . . . on an urn at Cambridge, and as *Aeta* of both genders elsewhere (*C. I. L.*, VII. 1336. 1249, III. 5029, 6513). It is possible that in *Aita* we have a word of the same origin as Med. Irish *aite*, Mod. Ir. *oide* 'fosterer, tutor'. This, should it prove tenable, would suggest another interpretation of the epitaph, with *aita* treated as an apposition nominative, thus—Alkouinos foster father or tutor of Con(n)etos.

The other name *Alko-vinos* has *n* representing *nn* for *nd*; for it occurs as *Alco-vindos* at Rodez in the dep. of Aveyron: see Holder, I. 89. This difference of spelling indicates a possible difference of pronunciation between the Celtic of the Aveyron and that of the Ticino and North Italy. *Vinos* = *Vindos* meant 'white', but the meaning of *Alko* is uncertain. Possibly it is of the same origin as the Welsh word *alch* 'a grating' and the compound *ast-alch* (plural *est-ylch*), which is probably a hybrid beginning with the Latin *hasta* 'a spear', and means 'a shield or buckler', literally 'a spear-shield, a shield to ward off missiles'. The whole name would accordingly mean a man 'who is white as to his shield, one who carries a white shield'. The whiteness of the shield is referred to in Irish stories such as 'Fled Bricrenn': see Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 259, where one reads of the three rival heroes of Ulster goaded to fury against one another, seizing their weapons, with the result that one part of the royal hall assumed the appearance of the quick movements of a flock of pure white birds, which was due to the lime or chalk of the shields—*combo énlaith glegel alleth n-aile* [dind rigthig] *di cailc na scíath* 'so that the other half [of the king's hall] was (that is "resembled") a bright white flock of birds'.

6. Sorengo, to the south of the Lake of Lugano, is a place where the stone which is Pauli's no. 14 was found many years ago. But when I came to inquire after it I found that the parish priest knew nothing about it, and on further search I was distressed to learn that it had been destroyed after having been removed by an engineer to a place near Tesserete, called Sonvico. This I learnt from Father Santo Monte who is in charge of the Civic Museum at Como, and one of the archæologists best informed as to the ancient inscriptions of the whole district. Pauli represents the stone as reading from right to left and upwards towards the bust, which has the eyes represented by two points. The lettering was bounded by two parallel lines which duly joined the head and face: it runs thus—

ΛᒧΛᒧ:IVᒧΛIꓘƎX:IƎMOVI1

That is *Piuonei Tekialui lala*, but *lala* is probably a slip made by the

inscriber and to be corrected into *pala*, the word we have had so often before. *Piuonei* is a name from *biṷ* 'quick, living, life', whence *Biuotialui*: see p. 30 above.

Accordingly this is to be pronounced *Biuonei*, presumably the dative of *Biuonis* of either gender, which can be identified with Irish *Beoin* given as the name of a virgin in the 'Martyrology of Gorman' and in the 'Martyrology of Donegal', both on February 1.

The *tek* of the other name is difficult to fix in point of pronunciation as the possibilities may be represented thus $\frac{t}{d}\,e\,\frac{c}{g}$: on the whole I am inclined to select *dec.* The word would then be *Deciālui*, dative masculine of *Deciālos*, formed from a Celtic name *Decios* or perhaps the Latin *Decius.* In either case *Deciālos* would mean Decian, that is to say 'son of Decios', or 'belonging to a Decian family'. So the inscription may be rendered 'a burial place for Biuonis son of Decios'. *Decios* seems to appear in Irish as *Decce* (Bk. of Leinster, 325[a]), genitive *Decci*, *Décci* 324[g], 325[g], *Decce* 325[a], 351[b], *Déice* 336[g], *Deicce* 350[f]), but *Deche* is more exactly what one wants, and it occurs as a genitive (ib. 351[a]). However, the doubling of the consonant may be due to the tendency to give the stems of hypocoristic forms of personal names a staccato pronunciation.

7. Aranno, a village in the hills to the west of Lugano and looking in the direction of Neggio. According to the owner of the livery stables from whom I hired, it was about 15 kilometres from Lugano; up hill and down dale, I found it a very pleasant excursion. At Aranno in 1842 there was found, according to Giussani's *Tesserete*, p. 15, a stone which covered a sepulchre devoid of bones or any furniture. It was broken by the workmen in the course of the excavations, and only four fragments of it were recovered, making, as he thinks, altogether about a square metre in area. This find is Pauli's no. 13, and the fragments, which I shall take in his order, were built into the wall of a house in the village, where one reads them with anything but comfort; they ought to be taken out of the wall and placed in a museum where one could judge whether any of the pieces fit one another.

They all read from right to left, as follows:—

(*a*)... A⅃I⁝MO⅃..., that is ... *ḷọṃ ila* ... The only certain letters are *ila* preceded by three points of which the topmost is rendered uncertain by the breakage. The top of the first ⅃ is broken off; the O is a sort of patch and not a clear circle; the M may not be an M at all but NI or even the character transcribed *ś*. Pauli gives the fragment as *ạṣọni*: *ila* with *aso* dotted underneath as doubtful. How he

guessed his first *A* I was not able to understand, but for the sort of twisted perpendicular to which ≷ (=*S*) is sometimes reduced in these inscriptions there is room before the O, though I could not find it there. The presumption, however, from Pauli's statement is that the *S* is there, as against my negative. The reading in that case would be ... *lsom*: *ila* ... These letters were probably bounded by two straight lines: the one underneath is there still.

(*b*) .... |A .... The I is followed by a part of the perpendicular of a letter which I cannot identify: it may possibly be the three points which would be required for the reading, *AI*: as the end of a name in the dative feminine, probably followed by *pala*: Pauli read *aiṇ*. The lettering was bounded by two straight lines.

(*c*) ... AMOIXAM ... that is, ... *mationa* ... These letters are all certain. The *M* is of what is considered the most ancient form, with its limbs consisting of five straight lines, and the A is somewhat peculiar in having its first limb gently curved inwards. The boundary parallels are present here also.

(*d*) This is a block with portions of three lines of reading as follows:—

1:IVIMA ...
1:I3MOI> ...
:IXIMA= ...

That is ... aniui p
... kionei p
... aamiti

The first A of the first line has its first limb gone, and it seems to have been an A without the middle tag: so with the second symbol in the third line: this form of A in Latin inscriptions is well known, but Pauli makes it an imperfect A and in the third he gives no A of any kind, his reading being ||*ion*||. The first letter of the second line is imperfect as the commencement of it is gone: I am not sure whether it should be read ꓘ or X; the angles seem to indicate ꓘ. The =, which is all that is left of the first letter of the third line, can hardly have belonged to any other than ꟻ or Ǝ, though one would have expected the arms to droop. The letters *aamit* are only guesses, and utterly different from Pauli's reading.

Now .. *aniui* was the dative of some such name as *Slanios*, and ... *kionei*, the dative of some such form as *Bucionis* or *Buccio* (of the *n* declension), may have been applied to a woman. We may suppose that we have here the epitaphs of husband and wife, which is favoured by the fact that the *p* of the one line, standing nearly

opposite that of the other and representing *pala*, formed the end of the line, and that the parallel grooves joined to form the outlines of two faces. The right reading of the third line has not yet been discovered, but I suggest a genitive *Aamiti*· see Holder's *Amitius*.

Were the M of only four joints to prove correct, it would prove improbable that *Mationa* . . with an older form of *M* could have been on the same stone. In other words, we should have to regard these fragments as belonging to at least two stones. Several of these points could be investigated more thoroughly if the stones were to be placed together in a public museum, which is much to be desired.

II

1. Still in the Ticino, the canton which has Bellinzona as its capital, we come to a place, in the ancient *Vallis Diubiasca*,[1] now named *Giubiasco*, about 2½ miles from Bellinzona, in the direction of Locarno at the head of Lago Maggiore. Here great finds were made in the years 1900 and 1901. The urns and other sepulchral furniture unearthed there have been divided between the Cantonal Museum at Lugano and the Swiss 'Landesmuseum' at Zurich. The latter seems to have all the inscribed vessels found at Giubiasco. I visited the Zurich Museum at the beginning of April, and found Dr. Viollier at the head of the Prehistoric and Roman Section; he gave me every facility for examining the inscriptions. These have been published by Prof. Herbig in the *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde* (Zurich) for the year 1905–6, beginning at p. 187. He calls them '"Keltoligurische" Inschriften aus Giubiasco'. At least three of them are scribbles which I cannot read, and two of them seem to be in Latin, of which more anon. The others are the following :—

(1) Reading from right to left we have V1ƎXΛ, that is *Atepu*, on a black varnished bowl, marked 15974 in the museum, measuring 0m 06 in height by 0m 16 as its greatest diameter. The writing has been scratched just above the foot of the vessel.

This name I take to be a nominative of the *n* declension, and I should compare it with *Frontu* borrowed from Latin where it was *Fronto*, and with *Elvontiu* and *Nappi-setu*. Compare *Seton-ius*, with a Latin ending, and see my *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 46, 54, 59. All that need be said of *Atepu* is that it was a hypocoristic

[1] See d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II². 68, where he gives 'Vallis Diubiasca infra fines Langobardorum' as mentioned in the year 739 in the testament of Abbon in favour of the Abbey of Novalèse.

or shortened form of some such names as the Gaulish *Atepo-maros* and *Atepo-rix.*

(2) Also reading from right to left, on a small urn no. 15747, we have ϟ◇⅃ƎꟼVᗡ, that is *Rupelos*, with the tops of the letters looking towards the top of the vase. The vessel is 0^{m} 11 high by 0^{m} 13 as its greatest diameter. The perpendicular of the *r* is produced a little below the semicircle of the letter, which makes it look somewhat like a flabby *q*. There is one peculiar letter here, to wit, the last but one, which I have given as ◇, crudely formed, but Herbig has read it O, which is what one would expect.

In this North Etruscan alphabet, owing to the habit of not doubling consonants or of distinguishing between voiced and voiceless mutes, we are left at liberty to suggest *Rubellos* as the real name, which I do on consideration of the data for comparison supplied by Holder. He gives first *Rubel(l)inus*, which he cites from Néris and Jublains in France: see *C. I. L.*, XIII. 10006. 74, 166, where it is represented as part of a stamp impressed on basins, apparently giving the maker's name. There is a second name in point, namely, *Rubelliasca*, where he detaches *asca* and infers a man's name *Rubellius*, but treats the whole *Rubelliasca* as the antecedent of the modern place-name *Roviasca*; this latter, however, may come from a shorter personal name, *Rubio-s*, said to occur on bronze coins of the Atrebates. That is, the place may have been called *Rubelliasca* and *Rubiasca* indifferently, implying the equivalence, roughly speaking, of *Rubellios* and *Rubios*. Of the *l* forms two at least are mentioned in guide-books as local names not far from Lugano, to the east *Ruvigliana* and somewhere to the north *Rovello*, in point of form the precise equivalent of our *Rupelo-s*. The forms without *l* also make a remarkable group, containing, beside *Rubios* recalling the place-name *Rovio*, south of Lugano, the two gods' names *Rupac-asco* (the hyphen is Holder's) and *Robeo*, in an inscription which he cites from Demonte in Piedmont—*L. Crispius Augustinus duumvir diis Rubacasco et Robeoni votum s. l. l. m.* Holder also enumerates such modern names as *Rouvenac* (Aube), *Rubigny* (Ardennes), *Ruvigny* (Aube), and *Rubignacco* (in the dialect of Frejus), all converging on *Rubiniacum*, derived from a man's name *Rubinios.* Prof. Herbig compares other kindred forms. The origin of these names is obscure, but they may be kindred with the Latin word *robus*, *robur* 'the heart or core of a tree, especially the oak, hardness, firmness, force'. Holder calls attention to *Rubacascos* and *Rubelliasca* as having a Ligurian element *asco-s* and *asca* appended. The addition, be it noticed, is to ready-made Celtic names, *Rubăco-s* and *Rubellio-s.*

(3) On an earthenware vessel, numbered 14909, and measuring in height 0^{m} 11 by 0^{m} 19 as its largest diameter, we have, reading from right to left:—

IƎИ◇⅃IXA

That is *Atilonei.* The N is disjointed at the top, and there is a crack near the *l*, but no letter is gone.

The name is a dative, but to which of two stems it belongs is not certain, *Atiloni-s* of the *i* declension or *Atilo* of the *n* declension. Holder[1] pronounces for the latter, for he has an instance of this kind of dative, to wit, a Latin *Atiloni* in an inscription from Novara: see *C. I. L.*, V, 6533, which reads as restored by the editor:—

C · ATILONI · CALLIMO[rpho]
QVI · VIXIT · ANNIS · XIIII

Novara is in a district where the Etruscan alphabet and spelling were familiar, so I treat *Atilonei* as entitled to *nn* in spite of the Latin inscription, where one would have expected *Atilonni* with *nn* or *nd*, for which *nn* sometimes stands. This is not a mere guess, as is proved by Latin inscriptions involving a name which is nearly related, to wit, *Atlondus*, genitive *Atlondi*, from *Atelondus*, genitive *Atelondi*: see *C. I. L.*, II. 76, 3082, 4980. We happen to have the genitive of this name in Ireland, to wit, in Ogam on a stone at Kilbonane in Kerry, and the spelling there is *Addelona* or *Addilona*—I was not certain which, but Prof. Stewart Macalister reads *Addilona.* In either case it has lost a final *s* that would complete it into *Addelon-as*, which in Continental Celtic would be found to end in *-os*: Irish inscriptions have *ă* for Protoceltic *ŏ*. Here we also have *n* for *nn* or *nd*, but the singling, though common enough, was not a rule of Ogmic spelling as in the North Etruscan orthography of Celtic names. The element *lond-* is explained by the Irish adjective *lond* 'wild, excited, fierce, strong', whence Mod. Irish *loinne*, fem., which Dineen explains as meaning 'joy, gladness, rapture; great excitement; rage; strength, force', Welsh *llonn*, *llòn* 'cheerful, *iocundus*, *laetus*'. The prefix *ate* or *ati* is in manuscript Irish *ath-*, *aith-*, Welsh *at-*, *ad-*, and has pretty much the meaning of *re-* in Latin. So the names here in question might be regarded as signifying 'wild of mood or temper, whether with joy or anger'.

[1] Holder under *Atilonei* (vol. III. 724), which he queries as Ligurian, refers the reader to a Latin nominative *Atilonius*, which I have not succeeded in finding in the columns of his great Treasury. Prof. Herbig (loc. cit., p. 204) suggests in connexion with *Atilonei* a nominative *Atilonius*, but I am inclined to think, that, on purely Celtic ground, it should be either *Atiloni-s* or else *Atilo* of the *n* declension.

(4) Another earthenware vessel (no. 13988), described as a 'vaso a trottola' 0^{m} 13 high by 0^{m} 19 at its greatest diameter, has on it letters reading from right to left which I copied as :—

ᛞƎѰIꓘΛꓷI1

That is *Pirakiuueś*, which I would resolve into *Piraki vveś* ; but there are several remarks to make on the lettering, which is altogether crude. In the first place the ꓘ is imperfect in the lower arm, but I took it to be *k*, to wit, somewhat resembling the one occurring on the Todi Stone, twice as |((*C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, p. 71), except that the two parts touch in the Giubiasco instance, while here the lower part of the curve is almost completely gone. Passing the next letter one comes to something like a 'broad arrow', Ѱ : I would regard it as a W or VV ligatured of which more forms than one occur in the Celtic inscriptions of the Continent (loc. cit., pp. 84, 95): and for VV (fully written), especially between vowels, compare a few mentioned in my *Celtæ and Galli*, pp. 63, 64. Up and down the pages of Holder more will be found. In any case there seems to be no reason to think that we have here a symbol for Greek χ. The last letter of the line is ᛞ, but it is carelessly formed with what should be its last bottom corner left wide open.

Having thus attempted to establish the reading *Pirakivveś* the question arises as to resolving it: to begin with, I seem to find here the genitive of *Biracos*, which Holder cites from a silver coin, and in the Etruscan spelling it is the genitive of *Pirakos* seen on another silver coin, to wit, one found near Burwein in Canton Graubünden. There the nominative reads from right to left. See Pauli, pp. 6, 91, where he treats it as pronounced *Biraco-s*, which had a Latin derivative *Biracius* : compare also *Biraco*, Latin genitive *Biraconis*, given by Holder together with other related forms: see *C. I. L.*, III. 5698, V. 4153, VIII. 5630. In Ireland it occurs in Ogam at Ballyknock in Co. Cork, in the doubtful genitive form of *Biraco*, for the *o* is not certain, and the complete reading may have been *Biraci* of the same declension as on the Continent. The dative Βιρακοτων occurs at Alise-Ste.-Reine, and is probably to be divided into Βιρα-κοτων with its first element to be equated with the stem of Irish *bir*, *bior*, Welsh *bēr* 'a spear, lance, pike, a spit', Latin *veru*. This is supported by the mediæval Irish form which was *Berach*, genitive *Beraich* or *Beraig*. So *Pirakos* = *Biracos*, *Berach* should mean 'armed with the spear'. See *C. Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 46, and Stokes's *Martyrology of Oengus*, pp. 74, 242.

After *Piraki* we seem to have *uueś*, but what does that mean? I should fancy it to be the beginning of a longer word, but what that

word may have been I cannot say. Possibly it may have been *ụesu-* 'good', which became in Irish *fíu* 'worth, equivalent in value', Welsh *gwiw* 'worthy, worth one's while'. In that case I should interpret the whole *Piraki uues*, to mean 'Biracos's property': compare the English 'So and so's *goods*'; and German 'Hab und *Gut*', meaning 'goods and chattels'.

(5) No. 15431 is a little earthenware vessel measuring 0^m 05 in height by 0^m 22 greatest diameter. It seems to read from right to left

ıl'ΛIᛗIXΛ

That is *Aximiai*, or else *Aximai*, followed at a distance by a letter which I could not make out. There is a groove drawn so clumsily above the letters that it goes through the corners of the last ones. With regard to my reading, I must say that I arrived at it only by leaving out of consideration a number of scratches, which I would treat as accidental. There is a difficulty about what I have come to regard as a Latin M instead of an ancient ᛗ. For, more exactly speaking, it looks as if the scribbler first made a very crude *m* like the *m* of *Minuku* or of *Komoneos* (p. 39 above), and then tried to alter it into an ordinary Latin M. Thus the reading would be *Aximai* (dative feminine of *Axima*) not *Aximiai*. Professor Herbig's reading is *ạṣiṃẹi*. The last letter I have read is ıl' with possibly two ornamental short strokes, such as are not unusual in inscriptions in the North Etruscan alphabet; this combination is not to be confused with Pauli's ı|ı = *h*, where the short lines are permanent. see his discussion of that point, loc. cit., pp. 49–51. The most remarkable character here, however, is X̄, or X with its two upper points joined by a straight line. The letter X had as its ordinary value in the North Etruscan alphabet that of T, so I venture to regard the horizontal line as meant to prevent our pronouncing it so in this instance, but as Latin X = *ks*. The line joining the two top arms of the X seems to be extemporized, for in an inscription at Ornavasso, to be mentioned later, the horizontal line is placed underneath to join the arms at the bottom, thus, X̲, as will be explained presently. This view is corroborated not a little by the fact that the name exists elsewhere: witness Holder's instance of *Aximus* the eponymous genius of Aime-en-Tarantaise in Savoy; also as the name of a man. The feminine would be *Axima*, which we seem to have here in the dative case. Needless to say *Axim-* seems to supply the basis of the French *Aime* itself. There are related forms quoted by Holder, such as *Axius* and *Axia*, *Axiounus*, *Axillius*, and others. They may all be related to the Greek word ἄξιος 'worth so much'; compare

μνᾶς ἄξιος = μνᾶν ἄγων 'having the weight of a mina': see Curtius's *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[4], p. 170: he regards ἄξιος as derived from the root *ag* as in Latin *agere*, *axis*. The same enters into various Celtic words, such as Irish *ad-aig* 'Lat. *agit*', in Welsh *a* (for *agit*) 'goes or will go' (see Stokes, Fick II, p. 6). But of more particular interest is the Irish genitive *Essemna* or *Essamna* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 338[a], 347[a] and Meyer's 'Rawlinson B. 502', fo. 137[b], 144[a]), implying a nominative either *Acsi̭omoni̭-s* of the *i* declension or *Acsiomon-i̭o-s* of the *io* declension. *Acsi̭omon-* compares with the Irish (Ogam) genitive *Segamon-as* (in Latin *Segomo*, dative *Segomoni*, discussed in *C. Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 73, 74); and *Ari̭o-mo* of the *n* declension making in Old Irish nom. *Airem*, genitive *Airemon* or *Eremon*, later genitive *Eremoin*. This late genitive has, roughly speaking a parallel in the Book of Leinster (350[e]) in the genitive *Essamain*, which comes still nearer to the late form *Segamain* for *Segamon*, Ogmic *Segamonas*. Thus *Essamain* points indirectly to an early form *Acsi̭omonas*, Continental *Axi̭omonos*.

(6) Some very crude scratches on the earthenware vessel no. 15229, measuring 0^{m} 05 high by 0^{m} 11 greatest diameter, seem to read from right to left ΛⲘⅠ◊Ⅺ, that is *Koiśa*. The *o* is shaped rather like a square with the right-hand lower line produced below its junction with that of the other side; also with a straight line bisecting the figure from the top angle to that at the bottom: in other words, it would be a sort of parallel to ⊙ for O—in any case it must have been meant for a vowel. The last letter but one may have been *ś* but possibly an *m*. Taking the former, the name would be *Koiśa*, which Holder cites from a silver coin of the Celts of Pannonia: so *Coisa* would seem to be masculine. It recalls the man's name written *Koisis*, on the Todi bilingual (*C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 70–4). Should the letter *m* prove the more probable we should have *Koima*, a woman's name of the same origin as the derived *Koimila* on one of the Levo stones to be mentioned later. Dr. Herbig's reading here is *Kϕiśa* or *Ko̩iśa*.

(7 A few scratches occur also on the vessel marked no. 15288, measuring in height 0^{m} 095 by 0^{m} 25 greatest diameter; the letters are inside the circle of its foot, and they may possibly be ꓘ◸Ѱ, that is *wak*, read towards the left, and looked at, as it were, from the centre of the circle. Dr. Herbig suggests *χak*, which implies his looking at the graffito from the same direction as I have suggested. I agree as to the strokes he has read, but I would interpret it rather as *uuak* or *wak*. What either *χak* or *wak* meant I cannot guess; but if the former proves tenable, I should regard it as a stray non-Celtic word

or abbreviation: I should be surprised to find any use for either χ or φ in Celtic in the neighbourhood of Bellinzona.

(8) On the bottom of a simple urn measuring 0m 09 in height and having the same as its greatest diameter we have what reads from left to right ΛVMΛ or from right to left *Amua.* There is no means, I fear, of deciding in which of the two directions the letters were meant to be read, for both A's are of the old form Λ, consisting of only two lines. The Λ standing by the V is somewhat peculiar in having its outer limb consisting of two pieces: where it approaches the other limb it ceases to be perceptible, but I seemed to detect a continuation of it on the other side as if it had been roughly X. The bottom of the V is somewhat damaged, the surface having been bruised a little by some accident. I can make nothing of either *Auma* or *Amua.* On turning to Dr. Herbig's account of this little inscription, I find that he takes no notice of what I regard as the production of the outer limb of the left-hand Λ, and that he thinks the lower and larger piece of that limb is the result of accident. Disregarding that, he is able to read (from right to left) IVMΛ, that is *Amui,* which, had it been possible, I should welcome, and regard as the dative case of *Amos,* meaning 'to or for Amos'. Further, I should treat it as the short spelling of *Ammos* for an earlier form of the *Ambos* which we have in *Cisiambos* on coins of the Lexovii, who left their name to Lisieux in the dep. of Calvados: see Holder, and compare the related forms cited by him, such as *Amba, Ambatus, Ambata, Am(m)ius, Am(m)ia,* and others. Lastly, the reading of this inscription as a dative *Amūi* would harmonize well enough with the fact that the Giubiasco grave from which it comes has been pronounced the most ancient of the group (Herbig, loc. cit., p. 190). But I suspect traces of Roman influence in the M and the two Λ's, and unfortunately I do not here feel able to accept Dr. Herbig's reading. Possibly the reading *Auma* is to be taken and equated with *Oma,* quoted by Holder from a Gaulish silver coin given by Muret & Chabouillet in their *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* 5936. Against this it must be admitted that Holder seems to treat *Oma* as only an abbreviation; but compare *Omise,* p. 81 below.

(9) Thus far all the inscriptions scratched on the vessels from Giubiasco read from right to left, including the last though doubtful; but there remain possibly two or three which read in the contrary direction. Of these the first to be mentioned is DEMV, that is *Remu,* which looks as if it stood for the older dative *Remui* 'for Remos': the plural was *Remi,* the name of the leading tribe of the Belgic Gauls, which is perpetuated by that of their town,

'Durocortorum Remorum', which we call Rheims, in the dep. of the Marne. Holder cites *Remus*, genitive *Remi*, also as an ordinary personal name found outside the territory of the Remi, for instance in the neighbourhood of Vicenza in North Italy, and that of Trent in the Tyrol: see also *Remus* in the Latin inscription found at Alise mentioned in the *C. Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 34.

(10) The next vessel is conically shaped and varnished black, with a low foot and a projecting rim. The height is 0m 095 and the greatest diameter is 0m 25: the form and dimensions are the same as of no. (7). The inscription is on the outside just above the foot; and, reading from left to right, I make it ᐅ I O ᒥ, that is *Riop.* I may add that a straight line slanting slightly upwards runs through the bottom of the I, the lower portion of the O, and beneath the short line of the ᒥ; it can hardly be accidental, but what the object of it may have been I cannot say, unless it was to cancel the writing.

The letters seem to give us only the first portion of a name to be pronounced *Riop.* or *Riob.* and analysed into *Rio-p.* or *Rio-b.* in which *rio* is a reduced form of *rīgo-* 'kingly, royal', as to which see Holder, s. v. *rīgŏ-*. Compare *Rio-be* cited by him as the ancient name of Châteaubleau, in the dep. of Seine-et-Marne, and the Irish name *Ríg-bard*, from *Rīgo-bardo-s* (*Irish Nennius*, genitive *Rigbaird*, p. 266), and *Ríg-bardan* for *Rīgo-bardano-s* (Bk. of Leinster, 329c, 336b), genitive *Rigbardain*, in Anglo-Irish *Riardan.*

(11) The scratches to be next mentioned are on a cup of a hemispherical form 0m 05 in height with the upper diameter of 0m 16. The letters are on the outside, and their tops almost touch the upper rim of the vessel. I guess them to be *uou* or an abbreviation of some longer name; but Dr. Herbig reads them *lou*, and he may be right. There is the initial difficulty in my case, that I cannot decide in which direction the scribble is to be read.

*** A small torque or bracelet of silver has cut on it the letters XDIV in which Herbig sees Roman numerals.

*** Here must be mentioned a fine bronze helmet from Giubiasco measuring 0m 24 in height, with interior diameters of 0m 21 and 0m 19, decidedly a brachycephalic case. The rim or seam forming the jointure of the two halves of the helmet begins in the middle of its back, and runs right over the top and ends in the middle of the forehead. The helmet is heavy, and I found on trying it on, that it came down completely over my nose and reached nearly to my chin.

Near the beginning of the seam to which I have referred, and cut into it, is an inscription which is in the Latin language, mostly in Latin letters but showing the influence of Etruscan writing in some of

the characters. I took them to be ||N◇I X◇FE, that is *Enoixo fe(cit)*. The use of Latin || for E is to be noticed, the FE have exactly the droop of the North Etruscan form of AE, and the two O's consist each of four straight lines, ◇, somewhat badly jointed and left open at the bottom, ◇. I took the second letter to be a disjointed N but Dr. Herbig reads it ΛI, that is *li*.

My reading would analyse itself into *En-oixo*, and with *Oixo* one may equate OISO in a fragmentary inscription from Auch in the dep. of Gers (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 478). Holder puts it down as Oiso... and regards it as a dative feminine, which he should not do without indicating how he finishes the word. Owing to the very imperfect state of the epitaph, it is impossible to prove that *Oiso* is not the whole name and an unlikely dative feminine. The prefixed *en* perhaps represents *endo-*, *enda-*, *enna-*, *-eni* or *-ini* 'in': compare such names cited by Holder as *Endo-vellicus*, *Ena-barri*, *Eni-boudius*, *ini-gena* 'a daughter', literally 'inborn'. I should rather have expected an I making the name into *Eni-oixo*. All this depends on reading N; but I am by no means certain that Dr. Herbig's reading, though he gives it with hesitation as *(E)ḷioịxo*, should not be preferred. In that case I should be inclined to associate the name with the ..*lioiso*.. of one of the potsherds given in Pauli's no. 18 (p. 61, below). They were found at Rondineto near Como, and are now in the Como Museum: I did not succeed in detecting in them anything very conspicuously Celtic as regards language. In any case .. *lioiso*.. should probably be completed at the beginning into *Elioiso*...; there is no difficulty as to *x* and *s*, since in Latin *x* may have stood for *ss*. There might, however, be some difficulty as to the lambda form of the *l* in ||ΛIOIXO should that prove the correct reading. Λ for *l* is regular in the Sondrio alphabet (Pauli, p. 56), but why should we have it at Giubiasco? This, however, leaves a previous question unanswered—the name was that of the maker, but where was his workshop?

2. Mesocco (or Misox) gives its name to the valley in which it lies, otherwise called the Val Mesolcina, and the river draining it is the Moësa which empties itself into the Ticino some miles above Bellinzona, whence there is an electric railway to Mesocco, where it ends, some twenty miles from Bellinzona. About nine miles further one reaches the village of St. Bernardino, which gives its name to the well-known Bernardino Pass, through which lies the way to the Splügen and the Hinter Rhein. Here at Mesocco a plot of ground was being cleared of stones years ago when a kind of mica slab was come upon about a metre in the ground. It was inscribed, and seems to have formed the cover of a grave. It measures about 0^{m} 75 by 0^{m} 25, and is

broken at both ends, but no letters appear to have been lost. It is now in the museum at Chur, and the reading consists of two lines from left to right, as follows, with a groove running between them as in the photograph, II. 2, Mesocco, which see.—

VᚨᛚᚨVNᚨᛚ
ᑫᚨNᛖNI

This makes *Raneni Valaunal*, and on the lettering I have the following notes to make. The last ᚨ in the upper line has its lower arm curved, and ending perpendicular to the interlinear groove. The tag of the ᛚ reaches in both cases to the level of the middle of the letters. I observed that the N's all ended almost vertically, and that the second of them did not appear to me so badly formed as it looks in the photograph.

The first line is incomplete, for complete it should be *Valaunali*: why the final vowel of the genitive ending should have been omitted does not appear; it was not for want of room. Treating *Valaunāli* as the complete form it would be the genitive of *Valaunālo-s* 'Valaunian', that is 'related to Valaunos in the sense probably of being his son'. *Valaunos* occurs in Irish Ogam from the parish of Aglish in Co. Cork as a genitive *Valamni* with *m* representing the sound of nasal *v*. The Gaulish was VELLAVNO-s as in *Vellauno-dunum* and *Dumno-u̯ellauno-s*, *Cassi-u̯ellauno-s*, *Catu-u̯ellauni*, nominative singular *Catu-u̯ellaunos*. It is not quite certain what *u̯ellaunos* would become in Welsh: compare *Celtic Britain*, p. 289[3]. But the forms *Dyfn-wallaun* and *Cad-wallaun* would seem to prove that it was *gwallaun*, *guollaun*, *gwallon*. This would help us to correct the Goidelic *Valamni* into *Vallamni*, which occurs in the MS. 'Rawlinson B. 502' fo. 120[a], line 34, to wit, in *Hui Follomuin* 'Descendants of Follaman', and in the Book of Leinster, fo. 313[a], in the same clan name *Hui Fallamain*, in later spelling *O'Fallamhain*, reduced in Anglo-Irish to *O'Fallon* (of the Clann Uadach in the barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon): see the indexes to *The Four Masters* and the *Annals of Ulster*. It will be noticed that the *Valauno-s* postulated by *Valaunāl-i* approaches *Valamni* more closely than it does the *Vellauni* of Gaulish and Brythonic; but Holder quotes some forms with *vall-* and not *vell-*: see his *Vallaunus*, *Vallaunius*, and others.

The other name *Raneni* may stand either for *Ranneni* or for *Rāneni*. The latter would be referable to the same group of words as Welsh *rhawn* 'the long hairs of a horse's tail', Irish *rón* 'horsehair', while the Breton equivalent also meant the 'mane' of a horse, and 'soie de porc'. From a *rān* of this origin a man's name might be formed

connoting his having rough, coarse hair: compare the Irish *Mongán* from *mong* 'mane', and *Mong-finn* 'white-maned'. The other, *rann*, would be represented in Irish by such words as *rann* 'a part or share', *rannaire* '*partista*', and in an Ogam at Gortatlea in Kerry *Niotta Cob-ranor-*, in genitives, which might be rendered 'Nepotis Partistae' or 'Nepotis Distributoris'. The termination *-eni* genitive of *-enos* of a suffix *-ēno-* (fem. *-ēnā*), or perhaps rather *-ēnio-* (*ēniā*), is very characteristic of Goidelic names, such as *Ernēne* (*Erneneus*, latinized *Ferreolus*), *Crasēn-i* (genitive), *Oissēne* (*Oisseneus*), *Baithēne* (*Baitheneus*), *Brendēn-us*, *Cumēne* (*Cummeneus*): see the index to Reeves's Adamnán's *Life of St. Columba.*

There remains to be discussed the relative positions of the two words of which the inscription consists. Read like the others it is

VALAVNAL(i)
RANENI

which would mean '(The grave) of the son of Valaunos, Ranenos'. To Dr. Danielsson this did not sound right, and he came to the conclusion that it should be read upwards *Raneni Valaunal(i)* 'Of Ranenos son of Valaunos'. In the case of a similar epitaph from Levo, to be mentioned presently, he pleads the analogy of many Etruscan inscriptions (*so viele etruskische*), p. 75, and suggests that in the case of a word in concord with a preceding one, they are more readily intelligible if you leave out the case ending of the second name rather than that of the first, that is, if you make an omission at all. Thus treating *Raneni* in Dr. Danielsson's way, it is to be read first and *Valaunal(i)* second, the whole being taken to mean 'The (grave) of Ranenos, son of Valaunos'.[1] In this way we are not obliged to decide whether the adjective might not come indifferently after or before its noun in early Celtic when its case endings were still intact.

3. ANDERGIA. From Mesocco, which is on the right side of the Moësa, there is a diligence to S. Bernardino, and another from there over the Splügen into the Chur country; but if, instead of proceeding higher on the Mesocco side, you cross the river, you come in ten or fifteen minutes to Andergia, where the little chapel of S. Giuseppe contains the inscribed stone which I was looking for. The line of writing occupies the middle of an oblong stone with a bevelling nearly all round it. I made the dimensions to be 2 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 6 inches; and the material seems to consist of a sort of hard, reddish

[1] He compares *Bratronos Nantonicn(os)*, where, however, one might say that there was a lack of room for finishing the second word. It would be hard here to prove lack of room for the final *I*.

stone. My reading of the epitaph nearly coincides with that given by the Cav. Giussani in his *Tesserete*, p. 24 (Fig. 11), as follows :—

IOCVI ·YXONOIX:RINhADI·

The peculiar characters are those for *v* or *u* : the two in the middle word are Y and X inclining in opposite directions. The V in IOCVI is like them in having a stem produced downwards, though it is not so conspicuous or so oblique. In any case I take the three to be meant for the same character, *v* or *u*. In the space between the first and second name I thought I detected the lower of the two points which I expected there, but I could not fix the other or account for the width of the gap. The R beginning the third word is peculiar, and seems to be the result of the writing having been tampered with, which is certain in the case of the letter following the N of this word ; for, as it stands, it makes a sort of minuscule h with its perpendicular somewhat produced upwards, while the other limb is extended downwards to end almost in a curl directed outwards and towards the reader's right hand. Below the Λ there is a line drawn, but scarcely touching the Λ. However, it is perhaps near enough to have been regarded as a ligature representing AL, so that the whole would be *Rinhaldi*, a sufficiently near approach to *Rinaldi*, the Italo-German name of the man locally supposed to be commemorated by the stone.

Turning back to the epitaph as a whole, one is struck by the fact that it consists of three words, the first of which seems to be a dative in *-ui*. The suggestion naturally offers itself, that it is parallel to some of the Lugano instances, such as that of Davesco, reading *Tisiui Pivotialui pala* (p. 30 above). So one is led to suppose *Iocūi* to be the dative of the name of the man commemorated, and *Utonoiū*, another dative serving as a qualifying word of some kind, and standing for an earlier *Utonoiūi*. The explanation of the omission of the final *i* here, while retained in *Iocui*, would probably be that the latter being shorter had undergone less weakening of the final syllable. Lastly, the original of the third word, now distorted, may have been, I take it, synonymous with the word *pala* of the Lugano formula.

Let us now try to attack the legend more in detail, beginning with *Iocui*. The occurrence here of C instead of K is to be noted as one of the proofs of the influence of the Roman alphabet. Underlying it, however, one would perhaps be right in postulating the methods of North Etruscan spelling, and in treating the C as here pronounced G. Even to fall back to that extent on Etruscan orthography is, however, not obligatory, as will be seen immediately. At all events I

regard *Iocui* as representing in sound *Iogui*, dative of *Iogo-s*, a curtailed name suggested probably by such compounds as *Ver-i̯ugus*, *Rigo-veri̯ugus*, and *Veri̯ugo-dumnus*, connected with an early substantive *i̯ougo-n*, *i̯ōgo-n*, *i̯ūgo-n*, in Welsh *iou*, *ieu*, *iau* 'a yoke, *jugum*', Irish *úghaim* 'harness, hames, panniers', *ughamaim* 'I accoutre, I harness or yoke', and kindred forms for which see Dinneen's *Irish Dictionary*, and compare Stokes in Fick's Vol. II, p. 224. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville interpreted *Veriugus* (found written in the dative case, and with *c*, *Veriuco*, as is likewise the genitive of a related *Ateioucus*, *C. I. L.*, XII. 1770, 4006) as meaning him who has a large yoke. Further, he says that '*Ver-jūgo-dumnus* est le dieu remarquable par le "très grand joug" où sont attachés les chevaux qui traînent son char', See his *Noms Gaulois*, pp. 58–61, and note that we have here Latin *c* for *g* in *Veriuco* and *Ateiouci*.

We come next to the second name *Utonoiu*, which seems more likely than *Uxonoiu*. It has already been suggested that it represents an older dative *Utonoiūi*, and it is, probably, to be analysed *Uto-noiu*, with its first element *ūto* to be identified with the *ōtu* of the name *Otu-aneuno-s*[1] of an inscription at Saintes. This element has already been mentioned in connexion with *Otiui*, dative of *Otio-s*, a derivative presumably of the same origin: see p. 37 above. The remainder of the name here in question, to wit, *Noiu*, should be the dative of *Noio-s*, and *Noio-s* a derivative from *Noo-s*, perhaps better *Nōo-s* or *Nō-s*, which we seem to have in the genitive *No-cati* (not *Duno-cati*) in an Irish Ogam inscription from the parish of Knockane in Kerry, now in the National Museum in Dublin. One of the names related to the *no-* here in question, occurs in Med. Irish as *Noe*, interchanging with *Gnoe*, so that we get the valuable hint that the original form began not with *n* but with *gn*. Acting on that hint one turns to Holder's Treasury and finds that he has a feminine *Gnoia*

[1] *Aneunos* is already known, together with its derivative *Aneunicnos*, both on a stone found at Genouilly (Cher), now in the museum at Bourges; see *The C. Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 54, 55, where I have conjectured that the former name meant 'One who greatly partakes of the nature of Esus'. Another derivative occurs on an ornamental slab of white marble found at Olonio in the neighbourhood of Gera near the northern end of the Lake of Como. The stone measures 1m 10 by 0m 38 by 0m 12, and reads :—

I O M
ANEVNIATES
V S L M

It has been published by Giussani in his Como *Rivista* for 1908, and it is now in the Civic Museum of that city, where I saw it.

from the vicinity of Coridico in Istria (*C. I. L.*, V. 317). The *gno*[1] of *Gnoia* is to be referred to the same origin as Latin *nōsco* 'I know',

[1] Stokes calls attention (Fick, II. 116) to O'Clery's *Glossary* where it has *gno* explained as *oirdeirc* 'conspicuous' (*Rev. Celtique*, IV. 401 (s. v. *dionn*) and V. 5); compare also Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, III. 32, where he says *gnó* meant 'remarkable', and see his edition of O'Donovan's *Cormac*, pp. 81, 86, where *gnó* is interpreted to mean 'derision', at first probably a reference to being made 'conspicuous' in an unfavourable sense, and *gnoe* is cited as meaning 'anything delightful or beautiful', in Irish *cach ségda*, but *segda* is sometimes found to mean stately or majestic. In his edition of *Gorman*, July 26, Stokes translates *gnóda* by 'famous', and refers it to the same origin as O'Clery's *gno* and as Breton *gnou* '*manifeste, évident*', to which I add the Welsh personal name *Gnou-an* from the (Oxford) *Liber Landavensis*, p. 180. But *gnou* will not derive from *gnó* unless this originally represented *gnou̯o-s*, a supposition admissible only in the case of Irish. For *gnou* and *Gnouan* postulate *gnou̯o-s*, a form probably related to *gnó*, while Irish *gnóe* goes a step further and represents *gnou̯-i̯o-s*. In this group of words the proper names are specially instructive, and we have *gnou̯i̯o-s* in Rawlinson B. 502 as *Gnoe* (fo. 154[d], l. 56, 160[a], l. 29), and in the Book of Leinster (347[c], 370[b]), in the former of which it interchanges with *Noe*, a far better known form. The name appears to have been brought to Dyfed (Demetia) by the Déssi who came over in the latter half of the third century: it occurs, for instance, in the (Oxford) *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 77, 133, where we have a '*Noe* filius Arthur', but we also find a spelling *Nouy*. Other spellings of the name in that MS. are *Nogui* and *Nougui* (with the spirant *g* usual with *u̯* in Mediæval Welsh). These forms with *u̯* go to prove that the name became known to the Welsh when the Irish pronunciation was *Nou̯e* and had not yet dropped the *u̯*; that is to say, if it was a case of borrowing from the Irish, which I assume. The *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, for 1891 (pp. 649–50), and the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for 1892 (pp 64, 65), contain six versions of the pedigree of the kings of the Déssi of Dyfed brought together by me. Among them are the following: Rawlinson B. 502, fo. 132[a], l. 37, which has 'm̄ Nee mic Artuir mic Retheoir', where *Nee* is probably an error for *Noe* as on folio 128[b], l. 8, and 152[a], ll. 47, 55 of that MS. with *Gnoe* as already instanced; Bodleian Laud 610, fo. 100[a1] 'Noé mic Artuir mic Petuir'; two of the Welsh versions have 'Nowy ap Arth(en) ap Pedyr'; the British Museum MS Harleian 3859 has '*Nougoy* map Arthur map Petr', where *Nougoy* is apparently a mistake for *Nougóy*; and lastly, Jesus College MS. 20 has '*Nennue*. M. Arthur. M. Peder', where *Nennue* is gibberish for a name which elsewhere in this MS. appears as *Neuue*: see the *Cymmrodor*, VIII, pp. 86 (xii), 84 (viii). To return to *Gno-ia* we have (*g*)*no* prefixed in the genitive *No-cati* already mentioned: see my *Ogam-inscribed Stones in the Dublin Museum* (Dublin, 1902), pp. 26–8. The second element derives from the stem *catu-* 'a fight or battle'; and the compound *Nō-cati* (implying a derivative stem *Gnō-cati̯o-s*) possibly meant 'one who fights conspicuously, remarkably, famously'. In Rawlinson B 502, fo. 161[a], l. 9, one meets with a kindred genitive *Nu-chada*, implying a nominative *Nu-chad* of the *u* declension compounded of (*g*)*nū* (for (*g*)*nō*), and *cath*, *cad*, Welsh *cat*, *cad* 'battle, also a battalion'. Irish *cath*, genitive *catha*, *cada* derives from early *katu-s*, genitive *katos* as in *Iva-cattos* or *Ebi-catos* partly discussed in a paper read by me to the Academy in 1903 and entitled *Studies in Early Irish History*, pp. 2–4. So *Nú-chad* might be interpreted to mean one who fights conspicuously or else one who has a host of

nōvi, nōtum for older *gnōsco, gnōvi, gnōtum*, and as *nōbilis*, originally *gnōbilis* 'distinguishable, known, eminent, noble'. The related Celtic words are many and varied, including among others, Ir. *gnáth* 'known, usual', Welsh *gnaut, gnawd* 'known as usual or customary', Ir. *in-gne* '*intelligentia*', *in-gnaidi* '*intellectus*' (Stokes in Fick's vol. II. 116), Welsh *yngnat, ynad* 'a judge', *an-yngnad, an-ynad* 'unreasonable, ill-tempered', Breton *anat* '*connu, connaissable, évident, notoire, manifeste, public*', Welsh *yn anad* 'above all, especially', *adnabod* (for *ad-gnad-bod*) 'to know, knowledge', Old Welsh 'hep am*gnau*bot' '*sine mente*', which would now have been 'heb am*no*fod', had it been in use: compare Breton *anaout* from *aznaout*.

It is needless to add to the number of these instances, as I have already given some which may be of use for comparison as we go on. Suffice it to say that we have now the data for guessing the import of the patronymic *Uto-noịu*; it postulates a nominative *Uto-nōios* meaning 'relating to Uto-nōos, son of Uto-nōos, or a member of the Utonoan family, to which some ancestor called Utonōos had given his name'; and that name may be supposed to have signified 'one who is to be dreaded on account of his skill and penetrating intellect', all suggestive of a reputation coveted by the medicine men of all peoples in all ages.

I have no clear notion what the third vocable was as it was first cut, possibly *pinisari* or *pinisar*, written ᛚIᛗIϟADI with some kind of *P* made into *R* and IƧ (=*is*) into ɧ, that is *h*. Whatever it was, it has been suggested that it may have meant a small plot of ground or marked off area; the whole might accordingly be rendered 'For Iōgos son of Uto(g)nōos a burial place'. He had probably secured it whilst alive, *sibi vivo*, as Latin inscriptions occasionally express it.

Before quitting this part of the country there is a remark or two which I wish to make. Among other things I may mention that fruitful excavations are going on at a place called Gudo, six kilometres below Bellinzona, as you proceed on the right bank of the Ticino towards Locarno. The finds are deposited at Bellinzona, in a museum in the old castle of Monte Bello, whither Dr. Eligio Pometta kindly took me to see them, but at that time I found nothing of inscriptional interest. On a little vase of dark grey or bluish ware there was some

conspicuous fighters under him. In Stokes's *Gorman*, July 30, we have a *Nóchaire*, whose name is spelt *No-chure* in the Book of Leinster, 354[c]: this would seem to have meant 'one who is at the head of a famous host'. Possibly we have the same element (*g*)*no* in the name *Nobis, Novis* which figures in the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 216, 217, 274, 303, 312: compare *Biss-* in the clan name *Hui Bissi* in Rawlinson B. 502, fo. 120[b], l. 15.

scratching, which I took to be a recurrent V ornament, together with some other scratchings, in which I failed to recognize any certain letter. What Gudo may finally yield, it is impossible to say: 306 tombs had already been examined there, a number not exceeded in the district except near Giubiasco, where they are said to have been 534. The finds have been described and illustrated in the *Rivista Archeologica* (Como, 1911), in a paper entitled 'La necropoli preromana di Gudo': the author, Dr. G. Baserga, shows that the ancient population of this part of Canton Ticino was a prosperous and wealthy one, and that the quantity of silver, amber, and coral which they used, argues that they lived near an important trade route, which he traces through Locarno on Lago Maggiore, past Bellinzona and up the valley of Mesocco, whence the pass of St. Bernardino was reached, and at length the Rhine, a way in fact leading from Italy to the heart of Switzerland and Germany (pp. 4, 52, 124, *et passim*). This was probably the route which the Celts took when they came down to Mesocco and the strath of the Ticino. When they settled there they do not, judging from the inscriptions, appear to have had close inter-communication with the Lugano district. For setting aside the shorter and more uncertain of the scribbles on the Giubiasco vessels, the lettering too on the helmet as coming probably from another district, and the third word of the Andergia inscription as one that has been tampered with, one can hardly say that what is left is written in the North Etruscan alphabet as it appears around Lugano. There are serious differences, and what mostly strikes one is the manifest influence of Roman writing over that of the Bellinzona group. That is all the easier to explain if an important commercial route from Italy northwards lay through Locarno, the Ticino basin, and the valley of the Moësa in a southern corner of Canton Graubünden.

III

1. (1) RONDINETO in the commune of Breccia, near Como. In the Civic Museum at Como various things discovered at Rondineto are preserved, and as many as could be identified were very kindly shown to me by the curator, the Rev. Father Santo Monti. They are to be seen reproduced in the lithographed plates of the Como *Rivista Archeologica*: see more especially the numbers for 1877-9, 1883. Pauli, in his no. 18, has incorporated the readings of eight of them, which he treated with more or less hesitation as (*a*) . . . akuṛ . . ., (*b*) . . . oụki (or oḷki) . . . . ; (*c*) . . . ụklk (*or* ṇklk) . . . . ; (*d*) . . . tiu . . ., more like

uit, I should say; (*e*) . . . lioiso . . .; (*f*) . . . vạs . . .; (*g*) . . . ial . . .; (*h*) tarise. This last of Pauli's I did not succeed in seeing; his reading of . . . *lioiso* . . . is certain: it runs from the right towards the left. So does . . . ouki . . . or . . . olki . . ., the doubt attaches here to the second letter: is it Y or Λ, and does it mean *u* or *l*? Whether you read towards the right or the left the question is the same. Speaking of . . . olki . . . the sequence *olk* sounds very Celtic, witness the Irish name *Olcán*, early *Ulcagnos*, genitive *Ulcagni* in Wales and Cornwall. Lastly, . . . lioiso . . . has already been touched upon at p. 53 above, where *Eli-oiso* has been suggested.

(2) Inside the circle forming the bottom of a little vase, which I failed to identify with anything of Pauli's, I copied, with some hesitation, a short legend reading at first from the right to the left, as follows, on a sort of grey ware:—

I1VI1

ꝆꝆ

That makes *Piuai Aa*, forming a boustrophedon sequence meaning 'Aa (gives it) to Biua'. Compare *Pivotialui* and *Pivonei* (pp. 30, 42 above) and the *Bodi-beve* on the bilingual stone from Llanwinio, Carmarthenshire. Here -*beve* seems to be the (Latin) genitive feminine, of which name we have the dative feminine in *Pivai* for *Bivai*. In Old Irish the compound occurs as *Buaid-beo* (Stokes's *Oengus*, Nov. 17, and p. 242), which may be Englished 'victory-quick, swift to triumph'. Lastly, *Aa* would be the nominative corresponding to the dative *Aai* in *Aai pala*, p. 27 above.

(3) I must add that I noticed a biggish bit of red ware numbered 'Rondineto 372', with a graffito which I was unable to make out. It seems to run from right to left, somewhat like this VYMHI⋖. The third letter I do not recognize: it somewhat resembles h, but the short downward bar is obliquely drawn without meeting, however, the long perpendicular of the H. Then comes what seems to be an M conjoint with Y, and that joins the V, the last limb of which is gone where the ware breaks off. A straight line forms the upper boundary of the lettering.

Such are some of the things found at Rondineto. They do not prove rich, epigraphically speaking, but they show nothing to discourage the supposition that they are Celtic. On the contrary I have pointed out two or three things which, so far as they go, are favourable to that conjecture.

2. (1) VILLA DEL SOLDO belonging to the Conte Turati, and situated near Alzate-Brianza. To get there my daughter and I started from

Como by rail on the way to Lecco, but when we had travelled about ten miles we alighted at a station called Brenna-Alzate and walked to Alzate, a distance of about a mile, and near that village we entered the grounds of the Soldo. We were shown over the spacious gardens of the Conte Turati, and saw a grave, reconstructed years ago, where we expected to find an inscribed vase. The reconstruction was carried out under the eye of Dr. Castelfranco of Milan, Inspector of Ancient Monuments. We discovered that the vessel was missing,[1] and I have not been able to consult a copy of that savant's own account of the finds made near the spot in 1878. From Pauli's remarks, however, on his no. 19, which represents the inscription, and from Giussani's description in his *Tesserete*, pp. 24, 25, I find that it read from left to right VIXIЬIO٢, that is, *Vitilios*, in North Etruscan characters, scratched on the outside of the wall of a cup of reddish ware. With it were found, it appears, a fibula *a doppio vermiglione*, a bronze piece of money, and a small silver coin of the type of the hemidrachma of Marseilles, having, on the obverse, a barbarous head of Diana turned to the right and a lion on the reverse surmounted by the inscription RIKO.

The next question is what is to be made of the name *Vitilios*. As usual, more than one identification is possible. The first is with names cited by Holder, such as *Vitullus*, *Vitullius* and *Vitullia*, *Vituriga* and the like, not to mention later forms, such as Welsh *Guid-gen* and *Gwydion*. These imply an early form, beginning with *u̯et-*; but it may have been *vid-*, which would give us a still wider field to choose from. It is hardly worth our while to discuss them, as we seem to have a clear case of identity with a name supplied by Holder ready made. This is *Vintilius* for Celtic *Vintilio-s*, genitive *Vintili*, from Langres in France (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 5870), and *Vintelius* from St. Maurice in the Swiss Canton of Valais. The suppression of the *n* in the spelling *Vitilios* takes place in the same way as in the Latin *Quintus* which appears as *Kuitos* and in *Quintae* which appears as *Kuites* in the well-known Brionna inscription, preserved at Novara. The phonological process by which the *n* would seem to have been silenced was the spending of it in the nasalization of the vowel preceding, or else in assimilating the nasal to the surd following as in Goidelic:

[1] The Count, who was then at Milan, has kindly written to me that the inscribed vessel had been taken away for safety by a member of the family, but that at the moment he could not tell me in which of its residences it had been deposited. Now recently the Count has lent me Professor Castelfranco's paper, which was, I find, published in the *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana* (Anno V, num. 1 & 2, 1899). I cannot find the volume in Oxford.

perhaps both processes were combined. In any case we have a parallel spelling on Goidelic ground in the Kynfic (Glamorgan) bilingual where *Pop . . .* stands for *Pompeius*, or rather for the genitive *Pomp[ei]*, and the Latin word *fecerunt* inscribed FECERVT in an ancient post-Roman epitaph at St. Ninian's in Galloway.

(2) In despair we turned to go away, but it occurred to me at the gate to ask the porter's wife to bring some water and a rag to clean the earthenware vessels at the grave. She did so, and I copied the only scribble I found, and never gave it a thought till now. On scrutinizing my scrap-book I am astonished to find that it shows most of the elements of the name *Vi(n)tilios* as ()ɅIXIᴵV, which probably means *Vi(n)tilo.* This can hardly be accidental, or due to an excited imagination on my part. The scratching is very crude, and runs, be it observed, from right to left, and not in the same direction as the other. As regards the O, I ought to say that I could only see the disjointed sides of that letter, somewhat like an open parenthesis ( ); but it may possibly be IS, making *Vitilis.* It will have to be looked up again; in fact I hope that Signor Giussani will have it photographed and described in his *Rivista Archeologica.*

The final O, if that proves to be the correct reading, may represent the ending of the nominative of the *o* declension with the *s* elided, that is *Vi(n)tilo-s*; but it may be the ending of a nominative of the *n* declension. In any case the names *Vi(n)tilo* and *Vi(n)tilio-s* belonged, in all probability, to the same family, and the latter, written as it is towards the right, is presumably of later date than the other. The origin of these names is obscure, but they may be related to that of 'Mars *Vintius*', whence the place-names *Vence*, and the Col de *Vence* behind Nice. In a votive inscription at Hauteville, in the dep. of Haute-Savoie, the god is styled *Vintius Augustus*; in the neighbourhood of Seyssel, in the dep. of Ain, one inscription calls him *Vintius Augustus Pollux*, and another *Deus Vintius Pollux*, whence another Vence, which there becomes *Vens* or *Vance* (*C. I. L.*, XII. 3, 2561, 2562). It is difficult to sever from the god's name the Welsh *gwynt*, Breton *guent* 'wind', Latin *ventus*, Eng. *wind*: Irish has words from the same root, such as *feth* 'air, breeze'. A god identified with, or compared to, the wind, may be supposed to have had as his characteristics swiftness, force, and capricious destructiveness. Both the names here in question may be regarded as diminutives of that of the god.

(3) Pauli's no. 20 gives bits of writing on potsherds found at ALZATE. He transcribes them as *u*, *tu* (towards the left), *tu* (towards the right), and *Kʌ ʌ*. They are, as far as I can see, of little use for identifying the language to which they belonged.

3. Civiglio, near Como, the precise place being an ancient necropolis called Visigna. In 1878 the then inspector of ancient monuments, the late Cav. Vincenzo Barelli, discovered a tomb about 1^{m} 20 below the surface of the ground, containing six vases of clay fashioned with the lathe, and among them a beaker with a reversed cone. It was made of black earthenware, varnished with transparent black stuff, and bearing a cross beneath the base and two stags, also a scratched inscription in the North Etruscan alphabet, reading ꟊOI⅃ᗅ, that is *Alios*. The finds are now in the Civic Museum at Como: see Giussani's *Tesserete*, p. 26.

Alios as a proper name is difficult to explain. One is reminded of the Irish verb *alim*, *ailim*, *oilim* 'I nurse or nourish, I bring up or educate'. If this be its origin it may mean either 'one who nourishes, a foster parent', or 'one who is nursed, a foster child'. Compare *Alt*, genitive *Ailt*, in the Bk. of Leinster, 350^{g}, from the passive participle *alto-s* 'nursed, nourished, reared'. The name *Ailill* (*Elill*) or *Oilill* mentioned in my paper on the *C. Inscriptions of Gaul*, p. 77, would seem a sort of diminutive of *Alios*, but the declension offers difficulties.[1] See Holder's list of names ending in *-ello-s*, *-ellā*, *-illo-s*, *-illā*.

In point of form there is another possibility which is more attractive, namely, to equate the word bodily with the *alios* postulated by the Irish *aile*, later spelling *eile* 'other', of the same origin as Latin *alius*. In that case the name would have to be interpreted somewhat like *Secundus* in Latin inscriptions, such as SECVNDVS F(ecit), or simply SECVNDVS, on pots and pans (*C. I. L.*, VII. 1334. 50, 1336. 1007–1016), not to mention SECVNDILLI M(anu) 1336. 1003, the ending of which reminds one of OLILLVS. In either case *Alios* could only belong to a Celtic language which, unlike Gaulish, did not reduce *Alio̯* into *allo*, as in *Allo-brox*, *Allo-broges*, *Gallo-s* (from *Galio̯-s*) and plural *Galli*, from *galā*, Irish and Welsh *gal* 'pain, passion, bravery'. The name *Galli* is said to be found attested as early as almost the beginning of the fourth century before Christ: see Holder, s.vv. *Galli* and *Gallia*. The Brythonic and Gaulish word *Gallos*, or else the Latin *Gallus*, was borrowed into Irish to yield *Gall*, meaning

[1] In that passage for the words 'Ailioll, which in an older form was Oilill' read 'Ailill, which in another form was Oilill'. I do not exactly know where O'Curry found *Oilioll* which he gives *passim* in his *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, but see Windisch's *Táin B. C.*, p. 303. The Latin nominative *Olillus* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 1670) excludes the *i* declension, while the usual Irish forms *Ailill* or *Oilill* postulate it; but on the other hand *Ailello* (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II. 263, 265, 286) is a genitive of the *u* declension. It is, however, the *o* declension that I should have expected throughout, and the Latin spelling *Olillus* may have belonged to it and not to the *u* declension.

'a Gaul, later any stranger, Norse or English', but the native Irish form remained *Gaile*, genitive *Gaili*. See Windisch's notes to his edition of the *Táin*, pp 422, 423, where he cites *Gaile* as the equivalent of *Calatin*, better *Galatin*, a word borrowed by the Irish from the Brythonic *Galatini* postulated by the Welsh *Galedin* in 'Arllechwedd Galedin', to wit, 'the Slope of Galedin', meaning the sea-board of England from the Berkshire Ridgeway and the hills connected with it to the English Channel,[1] covering territory conquered by the Belgae See in 'the Iolo MSS.' (p. 86), a tract which Iolo gives one to understand to have been copied by him from a book of a Mr. Cobb, of Cardiff, which is not known to exist any longer.

There is a third possible explanation which fits the interpretation better than Irish *aile* 'other', namely, to suppose it to have had the sense of Welsh *eil*, *ail* 'second', which comes nearer in meaning to Latin *Secundus*. In point of form it is more difficult to fit in: for Welsh as a Brythonic dialect had *ali̯o-* reduced to *allo-* as in Gaulish, and in the Greek ἄλλο-ς 'other'. Witness such compounds as *all-tud* 'one of another nation, an alien', *all-waith* 'another time, a second year'. To make the kindred form *eil*, *ail* help to explain *Alio-s* we should have to suppose the latter to have been pronounced *Alío-s* or *Alíi̯o-s*, which would give in Welsh *eilyđ*. Davies's Welsh-Latin Dictionary produces evidence that *eilyđ* meant 'second'. It is possible that *eil* with the same sense was inferred from *eilyđ*; but on the whole I am more inclined to think that *eil*[2] comes from a base like the

[1] The translation is given at pp. 476, 477, but the translator met here with an *am* of the use of which he had no notion, though it is current in parts of Wales to this day. For instance his no. 14 should run thus: 'The Slope of the *Galatini* from that to the boundaries of Devon and *with* the boundaries of Somerset *between* it and Argoed Calchfynydd.'

[2] *Eil* is found placed in front of proper names where one would otherwise expect *vab* or *ab* 'son': thus *Morvran eil Tegit* 'Morvran son of Tegid', meaning as it were 'M. a second Tegid, or M. a second form of Tegid'. Sometimes the words coalesce as in the name of the swimmer in the 'Mabinogi of Math', *Dylan Eilton* 'D. son of the billow', also *Dylan eil Mor* 'D. son of the sea' (Evans's *Geiriadur*, s.v. *ail*; Skene's *F. Anc. Books of Wales*, II. ('Taliessin', p. 142). Another remarkable instance is *Eilewyd* 'a minstrel', literally 'a second *Ewyđ*' (ibid. 'Taliessin', pp. 131, 145), *Ewyđ* or *Euuyd* being the Welsh form of Gaulish *Ogmios* (pronounced *Ogmíos* or *Ogmíi̯os*), the name of the god of eloquence in ancient Gaul; see Holder's quotation of Lucian's quaint story of the Gaulish Hercules; and for the phonology of the names see my note in the paper on *The Coligny Calendar*, p. 26. Similarly *Eilwyon* 'a minstrel or musician' is possibly to be interpreted as originally *eil-Wion* 'or a second Gwion' in reference to the well known magician of the Story of Taliessin: see Skene, ibid., p. 130, where Gwion is referred to by name, and Pughe's *Dictionary*, s. v. *Eilwy*, which is supplied as the singular of *Eilwyon* on the supposition that the

ali of the Latin *ali-quis*, and old Latin *ali-uta* 'otherwise', a base distinct at any rate from, but related to, that of *ali̯o-s*, Welsh *all-* 'other'.

4. CERNUSCO ASINARIO, the name of which is in process of change into CERNUSCO AL NAVIGLIO, is a place south of the Lago di Lecco, the south-east arm of the Lake of Como. There, according to Pauli, a vessel (*olla*) had been found with an inscription (his no. 22) reading from left to right in the North Etruscan alphabet *Ritukalos*. His no. 23 mentions an *olla* of the same description found in the same place and bearing another inscription reading in the same direction *Tiusiuilios*. I understand Pauli to say that these two inscriptions are on two vessels, and I notice that Giussani has understood him in the same way (*Tesserete*, p. 33); but when I went to the Sforzesco Museum at Milan, where I expected to find those inscriptions, I was given to understand that the two are on one and the same vessel, and that it is not in the Sforzesco. Inquiries were made on my behalf, but they have so far elicited no information.

(1) I did not learn that the two inscriptions stood in any special relation to one another: so they have to be taken separately. **XIV⸮IVIᛒIO≶**, that is *Tiusiuilios*, is preceded, according to Pauli, by something which I cannot identify: it looks somewhat like ‹H, that is *ch*, which, needless to say, can hardly be regarded as the real reading, as the whole would make CHTIVSIVILIOS, with the two first letters Latin, while Etruscan letters follow. Discarding the former, we have *Tiusiu̯ilios*, which Holder produces in two forms without perceiving that they probably represent only a single one. He gives *Tiusiulos* and s. v. *Tiu* the two words *Tiu Sivilios*, a division which is possibly correct. At all events, his list shows a *Tiva F(ecit)* from the Rheims Museum (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10006. 164); for *Sivilios* compare his *Seuvo*, better perhaps *Seuuo* or *Sevvo*, in SEVVO FECIT, occurring in various places in France; also *Sivi* implying a nominative *Sivios*, *Siviavus* (*Siviaus*), or *Siuuiavus*, and lastly *Sivella* suggesting a masculine *Sivellos* and a derivative *Sivell-i̯o-s*, which would practically fit here, as *Siu̯ilio-s* may represent *Siu̯ell-i̯o-s* and mean 'belonging to a father (or family) of the name of *Siu̯illo-s*'. The whole would mean 'Tiu son of Siu̯illos'. But the *Itius Ivilios* cited by Holder from Poggi would be preferable, if that reading could be established.

(2) According to Pauli (no. 22) the other name reads

DIXVKᚨLO⸮

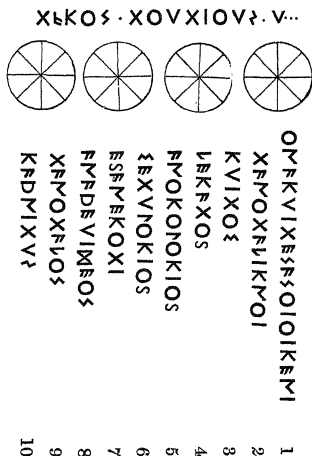
latter was an *-on* plural, as Cyndelw in the twelfth century took it be: see the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, I. 220[a].

That is *Ritukalos*, which may be supposed to stand either for *Ritu-gallos* or *Ritu-galos*. The former would admit of being interpreted 'a courier Gaul, a *Gallus* who was a runner'. Concerning *Ritu* see my remarks on PITOY in *The Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 19, 20. Both in form and interpretation *Ritugallo-s* would argue an origin in Gaulish, not in any Celtic idiom more closely akin with Goidelic. On the other hand, *Ritugalo-s* might be supposed to derive its second element direct from the early Celtic feminine *galā* 'passion, valour'. The compound as a whole would probably have the possessive sense of 'One who has both the qualification of a runner and the prowess of a brave man'. In Goidelic the feminine would remain unchanged, even when the compound formed the name of a man and not of a woman. Witness such Irish names as *Art-gal*, genitive *Art-gaile*, similarly *Dun-gal*, *Dun-gaile*, and the like; whereas, if we may judge from such instances as Λαβροδιιος, Gaulish gave the feminine compound a masculine form in the case of a man. See the notes on *Labrodiịos* in the Academy paper on the *Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 32–4.

5. Milan, near which was found an earthenware vessel with an inscription, reading from right to left the abbreviation ꓘ1VX∃Ƨ, that is *Setupk*. It forms Pauli's no. 24, and in the fifties of the last century, when Mommsen was publishing his 'Nordetruskische Alphabete' in the *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*, the earthenware was in the possession of a Signor Biondelli, with whom he seems to have had a correspondence as to the genuineness of the lettering. I expected to find it in the Sforzesco Museum in Milan, but I failed to discover any clue to its whereabouts. The collections of antiquities there have, I am told, been shifted repeatedly, and there is no adequate catalogue to help a search.

In point of nomenclature Setupk adds nothing new except the form of the abbreviation. For we have it in full on the Briona stone, now at Novara, to wit, as *Setupokios*. I may add in passing that on my way back from Switzerland last April I made a point of turning aside to visit Bar-le-Duc in order to see the moulage of the gold ring found in the neighbourhood of Thiaucourt in the eighties, and lost sight of since. Thanks to the kind help of M. Jules Baudot, I was enabled to trace the cast to the museum there, and to examine it. The legend ends with what appears to be a man's name, *Nappisetu*, in the nominative case, either for *Nappisetus* of the *u* declension or *Nappisetu* of the *n* declension. The first element in the compound occurs in *Neb* (for older *Nep*) in *Neb mab ka6* 'Neb son of Caw' in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen: see Evans's 'White Book' *Mabinogion*, p. 231^{b}, and the Oxford 'Red Book' edition, p. 107. The Welsh *Neb*

or *Nep* seems to find its equivalent in the *nech* of the Irish *Nechadan*, gen. *Nechadain*, Bk. of Leinster, 369[e]. Some account of the inscription will be found in my paper on the *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 57–9: the preferable rendering seems to be that of Stokes—'Nappisetu (gave this) to Adiantunnena (daughter) of Exvertinios'.

6. Briona, near Novara. The stone was found in cutting down a wood on land belonging to Briona; it is now built into the wall of a cloistered court of the Cathedral at Novara, with a goodly collection of other inscriptions. The surface measures 1[m] 26 by 0[m] 90, and the material of the stone is said to be gneiss. The inscription forms Pauli's no. 25, and an account of it was printed in my paper on *The Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 59-65. I went to see it again last April, and I think that I can now improve on my former reading at two points in the text. My last version is as follows:—

Now as to the top line, I am no longer inclined to think any letter or letters lost to the left of the X; so I read as before to the second O (inclusive) of TOVXIO, but then what I next find is V⌇, that is VS, followed by a point with an accidental scratch proceeding from it upwards, somewhat like this ↘ slanting towards the left.

Then comes a V which, as it stands, does not appear to have been closed at the bottom; and the last traces of a letter suggested to me a broken I, after which we come to the breakage; but the I is, I fear, too doubtful to count upon.

The other time I guessed the first downward line to begin with INA of which the N and the A stand; but the I and the N occur on a spot which it was difficult to cut on account of the spar embedded there; and, after careful scrutiny, I have come to the conclusion that the first letter is not I but an O with rather an untidy outline, especially on the right side, due of course to the spar which interfered with the punching, as it did also in the case of the N. All three letters are near the edge of the stone, but the original edge is there till you pass beyond the O, and get to the beginning of the breakage at the right-hand top corner of the stone. The N of ONA stands opposite the X beginning the second downward line; so the O beginning the first line, stands somewhat nearer the fourth wheel than the X of the second line does.

There is nothing remarkable about the lettering, except the variety of forms of the symbol for S, which is practically either that or Ƨ. It is always prolonged as if the hooks had been straightened out, or else consists of three straight lines, ϟ, also reversed into ⸸, liable to appear as a sigma wriggle ξ, hard to distinguish in some inscriptions from a rough kind of I. There is in line 8 an instance of the symbol ⋈, which Pauli transliterated as *ś*; but in our inscriptions it does not seem to indicate any sound other than that of the ordinary *s*.

The names and the spelling call for some remarks: in the first place I am inclined to treat the first name as *Tagos*, as in *Ito-tagos* and *Prasu-tagos* mentioned in my other paper, rather than *Dagos* 'good': compare the ᚦ on p. 74 below. *Toutious* has *ou* for the *u* sound in its second syllable, as in inscriptions written in Greek characters; but what about the previous *ou*? According to the Vaison inscription (loc. cit. p. 13, Avignon 1), the word was τοουτιους, that is *toutius*. So one gathers that there is a blunder in the Briona spelling, or else a different pronunciation implied. What the term exactly meant is not certain, but Stokes renders it magistrate. What followed it is impossible to make out: it seems to begin with V, but what word it began one cannot tell. If my old suggestion that the four circles mean chariot wheels should prove tenable, one would naturally guess that the *v* word was the name of a second person, say wife, son, or brother, interred with the great man commemorated in the first place.

The first of the downward lines apparently begins with ONA, which occurs in ONNA-KOYI 'and Onna's' in a Cavaillon inscription where *Onna* is a genitive feminine for an earlier *Onnās* (loc. cit., pp. 9-11). But here *On(n)a* is probably to be taken as forming a hybrid compound with KVITEϟ, that is to say *Kuintes*, the later genitive singular feminine of *Quinta* treated as *Celtic*, the whole name of the woman being *On(n)a-kuinta*. As *Quinta* was declined in a Celtic way it seems to have been regarded as Celtic, so that the composition with a real Celtic vocable, or one held to be such, can have presented no difficulty. In my other paper I took *asoioi* to mean grandsons, but I am now inclined to regard 'sons' as the more exact meaning. Then we have at the end the word KENI, which, if *k* here does not mean *g*, might be compared with Irish *cenél* '*Geschlecht*', Welsh *cenetl*, Modern *cenedl* 'race, nation, kind, gender', Cornish *kinethel* glossing Latin *generatio*. If, on the other hand, *keni* is to be interpreted as *geni*, it would recall the Old Irish *gein* 'begettal, procreation, birth'. What we want is a dative or instrumental in *i*. If we have such a case in *keni* or *geni*, the rendering of the first and second downward lines will be—'On(n)aquinta's sons, offspring of Dan(n)otalos', that is, in point of generation = begettal, procreation, *Erzeugung*. The lady had sons by two fathers, and the first set were *Dan(n)otalicnoi*, that is, each was a 'little Dannotalos', an edition, so to say, of Dannotalos through his having begotten him. For, etymologically speaking, a *Dannotali-cno-s* is a diminutive of *Dannotalo-s*. In Irish *-i-cno-* has been reduced to *-īn*, and *-i-cn-io-* to *-īne*, as in *Féchín* and *Féchíne*, forms of the name of St. Féchín of Fore: *-ín* is a very living termination in Modern Irish, and therefore in Anglo-Irish likewise. It is remarkable that *gein* is the word used in reference to the births of Étáin in the Book of the Dun, fo. 129[a] (to be also found printed in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 131), as follows:—'*Di bliadain déc ar mili trá o*

[1] There is a difficulty as to the declension of this word, which is feminine in Modern Irish: see Dinneen's *Irish Dictionary*, where he gives it the two forms *gein* and *gin*, genitive *gine*, fem., and the meanings of 'offspring, child; conception; embryo; a swan'. The feminine gender can readily be explained from the ancient forms, though they were neuter, as will be seen on consulting Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, II. 112, Thurneysen, I. 205, and Ascoli's *Codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana*, II, p. cccclv. The chief cases occurring are nom. and acc. *gein*, genitive *gene*, *geine*, dative *genim*, *geinim*. Later instances of the dative have been kindly given me by Prof. Kuno Meyer in the forms *geinibh* and *geiniv*. It is possible in the case of *keni* = *geni* that an early confusion of declension had taken place with the *geno-s*, genitive *geni*, of compound names such as *Camulo-geno-s* 'offspring of Camulos', and Welsh *Morien* from *Mori-geno-s* 'son of the sea'. The genitive and locative must have both been *geni* as *genos* belonged to the *o* declension.

gein tuissech Etaini o Ailill cosangein ndedenach o Étur', which may be rendered—'There were, then, one thousand and twelve years from the first begetting of Étáin through Ailill to the last begetting (of her) through Étar.' This, though hardly in harmony with certain features of the story of Étáin, as we have it, sounds characteristic of peoples, which, like the other nations of Aryan origin, reckoned their descent through the father rather than through the mother.

The second and third lines read *Kuitos* and *Lekatos*, which are *Quintus* and *Legatus* borrowed from Latin, but whether they represented one or two persons it is not easy to tell; in other terms, was *Legatos* a man's name or simply a common noun? Stokes treated the two words as meaning 'Quintos the legate'. The non-appearance of the *n* of Quintos in the spelling has already been noticed on pp. 62, 70 above. Line 5 consists of *Anokopokios*, which seems to represent *Andocobogios*, but it has usually been treated as *Andocombogios*, supposed to be established by coins of the Carnutes of ancient France and Cæsar's text II. 3. 1. But the longest spelling supplied by the coins seems to be ANDOCOMBO, while as to Cæsar, *Andecombogium* is adopted by Holder and *Andebrogium* by Meusel. Evans's *Coins of the ancient Britons*, pp. 216–20, pl. V. 4–6, yields only *ANDOCO*, so the author suggests *Andocomius*. Compare, however, the Latin genitives *Verco[m]bogionis* and *Vercombogi* from Duna Bogdány in Hungary and St. Johann am Pressen near Hüttenberg (*C. I. L.*, III. 4732, 13389, 15205[1]). These forms start with **Combogio-s* (also **Comboio-s*), which is partly derived from **bogio-s*, and that is akin with a simpler form **bāgā*, fem., whence Irish *bág*, fem., 'battle' and *bágim* 'I contend'. So *Combogio-s* probably meant one who was 'a brave combatant'. The meaning of *ando-* or *ande-* is not ascertained, but Stokes guessed it to have meant 'against'; thus *Ando-combogios* may perhaps have signified an 'opposing champion'. But here one is more interested in the spelling; for according to the analogy of our inscriptions in the North Etruscan alphabet, with *n* for *nn*=*nd*, the spelling to be expected should have been *Anokomokios*. If the inscriber has not made a slip *Anokopokios* represents *Andocobogios*, with *co-* as the prefix which is usually *com-*. The spelling of the next name *Setu-pokios* offers no difficulty as it seems to represent *Setu-bogios*, with *setu*, which is related probably to Ir. *sith* 'long', used as an intensive prefix (Stokes in Fick, II. 294); so *Setu-bogios* should mean 'Ever-combating, long in the conflict'—or the like; and we seem to have it in *Nappisetu*, for which see p. 67: see also nom. *Setus*, genitive *Seti*, cited by Holder, who fails to convince us when he makes it a Gaulish pronunciation of Latin *Sextus*.

As regards line 7, I am inclined to stand by my suggestion that *Esanekoti* is to be regarded as representing Essandekotti, for *Ecsandecottii*, not the genitive singular of the father's name *Essandecottos*, but the nominative plural meaning Essandecottians, in the sense of sons of Essandecottos, which in spite of the *-oi* of *Dan(n)otalicnoi*, yields us a parallel to it in point of syntax. Then we come to *Anareviśeos*, which I am now convinced should be left as *Anareviseos* or, perhaps, *Anarevisseos*, with the prefix *an* usually meaning in personal names 'very', as in *Anarekartoṣ*: see Danielsson, p. 22, where he corrects Holder's *Anarekartoị*. *Are-karto-s* would probably mean 'strong, powerful, mighty', and *An-arekartos* 'very powerful'. So *An-arevisseos* probably meant 'very wise or very highly possessed of knowledge'. Lastly, *Tanotalos* is well known to stand for *Dannotalo-s*, of which the etymological meaning is uncertain, though the late M. d'Arbois de Jubainville interpreted it as 'front hardi.'

The whole inscription may be rendered thus: 'TAGOS THE MAGISTRATE (AND) V . . .: On(n)aquinta's sons, begotten of Dan(n)otalos, (to wit) Quintos the Legate, Andocobogios, (and) Setubogios, (also her) sons by Ecsandecottos, (to wit), Anarevisseos, (and) Dan(n)otalos, built a cairn over them.'

7. LEVO, in Chignolo Verbano, on the hill side behind Stresa, on the western side of Lago Maggiore. Here a group of five inscriptions were discovered in the course of clearing room for the foundations of the small Hotel Levo in the year 1887. They were on tombstones, two in Latin and three in Celtic, with only one commemorating a man. Three of the stones have been acquired by the museum at Turin; the other two are still at Levo, where they stand fastened to the southern wall of the building to which I have referred, and to which the term hotel seems to be still applied. To get to Levo, the least troublesome way is to take the electric train which goes up the Mottarone from Stresa and step out at the station called Ginese-Levo. You then descend into a level road, which you follow in a northern direction for about a quarter of an hour. You overlook the lake, together with the Borromean Isles, and the view the whole time is a dream of beauty. At the end of the short walk you are at Levo, which consists of some half-dozen houses. You ask for the so-called hotel, which is a somewhat bigger building than the others, though in April it presented the appearance of a deserted public-house.

(1) The first stone, still at Levo, has its top rounded, and the dimensions of its surface are 1^{m} 18 by 1^{m} 40, as given by Ferrero in the *Atti della Società di Archeologia e Belle Arti per la Provincia di*

Torino, VII. 56-60. The inscription consists of two short lines, reading across the face of the stone from left to right as follows:—

N ᚨ M V

ESOPNIO

That is *Namu Esopnio*, with only two, or at most three, of the letters of the Etruscan type, namely, the A, the P, and in some degree the E. The V has its second line nearly vertical and parallel with the edge to which it is close. Both the lines are bounded by straight grooves as on so many others of these inscribed stones.

The name *Namu* is also found as *Namo*, and among the instances cited by Holder is its dative *Namuni*, from Bieno, in the same region. That is, it is of the *n* declension and common gender, but here it is a man's name, derived from a simpler form *namo-s* or *Namo-s*, which is possibly to be identified with Welsh *naf*, applied in Mod. Welsh to the Almighty, but supposed to mean 'a lord, *dominus*', and possibly of the same origin as Greek νέμω 'I deal out, distribute, dispense'. In that case such a name as *Nammo* can hardly be connected with *Namu*. The other vocable, *Esopnio* stands for an older *Esopnio-s* = *Ecsobnio-s* from *Ecs-obno-s*, which meant 'without fear, *sans peur*', in Old Irish *es-omun*, Welsh *eh-ofyn*, whence the dialectical forms *ech-on*, *e-on*, *ewn*. The simple noun was *obno-*, in Ir. *omun*, Welsh *ofn* 'fear'. The whole meant 'Namu son of Ecsobnos', and here we have the termination *-i̯o-s*, and not the *-ālo-s* on one of these five stones and usual in the Lugano district. For other instances of the patronymic see Holder, s.vv. *Exobnus*, *Exsobnus*, *Exsonius*. Lastly, an article made of iron was found in the grave, to wit, the iron head of a lance.

(2) Another of the Levo stones, now in the museum at Turin, reads across the face of the slab near the top from left to right, but upside down. It measures 2m 20 by 0m 60. The only reason for cutting the letters upside down seems to be that the inscriber found it more convenient when the stone was lying on the floor to face it from behind the narrower end which was going to be the top when the stone had been fixed in the ground. It was too long for him to work from the wider end unless he went on his knees on the stone, or else did his inscribing seated beside the stone. Probably unskilled in the work, he preferred to take the position near the narrow end, forgetting that his legend would be upside down, as in the margin. Where the legend was placed the surface had been slightly smoothed,

N V O M ⅃

ꟼ X Ǝ K V ꟼ

but a little distance lower it was left in a rough unlevelled state, as that part of the stone was to be hidden in the ground.

The letters make *Atekua Asoun* . . of which the last letter remaining seemed to me to make an M with the lower half of its last limb gone owing to a slight damage to which the edge had been subjected some time or other. However I should not know what to make of an *m*, and I prefer thinking, on the whole, that Danielsson (loc. cit., p. 27) is right in treating the imperfect lettering as meant for NI, as suggested by Ferrero in the *Atti* mentioned above, pp. 56 *et seq.* Both times the *u* is given the form Λ, or V upside down, as in the Etruscan alphabet of Este, and in some inscriptions from Gurina in Obergailthal in Carinthia: see Pauli, pp. 51–3, and nos. 92, 93. There is one other point to be mentioned here, namely, that the shape of the initial A of the second line reminds one decidedly of the first A of the Briona inscription, p. 68 above, that is the ⊧ of *Tagos*, resembling a Roman F upside down.

We have the name *Atekua* written ATIICVA in the finds at Ornavasso, p. 82 below. It is the Celtic *q*-form corresponding to the *p*-Celtic, that is Gaulish, *Atepa*, of which Holder cites two instances. The corresponding masculine should be *Atepo-s*, of which we have evidence in the derivatives *Atepius*, *Atepilla*, *Atepilos*, also shortened *Atpillos*, *Atpilos*; but *Atepos* would seem to have given way to *Atepo* of the *n* declension which is found in the Latin genitive as *Ateponis*, dative *Ateponi*: see Holder's instances. They are of a hypocoristic origin, based on such compounds as *Atepomāros* and *Ateporīx*. We come now to the patronymic, which, if we follow Ferrero and Danielsson, must be treated as *Aśouni* and regarded as all that was written, but it is highly probable that the whole word was *Aśounia*, a feminine adjective qualifying *Atekua*. The leaving out of the final *a* occurs also in the next inscription to be mentioned, and we may compare *Valaunal* for *Valaunali* on the Mesocco stone, p. 54 above. In *Aśounia* the syllable *as* may represent, according to the analogy of others of these inscriptions, a fuller writing *aks*, *acs*, or *ax*, and the patronymic would have been *Axiounia*, meaning the 'Axiounian or daughter of Axiounos', a name which occurs as a Latin dative *Axiouno* in a Nîmes inscription (*C. I. L.*, XII. 3215). Our instance is shortened one syllable, as is the case with a kindred form on a Latin monument at Caluso, between Turin and Ivrea, which yields the dative masculine *Asonio* and the dative feminine *Asoniae* thrice: see *C. I. L.*, V. 6902, and Danielsson, loc. cit., p. 28.

This Levo legend means nothing more or less than this: 'Atekụa daughter of Aśounos', for an earlier *Axiounos*.

(3) The next Levo stone is also in the Antiquarian Museum at Turin, and measures 1m 25 by 0m 30. It reads from right to left, with the M upside down, but not disjointed, as follows :—

That is *Koimila Tunal*; for Danielsson (p. 29) is certainly right in reading upwards, which he often finds to be necessary in Etruscan inscriptions: see the Mesocco stone, p. 55 above. But I cannot follow him when he divides the whole into *Koimi Latunal*(*i*): I prefer abiding by the inscriber's division of the words, and reading in the nominative case, *Koimila Tunal*(*a*). From an adjective *koimo-s* Irish got its old form *cóim*, *cóem* 'pretty, lovely', in Mod. spelling, *caomh* 'mild, gentle, fair', Welsh *cu* 'dear', Cornish *cuf*, *cueff*, Breton *cuff*, *cunff*, *kûñ*. The word enters frequently into the composition of proper names of persons, especially in Cornish and Breton; also in Irish, which has, for instance, a *Coemell*, genitive *Caimill* (Book of Leinster, fo. 350[a], 370[a]). This word represents an early *Coimillo-s*, *Coimilli*, and our *Coimila* stands for *Coimilla* with *ll*, and in fact it occurs exactly in a more common Irish feminine *Cóimell* (fo. 312[c]), *Coemell* (fo. 372[a]). In the latter place we have a whole group of 'lovely ones', including *Coemell* and her son *Coemgen*, that is St. *Kevin* of Glendalough: compare Stokes's *Oengus*, pp. 144, 145 (note to June 3).

We come now to *Tunal*, which I should complete as *Tunala*, standing perhaps for *Dunnālā*. The whole would mean 'Coimilla, daughter of Dun(n)os', and the latter name should be identical with the *Dunno-s* implied by *Dunnius*, on which see Holder, I. 1374. Compare the (Latin) genitive *Dunnonis* in an inscription with *Suricae Dunnonis f*(*iliae*) found at Castelseprio, hard by Milan (*C. I. L.*, V. 5618), and a *Dunonis* in one reading *C. Juncus Dunonis f*(*ilius*) from Valperga, which drains into the Orco that joins the Po near Chivasso (ib. 6935): the *nn* is probably right in these forms with *u*. There are others with *o*, such as *Donnos*, appearing in Latin as *Donnus*, genitive *Donni*, as on the Segusian Arch at Susa (*C. I. L.*, V. 7231). Compare *regis Donni f*(*ilius*), dating from the end of the first century B.C., and others from Como and Modena, not to mention the *Donnus* of Gaulish silver coins. Here may also be mentioned a Latin genitive *Dononis* in an inscription with *Magiomarus Dononis f*(*ilius*) found at Diexerberg, near Völkermarkt, in Carinthia (*C. I. L.*, III. 11579): see these and allied names in Holder's first volume. It is not improbable that the name was one and the same, whether written with *u* or *o*, *n* or *nn*.

This inscription, as Danielsson (loc. cit., p. 31) clearly saw, is parallel to the Mesocco one, both in reading upwards and in having the vowel of the case ending of the patronymic left out, thus:—

2. Valaunal(i)	2. Tunal(a)
1. Raneni	1. Koimila

*** The Levo group contains, besides the three Celtic inscriptions discussed already, two in Latin, with Celtic names and the same construction as the three purely Celtic ones. The first measures 1m 10 by 1m 50, and is still at Levo, where it is fastened to the wall of the hotel. It reads as in the margin, *Veca Atbiti F(ilia)*, which had it been in Celtic would have probably been *Veca Atbitia* or else *Veca Atbitala.* Had the Latin, on the other hand, been the original formula, we should probably have had it adopted in the foregoing inscriptions, with a Celtic word for son or daughter inserted. That is to say, the original formula was Celtic and the Latin version was the translation, which had to have recourse to the word *filius* or *filia* as the case might be. Altogether the Latin proves that the foregoing translation of the Celtic formula here in question is in the main correct.

VECA
ATBITI
F

Of the names in this epitaph, the first, *Veca*, is the feminine corresponding to the (Latin) nominative *Vecus*, of which the genitive *Veci* occurs in 'Messava Veci f(ilia) Uxor' in an inscription from Bovegno in the Val Trompia, which drains south towards Brescia (*C. I. L.*, V. 4910): compare the potter's stamp *Veco-rix* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10010. 1990) now at Rheims. There are a number of related forms, the simplest of which was *vix* (= *vic-s*), genitive **vic-os*, plural nom. *vic-es*. It has been guessed that this is related to Irish *fich* 'a battle, a fight' and *fichim* 'I fight', also to Latin *vinco* 'I conquer', and *per-vicax* 'stubborn, firm', so the meaning to be attached to *vix* is probably that of 'warrior, conqueror'. In Irish the word occurs in the genitive as *vic-as*, for common Celtic *vic-os*, also as *vvecc-as* (=*vech-os*), in compound names in Ogam such as *Bora-vvecc-*, *Erca-viccas*, *Lugu-vvicc-*, *Orga-vicas*, *Rittu-vvecc-*, *Ritta-vvecas*, and possibly *Glevica* . . . for *Gleva-vicas*. To this may perhaps be related such forms as *Vecco* and *Veco*, both of the *n* declension, and *Veccius* implying *Veccos* (*C. I. L.*, XI. 1147, p. vii, 37): the *cc* in Ogam mostly means *ch*, but the Continental forms with *cc* here remind one of the Irish name *Fiacc*, genitive *Féicc*, which seems to be a hypocoristic form of *Vēc-*, *Veic-* from another form of the same stem: compare Gothic

waihjo 'a battle', Lithuanian *ap-veikiù* 'I force', and cognate forms with a diphthong *ei* or *ai*: see Walde, s. v. *vinco*. That the *cc* was intentional in *Vecco*, as contrasted with *Vecati* (genitive)—both in one and the same inscription—is probable: see *C. I. L.*, V. 6644, where it is said to be at Pallanza on Lake Maggiore.

With *Atbiti* corresponding to a nominative which was probably in its Latin form *Atbitus* for a Celtic *Atbito-s*, one should compare the spelling *Adbitus* in a fragmentary inscription from Vaison (Vaucluse), now at Carpentras (*C. I. L.*, XII. 1386). From these it is difficult to say whether *Atbitus* is a shortened form of an earlier *Atc-bito-s* or whether it begins with the prefix *ad*, liable to be written *at* before a consonant as in our epitaph; but compare *oberte* (= *od-berte*) in the *Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 66, 67. Thus *ate-* seems to fit better. Here may also be mentioned the simpler name *Bitos* which is cited by Holder from Alexandria as that of a Gaul:—Βιτος Λοστοιεκ ο Γαλατης, to whom he assigns the date of the first century after Christ: see *The American Journal of Archaeology*, III (Baltimore, 1887), p. 265. The Celticity of these names is beyond all reasonable doubt.

*** The remaining Levo epitaph in Latin is on a stone still at Levo measuring 1m 25 by 0m 45, and it reads as in the margin.

SVRICA
CIPOИIS
F

That is, 'Surica daughter of Ciposis', and the name *Surica* occurs also in *Suricae Dunnonis f(iliae)* in an inscription from Castelseprio, by Milan, where it is now in the Brera museum (*C. I. L.*, V. 5618). The Latin genitive masculine occurs in an inscription now in the Brescia museum, brought thither from Maderno on the western shore of Lake Garda: it reads 'Q. Surici. F(ilius) | Minervae | V. S. L. M.' (*C. I. L.*, V. 4856). The Celtic forms were *Suricos* (genitive *Surici*) and *Surica*, and they readily resolve themselves into *Su-rico-s* and *Su-ricā* with the prefix *su-* 'well, good', used much in the same way as the Greek εν- in εὔ-μορφος 'fair of form', which in fact seems to have been the meaning of *Su-ricos*, *Suricā*. I reason in this way: Welsh *rhith* 'form, appearance' is in Irish *richt* with the same meaning and derivation from a stem *rik-tu-*, the meaning of which probably attaches, not to the termination but to *rik*: compare Sanskrit *rékhati* 'tearings, scratches', Greek ἐρείκω 'I split, break', Lith. *rék-ti* 'to cut, to plough for the first time' (Stokes, Fick, II. 228, 233, also I. 115). To this diphthongized stem belongs the Welsh *rhwyg* 'a tearing' for an early *reiko-*, and from the sense of tearing and splitting you come to that of lines and outlines. Compare the German *Ritze*, *Riss* a scratch, a rift' and *Grundriss* or *Umriss* 'the outline or contour of

anything'. If the Welsh *rhigol* 'a groove, a furrow, a small ditch' also belongs to the root in question, *Surica* may have been *Su-rīcā*.

The next name *Ciposis* is one of which I can make nothing: it is noticeable for having the peculiarly shaped *s* carried into an epitaph in the Latin language. I fancied, however, that I saw the same or a kindred name in a late inscription at Suno, to which my attention had been some time before directed by the Cav. Cesare Poma of Biella. There is in the Berlin Corpus V. 8934 Addit. (p. 1088) a reading of it by Professor Mommsen, but the representations of it which he had at his command appear to have been misleading, and as there given it is unsatisfactory. My friend, the Cavaliere, and I failed also to make it out except for a word here and there somewhat as below: it is surmounted by a wheel cross:—

CAMINA
IN : CIPODI
EM : LXVII
· · · O · · · · ΓII · · ·
IO R AD
VENAFIB · ER
ŪI · TUAVIA
EΓT

The first three lines seem to read 'Camina | in : Cipodi | em : lxvii', possibly 'Cipodie Mil xvij'; while in the fifth and sixth lines the word *advena* seems to emerge, and the end appears to be 'ūi · tua via | est'. In *Cipodi* in the second line I should suggest that possibly the D stands for a barred Đ. This sometimes appears in Celtic as an alternative for *s* or *ss*, which would give us something like *Ciposi* or *Cipossiem*.

8. Carcegna is the name of a place in the commune of Miasuno, on the Lago d'Orta, and there, in 1903, was found one of the most instructive of our Celtic inscriptions. It was on land belonging to the Cav. Curioni, who has, besides his residence at Turin, a country house on the shore of the lake close to the little town of Orta. The discovery of the inscription was communicated to a well-known and reliable archæologist, Dr. Elia Lattes, of Milan, who published a brief account of it, together with two photographs, in the pages of the proceedings of the Turin Academy—*Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. XXXIX. Disp. 1ª (1903–4), p. 449 et seq.: see also Danielsson, loc. cit., p. 18. The inscription had been scratched

on a terra-cotta vase the top of which was missing; as it stood, it measured 0m 07 high by 0m 11 at its greatest diameter. Since then the missing fragment appears to have been found by a peasant, and the whole proves to have been of the same somewhat turbinate shape as that represented in Bianchetti's *Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, plate XX. fig. 16.

(1) The legend is as follows, from left to right, round the top of the fragment:—

𐌌𐌄𐌗𐌄𐌋𐌖𐌉 · 𐌌𐌀𐌄𐌑𐌉𐌋𐌀𐌋𐌖𐌉 · 𐌖𐌄𐌍𐌉𐌀 ·
𐌌𐌄𐌗𐌄𐌋𐌉𐌊𐌍𐌀 · 𐌀𐌑𐌌𐌉𐌍𐌀 · 𐌊𐌓𐌀𐌔𐌀𐌍𐌉𐌊𐌍𐌀

That is 'Metelui Maeśilalui Venia Metelikna Aśmina Krasanikna'. On this there are two or three remarks to make: the lettering forms a circle, and the word *Aśmina* comes nearly up to *Metelui*, so the vocable *Krasanikna* is, roughly speaking, placed underneath so that it ends opposite the end of *Metelui*. The 𐌋 of *Metelui* is somewhat shorter than the letters next to it, being prevented from taking its proper place by a horizontal bit of stone in the wall of the ware. The first arm of the *V* of *Venia* is slightly curved, and at the bottom the inscriber's tool seems to have slipped; but to my thinking the letter is a V and not an imperfect K.[1] In Prof. Lattes's plate there is between the I and the K of *Metelikna* a small v at the top or a mark which, with the I, completes an 𐌍, so that the reading there is *Meteliukna* or *Metelnkna*. How this spelling came in I cannot tell; I did not notice it when looking at the vase itself, but I had then no copy of Dr. Lattes's account of the inscription.

Metelui is the dative of *Metelo-s* or *Metello-s*: compare *Metela*, masc., from Borgo S. Dalmazzo near the western boundary of Piedmont, and *Metilius*, *Metillius* of which Holder gives instances. Such forms seem to be traceable to *met-*, whence Welsh *med-i* 'the act of reaping', *medel* 'a reaping party', Irish *methel* with the same meaning; but the form most remarkable in this context is the Cornish *midil*, glossed by the Latin word *messor* (Stokes, Fick, II. 207), which also occurs as a cognomen. We now come to *Maesilalui*, which is the dative of *Maesilālos*, meaning 'son of *Maesilos* or *Maesillos*': it is difficult to explain which. On the whole I should treat it as *Mesillos*, regarding it as being spelt with *ae* under Latin influence. Corssen, in his work *Über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*, I², pp. 692–4, concludes that *ae* from *ai* presents itself as *e*, including *ĕ*, as in *praetia*, *modaestia*, *conditionemquae*, and that in

[1] This will hardly dispose of the doubtful vocable: I have been lately examining Dr. Lattes's photographs more closely, and I seem to see 𐌑𐌍 𐌉𐌀 that is *śnuia*, a reading which could be explained, though a highly improbable one.

the language of cultivated men the sound was ē in the third and fourth centuries even though *ae* continued to be written in books and public documents. He then appends a string of instances in which *ae* and *e* appear indifferently, such as Titi*ae* Lucid*e*, Polli*ae* Prim*e*, Nepotill*e* fili*ae*, and Dian*e* Sanct*ae*. Assuming that the *ae* in our inscription was due to Latin influence we reach a form of the name, which is probably more genuine, to wit, *Mesillos*, occurring as *Messili*, genitive of *Messilus* in a Latin inscription at Brescia (*C. I. L.*, V. 4536), and we have the same name as *Missillus* (*C. I. L.*, II. 5812) in an inscription from Sasamon (north-west of Burgos, in Spain) to which Holder assigns the date A. D. 239. He cites instances of the feminine as *Messilla*, with dative *Messillae* and *Messille* (*C. I. L.*, III. 1872, 1901, 3990); and from Aquileia (V. 1438) there comes a rarer genitive in *es* in *D. M. Valeriae Messilles*. Besides *Messil(l)us* there was a spelling with barred Đ or Θ, such as the potter's stamp MEΘILLVS, MIIĐĐILLVS, MEĐĐILLVS, together with the feminine *Meḍdila*, and related forms *Međđillius*, *Međđicus*, and *Međđirius*. It is to be noticed that, according to Holder, there was also a spelling *Medsillus*, which I regard as intermediate between *Messill-* and *Međđill-*: compare *Ressĭ-mārus* and *Redso-mārus*, identified by Zeuss with *Ređđo-marus*. For all these names see Holder's entries *Međđillus*, *Redso-marus*, and kindred names; also my *Celtic inscriptions of Gaul*, pp. 11, 12, with the note on *Međđillus* à propos of Μισσουκος, in which it is suggested that *đđ* represents a lisping pronunciation, common in Gaul, of *ss*, where apparently the *ss* had been derived from *ns*.

The next name, *Venia*, claims kinship with the Welsh *gwên* 'a smile', from a root *u̯en* 'to be glad, to look at with delight', whence Irish *fine* 'kinship, family, one's kin' from an early *veniā*. If our *Venia* be of the same formation it may have meant 'one of our kith and kin, one of whom her family was proud, or else one who was proud of her race and descent'. But as a matter of derivation *Venia* as a short name was based on such compounds as *Veni-clutius*, and *Veni-carus* or *Veno-carus*, the former of which is found to have been widely spread on the Continent as a potter's name: it probably meant 'one who wins fame for his clan, or else one who is famous in his clan'. From such compounds, probably, was derived a short name *Veno-s*, which is represented in Welsh by *Gwên*, the name of one of Llywarch Hên's sons. *Venia Metelikna* means a *Venia* who is a little *Metellos*, that is daughter of a father so named, an edition, so to say, of him.

Aśmina would seem to be a shortened form of *Aśimina*, and that a pronunciation of *Acsimina* or *Aximina* a regular derivative from *Acsimo-s* or *Acsimā*, as to which see pp. 49, 50 above. The lady

Aśmina was probably the last or the only wife of Metellos and daughter of Crassanos a name postulated by *Craxanio-s*, genitive *Craxanii*, in a Latin inscription at Nîmes, reading *Excingomarus Craxanii F(ilius)* 'Ex. son of Craxanios' (*C. I. L.*, XII. 3577). Holder cites related forms such as *Craxus, Craxa, Craxius, Craxsius, Craxxius, Craxxillus, Craxsantus*, not to mention the spellings with *s* as in *Crasius*, feminine *Crasia.* The reduction in pronunciation of *cs* to *ss*, while the spelling with *x* continued some time longer, may be reasonably supposed to have made the reverse possible, i. e. to write *x* for the sound of *ss* or *s*, where *x* never had any etymological footing. Thus it is possible that these names with *x* are of the same origin as Latin *Crassus, Crassicius*, and allied forms.

The inscription as a whole may be rendered thus: To Metellos, son of M(a)essillos, Venia daughter of Metellos and Aśmina daughter of Crassanos (give it).

(2) On the bottom of a nice little terra-cotta lamp in the same collection, I saw, in neat Latin letters, the inscription OMISE, which looks like a dative feminine reduced from *Omisai.*

*** Another, and hard to read, seems to have EABRID MA. but the D is very doubtful, and may have been L· that is L with a point following. The MA. looks as if it stood for *manu.*

9. Ornavasso, which is a small town in the south of the Valle d'Ossola not far from Lago d'Orta and Lago Maggiore, is the home of the Bianchetti family. The late Enrico Bianchetti, who died in 1893, was a member of the Italian parliament and a distinguished archæologist, who excavated two extensive burial places in the vicinity of the town. At the beginning of September, 1890, some workings connected with the railway from Novara to Domodossola brought to light, close to a little chapel called S. Bernardo, pieces of ancient earthenware vases and fragments of objects in metal. The Cav. Bianchetti was told of the discovery, and he went to the spot but too late to prevent the destruction of a quantity of the antiquities by the navvies, who had been filled with the expectation of finding treasure. After putting a stop to the devastation with the aid of his friends, and securing a short lease of the piece of ground which he deemed the most promising, he went to work and did not stop till he had excavated 165 tombs, without counting those destroyed by the navvies. This was at S. Bernardo (B), and when he had finished there he secured temporary possession of another promising plot of ground not far off called *In persona* (P), which proved a somewhat later burial place; in fact it appeared to have been brought into use when the other had been filled. There also the number of

tombs excavated amounted to 165, but had the work been continued he was of opinion that the number could have been increased.

The next work he undertook was the writing of a complete account of the objects found in the course of his excavation of the two cemeteries. But he did not live to finish it entirely, and his friend Professor Ermanno Ferrero undertook to see it published, which he did under the title of 'I sepolcreti di Ornavasso scoperti e descritti da Enrico Bianchetti'. Illustrated by twenty-six photographic plates, it forms volume VI of the *Atti della Società d'Archeologia e Belle Arti per la Provincia di Torino* (Turin, 1895). This priceless collection of the antiquities which Bianchetti made is now in his house inhabited by his son, the Cav. Edgardo Bianchetti, who with his lady received us with great kindness and hospitality. I ought to have said that a number of pieces of Samian ware from Ornavasso may be seen also in the Cantonal Museum at Lugano, a few may be found in the local museum at Domodossola, and probably some in other museums to which the generous discoverer made presents out of his store.

The inscriptions which the Cav. Bianchetti has registered in his *Sepolcreti di Ornavasso* are in some cases in Latin letters and in others in the North Etruscan alphabet—the numbers are his, as follows:—(2) ATIICVA (P), which has already been noticed, p. 74. (3) . . . . *antionis* (P). (6) CII$II (P), that is *Cese*. The *s* is nearly everywhere $, or the reverse, and its presence hardly proves the alphabet to be Etruscan, while C and II point to Latin, as do also such names as *Caesar*, *Caesius*, *Caesonius*, and *Caeso* or *Kaeso*. (11) . . *onis* (P). (13) P · PVSIONIS (P). (14) *Sa* (B), which is doubtless part of the name in the next number. (15) *Sabi* (P). The letters and words in the Etruscan alphabet are the following:—(1) Λ (B). (4) ⸮ΟΙΧΛ (B), that is *Atios*, possibly *Antios* or else *Adios*. This last occurs as a dative *Adio* at Arles (*C. I. L.*, XII. 796). (5) ΛΤΙ$ (P), that is *Atis*, which may be said to be in mixed letters. It was the name of a king of the Transpadan Boii in the third century B.C.: see Holder, s. vv. *Atis* and *Galatos*. (7) Ψ (B). (8) ꟼV (B): compare *iu* in 20 (γ) below. (9) *kia* (B), with which may perhaps be compared *Vasekia* in no. 18. (10) KDI, that is *Kri* (B). (12) ꟼΟV, that is *Pov* (B). (16) X (B), probably the Etruscan for T, occurs on a number of vases *a trottola* and other vessels. Nobody has, so far as I know, guessed the meaning of this and the other one-letter inscriptions.

(17) ⸮ΟΜΛ⸮ΛV (B), that is *Vasamos*, in which we seem to have the *vas* of the Celtic *vasso-s* continued in Irish as *foss*, Welsh *gwas* 'a young man, a servant'. Holder cites *Vassus* also as a man's name,

having probably been suggested by such a compound as *Vasso-rix* meaning literally 'king or leader of the young men'. *Vas(s)amos* would seem to be a superlative formation meaning a most devoted attendant or companion, a most faithful vassal.

(18) ΛIꓘƎϟΛV (B), that is *Vasekia*, the feminine of *Vasekio-s* derived from *Vaseko-s*, which occurs as a (Latin) nominative *Vasecus* (*C. I. L.*, II. 363) at Soure in Portugal. Speaking of the form, one might take the termination *-eco-* to be a reduction of *-aico-*, not of *-āco-*; for some instances see Holder, volume III. 526. But there is another way of attacking the name, to wit, by pronouncing it *Vasegia* and connecting it with *Vosegus* the (Latin) name of the god of Caesar's 'Mons Vosegus' (IV. 10), whence the French *Vosges*, called in German *Wasgau*, derived according to Holder from *Vasego*: see his volume III. 448, 450. There he cites an imperfect inscription which describes a building sacred to the god *Vosegus Silvestris.* It was found at the foot of the Reiberg, and it is now in the museum at Niederbronn (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 6027).

(19) VIIꟿ꓄ꟿ꓄ (B), which yields an ambiguous reading, either *Amasiiu* or *Amaseu*. The former may represent *Ammasi-iu*, perhaps for *Am(b)asi-iu*, to be compared with *Lutou iu* in the next number (20γ). In any case *Vešama* is not to be accepted, as it is obtained by reading the letters from left to right regardless of their proper aspect. Note should be taken of the M which is like a ꓄ with a small X attached to its arm: it is Bianchetti's facsimile, p. 69. The letter ꟿ has its verticals produced below the level of the others so that it looks as if on stilts. Since there seems to be no decisive reason for reading II as Latin *e* in the midst of Etruscan forms, one should perhaps treat the II as the II of ALISIIA, that is *Alisi̯a* (*C. Insc. of France and Italy*, pp. 4, 5), which was doubtless Gaulish. Here one may accordingly read *Am(b)asi̯u* the dative of *Ambasi̯o-s*, which, strange to say, we have from far distant Thebes, to wit, in the Latin form of *Ambasius.* See the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, V, p. 264, no. 1471, and compare Dr. Herbig's *Amui*, p. 51 above. For the termination *-asio-*, *-asia*, see Holder's instances, I. 247, III. 707.

We now come to the alternative reading *Amaseu* which treats the last letter but one as Latin II (= *e*). That name I should regard as standing for an earlier dative *Am(b)ase-ui* of *Am(b)aseo-s*, derived from a simpler form *Am(b)aso-s*; for the termination *-eo-s* (perhaps for an earlier *-aio-s*) one may refer to p. 29 above. I give the preference to the reading *Amaseu* 'To or for Am(b)aseos'.

(20) As regards inscriptions we now come to far the most important of the Ornavasso finds: it is a vase *a trottola* of red earthen-

ware measuring in diameter where it bulges most 0m 208, and in its total height 0m 138 (*I Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, pp. 69, 145). The vessel shows on different parts of its surface no less than four bits of writing: they seem to have nothing to do with one another, and they have been read as follows :—

(*a*) ΛƎVOⲘI

That is, reading forwards, *Inouea*, possibly for *Innouea* or rather *In-gnouea*, formed with the help of the termination *-eā* (masculine *-eo-s*) from a simpler name *In-gnouo-s* involving a stem *gnouo-s* to be compared with the Breton *gnou* '*manifeste, évident*', and the Welsh personal name *Gnouan*, also Irish *gnóe* 'anything delightful, a thing of beauty', *gnóda* 'famous'. For these and forms of kindred origin see pp. 57–9 above, where, among other instances of words derived from *gnā* 'to *know*', I mentioned the following with the prefix *in-*, Irish *in-gne* '*intelligentia*', *in-gnaidi* '*intellectus*', Welsh *yn-gnat, ynad* 'a judge'. It seems legitimate to suppose *Inouea* to represent an earlier, fuller form *In-(g)nouea*, with the prefix *in-* strengthening the signification into something like 'having a very sound judgement, or else very distinguished, very beautiful, or very famous'. In the case of a woman's name which exact shade of meaning one should fix upon I cannot say: let it suffice that it was, doubtless, intended to be highly flattering to the bearer.

(*β*) The next reads

⁝IHVX

That is *tuni*, probably representing *Dun(n)i* the genitive case or *Dun(n)o-s*, from which we have already had *Tunal(a)* meaning daughter of *Dun(n)os*, p. 75, above. I am not sure that the punctuation following the I does not suggest that the inscriber meant to have written more, but what we have no means of guessing.

(*γ*) The next yields two words, or rather perhaps a single word followed by an abbreviation of a second one, thus :—

VI⁝VOXVꓡ

That is, when read forwards, *Lutou iu*. This would be, provided the X has its ordinary values, *Lutou iu* or *Ludou iu*. The former with *t* has possibly a nearly related form in the Irish name *Loth*, genitive *Loith* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 334f), representing the early forms, nominative *Loto-s*, genitive *Loti*. Compare also the feminine *Lút*, genitive *Lúta* (ibid., 353b, 359r): here *Lút* suggests the *u* declension, but other MSS. give *Lúit*, genitive *Lúta* of the *i* declension: see Stokes's

Gorman, April 30 and July 27. In any case the name in question is here of the *u* declension, *Lutou* being the regular dative. So *Lutou iu* would mean 'To or for *Lutus* an *iu*'; but what is one to make of the two letters IV, which are possibly to be detached also in the case of the AMASIIV lately touched upon? No such doubt can occur, however, as to an instance across which I have come in Holder's third volume (col. 786), where one finds quoted from *C. I. L.* (XIII. 10010. 3190[c]) the short legend, BAAI · IV, not produced as a graffito or scratch of any kind but stamped on a vessel when the clay was still soft, not once but four times. The vessel is described as a piece of black pottery traced to Ladenburg, whence it found its way to the museum at Carlsruhe,[1] in Baden, where it is to be seen. The letters are ordinary Latin capitals, concerning which, as represented in the Corpus, there is nothing to remark except that the first A is made to incline awkwardly towards the *B* and away from the other *A*. All that the editor (Zangemeister) says is—'Vas nigrum BAAI · IV quater impress(um)'. To the question of the identity of the IV perhaps the first answer to suggest itself would be that it stands for the numeral four, but even so what could that mean here? Supposing a possible answer to this latter question to be forthcoming, it is to be borne in mind that *iu* goes with a dative case, here a dative feminine. Compare provisionally *Aai pala* where the *pala* was for the woman named Aa (p. 36 above). There is no mistake as to the case being dative, for it is needless to repeat that one sets out, in the present instance also, from a dative, namely, *Lutou* or *Ludou*, the gender of which is not indicated by its declension. Before dismissing this question with the admission that I hardly know what to make of IV, it may possibly be worth mentioning that IV appears once or twice as an abbreviation in the Coligny Calendar, where, as we know, the complete word was IVOS, sometimes abbreviated into IVO in that document. There I was led to interpret IVOS as meaning 'a banquet or feast' and as having possibly another form, *euos*, which we seem to have in the ꞒV of no. 8 above. It is to be traced in Celtic personal names; see my Academy paper on *The Coligny Calendar*, pp. 50–52, where I have offered some conjectures as to the etymology of the word. Accordingly *Lutou iu* might be rendered 'A feast for Lutus' or *lutus*! and *Baai iu* 'a feast for Baa'! or better *baa*, for which see p. 97 below.

(δ) We come now to the most famous of all these inscriptions of

[1] Since this was written the learned Director of the Carlsruhe Museum kindly took an impression of the whole fragment for me; so I am enabled to reproduce it by means of photography.

Cisalpine Gaul: the learned excavator gives it as follows from right to left (pp. 69, 145):—

MOXΛϺ:MOϺIV:ƎꟼIΛXVꟼΛ:IVᗡΛMVXΛ

That makes in English letters: *Latumarui Sapsutaipe ųinom naxom*, which should mean 'To or for Latumāros and Sapsuta Naxian wine'. The letters require no special notice except the third from the end, which has been treated as if it were a form of ⋈, transcribed *ś* by Pauli. I see no adequate reason for that treatment; as in the case of *Aximai* (p. 49 above) I take it to be a form of X; for X = Latin *x* was inadmissible, since in this alphabet X had the sound of *t* (or *d*). So a modification was made by introducing a line joining the lower ends of the X—in the previous instance the upper ends were joined. Either expedient would do to distinguish X = *cs* from X = *t*· the former was probably the value which the graffito writer intended as the sound of ξ in Νάξος and Νάξιο-, which he reduced to *nacso-*.

Latumarui is the dative of *Latumāro-s*, which resolves itself into *Latu-māro-s*, meaning 'great in respect of what is signified by *latu*', which is represented in Welsh by *llad*. Dr. Davies explains *llad* as 'gratia, donum, beneficium', plural *lladau*, citing from a mediæval source the words 'Pan fo rhaid atteb am bob defnyn o'r llyn a'r lladau' = 'when it is necessary to answer for every drop of the ale and the other good things': they seem to have been also drinks.[1] This is borne out by the use made of *llad*, for instance, by Cynddelw, a bard of the twelfth century who, when celebrating Owain Cyfeiliog's hospitality in eight englyns, dwells in seven of them on the drinks he used to place before his guests. Gold takes a second place in the bard's grateful reckoning, and he speaks of that prince's hand as distributing drink horns full of *llad*: the line runs thus·—*Yn llaw llew cad kyrn llad llawn* = 'in the war-lion's hand the *llad* horns are full'. See the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, I. 234^{a}. Add to this the testimony of the old Cornish Vocabulary, in which we have,

[1] Davies next gives *penllâd* (better *pen llâd*) as *summum bonum* and *rhad penllâd* as *summa gratia, summum beneficium*. The attempt to identify *pen llad* with the *summum bonum* is probably late and not worth considering here. For, be it noted, there was a *llâd* which he gives as the name of a measure of capacity, a vocable of another origin, being some old form of the English *lade* 'a lading, a load'. His words in point are '*Alicubi* llâd *est mensura quaedam*, Deuddeg mwysel o geirch yn y llâd, ac 8 o'r rhŷg a'r gwenith. Penllâd yw dwy lâd, sef mesur dauddyblyg', which may be rendered: 'It is twelve bushels of oats there are in a *lade*, and 8 of rye or wheat. *Penllâd* is two *lades*, that is to say a double measure.' Pughe gives the definition of the measure as coming from the Welsh Laws, but he gives no further reference.

as printed in the *Grammatica Celtica*[ii], p. 1080, the Latin word *liquor* explained simply as *lad*, the equivalent of Welsh *llad*; and further afield there is the Irish word *laith*, meaning 'ale' (Stokes in Fick's II. 238). He suggests as of the same origin Irish *lathach*, Welsh *llaid* 'mud, mire', and compares Latin *latex* 'any liquid, anything wet'; but the Latin word itself is supposed to be borrowed from the Greek λάταξ, gen. λάταγος, plural λάταγες 'the few drops of wine in the bottom of the cup, which were thrown with a splash into a basin': see Walde, s.v. *latex*. With regard to the sequence of ideas in the drink words, one seems to have proceeded from that of good things to drink to that of banquets and hospitality generally, by substituting the part for the whole somewhat on the lines of the definition of a banquet in the Highlands of Scotland as being usually one long drink with a short interval of eating. We seem accordingly to be at liberty to suppose that the name *Latu-māro-s* meant one who was famous for his drink feasts, one whose hospitality was great. It is probably a mere accident that the man so named here is represented as the actual or possible receiver of a present of wine from a distant country.

Setting aside the end syllable of the second word as *-pe*, meaning 'and', and equating it as Gaulish with the *-qui* of another Celtic language, to wit, in Ουνακουι, which we may put into Latin as *Onnaeque* 'and of Onna' (*C. Insc. of Gaul*, pp. 8–10), we have left for our consideration the name *Sapsutai*, dative of *Sapsuta*. Holder (III. 56) treats *-ūtā*, masculine *-ūto-* as a termination, not as part of a compound, and gives other instances: this would leave us the first element of the name as *saps-*, the history of which is obscure. It may possibly be of the same origin as Latin *sap(p)īnus* a kind of fir-tree or pine, whence French *sapin* 'a fir'. The Latin meant also the knotless lower growth of a fir-tree or pine. Walde supposes it derived from a postulated Gaulish form *sapos* for a 'fir-tree', whence Provençal and O. French *sap* of the same meaning, late Latin *sapus*. It is possible that the name *Sapsuta* may have etymologically meant 'a little pine'; we had in Welsh such women's names as *Onnen* literally meaning 'ash-tree', while in English *Myrtle* and the like are not unusual to-day. But, as far as form goes, it would fit to suppose *Sapsuta*, a shortening of *Sapo-suta*, as admitting of being interpreted 'offspring or child of the *sapos*': see Stokes in Fick's II. 306. Should such an explanation of the combination *ps* be considered unsatisfactory, I may suggest some such stem as that of the Greek adjective σαφής, σαφές 'bright, clear'. On the other hand, if it is assumed that no vowel formerly came between the *p* and the *s* of *Sapsuta*, I should be inclined to regard *saps-* as the phonological antecedent of the *sass-* of the many

Celtic names cited by Holder from inscriptions in Latin, such as *Sassus*, *Sassa*, *Sassula*, *Sasso*, *Sassonius*, *Sasouna*, and a name probably pronounced *Sassamus* but spelt *Saxsamus*, *Saxxamus* or *Saxamus*.

My conjecture that *sass-* is a phonological reduction of the *saps-* of *Sapsutai* would imply that the latter is decidedly earlier in point of date than the inscriptions with names beginning with *saps-* reduced to *sass-*. This is borne out by other features of the Latumaros inscription. Not to mention that the latter reads from right to left, it has the neuter ending in *m*, not in *n*, in *uinom Naxom*; in fact no other Celtic instance is known of this *m* ending, though it is recognized to have been the original nasal occurring in that position in the Indo-European parent speech, as it always does in Latin. It is needless to say that *u̯inom* 'wine' was a loan from Latin or some ancient Italian dialect and not from Greek ϝοῖνος, οἶνος. With regard to the adjective, I have already given my reason for reading *Naxom* and not *Naśom*: in either case 'Naxian, from the Island of Naxos' was doubtless meant.

It is right, however, to say that Prof. Danielsson has expressed his doubt as to Naxian wine reaching the neighbourhood of Ornavasso, but I fail to share that doubt, and I find that our distinguished colleague, Sir Arthur J. Evans, the excavator of Cnossos, sees nothing impossible in it, and I have talked about it to other classical scholars, who agree with Sir Arthur. I may add that since Prof. Danielsson wrote (loc. cit., p. 18) the elaborate paper, already mentioned, of Dr. Baserga's with the title 'La Necropoli preromana di Gudo nel Canton Ticino', appeared in the Como *Rivista Archeologica* for the year 1911, where it occupies nearly 140 pages and deals among other topics with some of the early trade routes of the Ticino. The principal one mentioned seems to have proceeded from Locarno by Bellinzona and Mesocco to the St. Bernardino Pass and over into the valley of the Rhine. Now Gudo, Giubiasco and other places near this route have yielded the excavator a thousand or more graves, the contents of which have supplied evidence that the district was thickly peopled by well-to-do inhabitants in pre-Roman times. This is considered established by the value of the objects found, silver, amber, and coral. The progress of these people is seen to have been very considerable in the arts of life, and to be proved especially by the almost incredible variety of their fibulae and fine workmanship. We are here taken back, as it is supposed, to the first stages of the Iron Age, and we find a striking abundance of fictile ware and articles of bronze, the workmanship of which is said to point to minerals coming from Tuscany. Thus is raised the question, how

the route down the Valle Mesolcina to Locarno was continued southwards. Without going into details at this point, it is sufficient to say that it cannot have passed far away from Ornavasso. Doubtless it lay near enough to make it quite possible for Mediterranean commodities to reach that ancient place. In answer to a question of mine on this point, Dr. Viollier of Zurich writes to me as follows:—

'Au sud de Locarno la route pouvait suivre et suivait probablement les deux rives du lac. Le tracé de la rive droite passait très probablement à Ornavasso et de là gagnait la pointe-sud du lac où se trouvaient les nécropoles de Sesto Calende et toutes les petites nécropoles connues sous le nom de Golasecca. Une chose est absolument certaine: c'est qu'il y avait des rapports très intimes entre les populations de Giubiasco et d'Ornavasso, et les sépultures contemporaines de ces deux nécropoles renferment un mobilier absolument identique.—Depuis la pointe-sud du Lac Majeur, la route gagnait très facilement Turin et la rive méditerranéenne ou Milan, Bologne et le territoire étrusque.'

(21) At Ornavasso I met with bitter disappointment; we failed to find the invaluable vase with the four inscriptions; the owner and a friend of his kindly searched for it all the morning of April 14, and so did I, but in vain. This so curtailed my time there, and so disconcerted me, that I do not consider that I did anything like justice to the other inscribed vessels there, which are spread over several rooms of the house. They were no longer in the order indicated by the numbers on them. It was useless to call for number 'So and So—the next—and the next'. One would have to go through them all from beginning to end. Moreover there are some specimens there which may have come from other collections than the two described in the Bianchetti volume; perhaps they are things rescued from the navvies. At any rate I copied one graffito which I could not identify with any of the inscriptions mentioned in it. It runs from right to left, and the reading, somewhat difficult, is as follows.—

IVⲘ ꟻ𐌌ꟻYX Ǝ˩V ·

This would make *Vletuamaśui*, followed, I must add, by two characters which I failed to identify, but, as their aspect seems opposed to that of the other letters, they are probably not to be read continuously with them. They somewhat remind me of the two baffling symbols preceding *Tiusiuilios* in the form which Pauli gives them in his no. 23 in his plate I: see page 66 above. As for the lettering of the rest of the line I wanted at first to read the third letter as ꟻ (= *a*), but I could only make it Ǝ (= *e*); the second V has its first limb sufficiently prolonged

below to recall a Greek Y: compare the first V of *Utonoiu* at Andergia, p. 56 above. The branching of the M (= *m*) is very crude, and it much resembles that of the Giubiasco name *Amaśeu*, p. 83 above.

The last-mentioned form, though there left doubtful, comes in useful here in another way: it helps to divide the legend before us, to wit, into *Vletu Amaśui*, with *Amasui* dative of *Amaso-s*, better *Ammasos* from *Ambaso-s*, the basis of *Ambasius*, for Celtic *Ambasio-s*, and of *Amaśeu* as a possible dative of *Am(b)aseo-s*, referred to above. The next question is, what *uletu* may be. Having been forced to rule out *ulatu*, one is led—I may say driven—to write it *u̯ledu* and identify it unhesitatingly with the O. Irish word *fled*, Welsh *gwleđ* 'a feast, a banquet, a *schmaus*'. Both the Irish and the Welsh forms are feminine, and the former is known to be of the *a* declension, but as that and the *o* declension (masculine and neuter) have been encroaching on the smaller declensions in *u* and *i*, I have little hesitation in thinking that our *u̯ledu* proves the word to have originally been of the *u* declension. We translate accordingly *U̯ledu Am(b)aśui* as 'A feast for Am(b)asos'! I may confess that when, considering the case of *Lutou iu* and *Baai iu*, I suggested rendering them 'A feast for Lutus!' &c., I had no notion I should be able to produce such an indubitable parallel. It makes up in some measure for the disappointment of failing to discover the Latumaros vase.

IV

There remain to be discussed a few inscriptions which I had not at first intended to treat as a group. On closer study of them I became more disposed to look at them in that light at any rate they point to three definite centres, to the neighbourhood of Verona, to the Val Sabbia north-east of Brescia, and to Voltino, high up on the western bank of Lago di Garda. In a word, that lake may be regarded as occupying the middle of the region to which the inscriptions point. At present the data are wanting to prove that this Celtic region of Lake Garda extended itself so as linguistically to touch the other Celtic district in the direction of Como or Lecco. In other words, the Garda group may have been an isolated one; not to mention the fact that the neighbourhood of Sondrio in the Val Tellina to the east of the northern end of the Lake of Como shows specimens of a linguistic element which to me presents the appearance of not being Celtic. Fragments of inscriptions in what appears to have been the same non-Celtic language have also been found further

south, one to the north of Lago d'Iseo and another not very far from the southern shore of that lake: see Pauli's nos. 27–9.

1. In the vicinity of VERONA a small vessel was found, bearing from right to left the graffito,

VXƎVI⅃Oꓘ

That is, read the other way, *Koliuetu*. What has become of it I do not know; but it was Pauli's no. 39, and in his plate the letters VI⅃ are shown cut across by a scratch, which cannot have been part of the legend. One also sees an irregular little hole in the surface between the V and the Ǝ, which was likewise due to accident; it is therefore, I presume, not to be considered in any attempted interpretation. I mention this as Professor Danielsson is inclined to divide the reading into *Koliu·etu* (loc. cit., p. 23). I prefer to treat the letters as making one compound name to be analysed into *Koli-uetu*.

We now come to the question concerning the values here of *k* and *t*: I fix them as *k* and *d*, which I do by 'jumping' at the conclusion that what we have here as a personal name was in reality in the first place a tree name. Compare the case of the Welsh saint who has left his name *Collen* 'hazel' to the church and charming vale of Llangollen in North Wales: see also *Sapsuta*, p. 87 above. The name will be easier to recognize when written *Koli-uedu*, but then we have to restore the *i* of the Celtic *vidu* and Teutonic *vitu*: compare *Bilinos* and *Belenos*. The *u* stem *vidu* is represented by the Irish word *fid* (gen. *fedo, feda*) 'wood', of the same declension, Welsh *gwyđ* 'wood', Breton *gwez*, Welsh singular *gwyđen* 'a tree', as in *sybwyđen*[1] 'a fir-tree', Breton *gwezenn* 'a tree', Old H. German *vitu*, A.-Saxon *wudu*, Eng. *wood*: see Fick, II. 280.

It now remains to ascertain what tree was meant by *Koli-uedu*,

[1] Under **soqo* 'resin' Stokes suggests with hesitation (Fick, II 303, 304) that Med. Latin *sapus* 'a pine' was a loan from Gaulish **sapo-s* from a pre-Celtic *saqo-s*, which he gives also as *soqo-*. From the Latin form *sapus* he derives Med. Breton *sap* 'a fir-tree', while the Mod. Breton *saprenn*, plural *sapr*, he traces from *sap-pren* by a process of popular etymology, which neither Ernault nor Henri seems to accept. But he appears to regard Welsh *syb-uyđ* 'fir' and the *sibuit* (gl. *abies*) of the Cornish Vocabulary as derived directly from *soqo-vidu* which he translates into German as 'Harz-Baum'. But Williams in his *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* did better in deriving these also from Latin *sapus*, together with the later Cornish *saban, zaban* 'a fir-tree'. The compound of *săp-us* with Welsh *gwyđ* would have to be in the first instance *sĕb-wyđ*, where the obscuring of the first vowel into *y* was regular, especially if the stress was on the next syllable, which it would be at any rate in the singular *syb-wyđen*. The case could hardly be very different with the Cornish *sib-uit* with *t* for *đ*.

and to help us to do this we have the qualifying element *koli*, which recalls the Mod. English *holly*, together with allied forms such as *hollin*, *hollen*, with the same meaning, Old English *holen*, *holegn*, which is represented in the New English Dictionary as radically connected with O.H. German *hulis*, *huls*, whence Mod. German and Dutch *hulst* 'holly', also French *houx* with the same signification. Compare the following Celtic forms:—Irish *cuilenn*, genitive *culinn* (Stokes's *Gorman*, May 21, gl. 4), Welsh *celyn*, singular *celynnen*—*celynen* is bad spelling—Breton *quelenn*, '*houx*', sing. *quelennen*, Cornish Vocabulary *kelin* (gl *ulcia*), Williams's *celin*, sing. *celinen*, presumably for *celinnen*. Related forms in Welsh occur in the following:—*Celynnog Fawr yn Arfon* (now usually reduced to *Clynnog*), meaning 'the Great Holly Grove in Arvon', that is, St. Beuno's Church near Carnarvon—the Breton and Cornish forms are *kélennek* and *celynnec*; *Celynnin* in Llan-*gelynin* (locally so pronounced) also in Carnarvonshire (Fisher in the *Lives of the British Saints* enumerates two so named, s.v. *Celynin*); and the *Book of Llan Dâv* (p. 275) has a *Lann Celinni*, a church in the deanery of Archenfield in Herefordshire (Fisher, p. 105). The Story of Kulhwch and Olwen has a *Kelin*, son of Caw, whose name, like the Irish *Cuilend*, *Cullenn*, *Cuilenn* (K. Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, I. 550), means simply 'holly'. The stem of the Irish word is given by Stokes (Fick, II. 91) as *kolenno-*, while the Welsh seems rather to postulate *kolinno-* as the basis of the modern *celyn* 'holly'.[1]

Now if we compare the Celtic and the Teutonic forms, we find for instance that *kolenno-* and the O. H. German *hulis* seem to imply

[1] By the side of this instance of vowel change one may place the following case:—Welsh has a word *celli* with *ll* from *ld*. It means a grove, and being feminine is mutated into *gelli* after the article; so *y Gelli* 'the Grove' is a very common name of farm-houses in Wales, often shortened to *Gelli* alone. It was used in Cornwall in the same way, but there *celli* commonly underwent a further change into *cilli*. It so happens, however, that West Saxons settling in Devon stereotyped the word in an early form, to wit, that of *colli*; and in the basin of the Taw, for instance, there are villages called *Colli-bear* or *Colli-beer*, to which the family of our colleague Dr. Fred. Conybeare traces its name. Its history, and that of the corruption of *colli-* into *coni-*, will be found discussed in a brochure published this year, entitled *Conybeare Wills and Administrations, 1563–1601*, by H. Crawford Conybeare, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, &c. Starting from the word *colli* we have not only the origin of *celli*, but we are also enabled to correct the article in Fick's *Dictionary*, II. 82, headed KALDET- '*Holz*', from which Stokes derives Welsh *celli* and the Irish *caill* 'wood, forest', dative *caillid*. Instead of *kaldet-* we may now put down *koldet-*, which brings us nearer to the cognate English word *holt*, German *Holz*. I may mention, by the way, that the *Gelli*, the Grove, usually contains bushes of thorn, elder-trees, and rowan-trees, originally intended perhaps to keep elves and fairies away from the home.

a common stem which may be put down as *kuli-* or *kole-*, *koli-*, with a meaning suggestive of holly. My conjecture is that we have it in the *koli* of *koli-uedu*, *koli-u̯idu*, which accordingly could only mean 'holly tree'; as a man's name the nominative was probably *Koliu̯idu-s*, but was liable to lose the final sibilant. The idea conveyed by such a name or nickname is that of being armed at every point, like the holly. As hinted, it may have been simply a nickname, or at any rate in the first instance a nickname.

2. To the north-east of Brescia, and some distance to the west of Làgo di Garda, there is the basin known as the Val Sabbia, in which a stone was found with two words inscribed on it. It is now in the Civic Museum of the Roman Period, called also *Museo Patrio*, at Brescia, and reads as follows in Roman capitals :—

DIEVPALA
MINVI

It is given in the *C. I. L.*, V. 4897, and the editor, the late Professor Mommsen, says of it—'Integra mihi visa est. Fortasse Raetica magis quam Latina.' As Mommsen had doubts as to its being Latin I am encouraged to claim it as Celtic. I have already (p. 39 above) had my say about the name *Minu̯os*, of which we probably have the genitive here, though formally the dative in *-ui* may not be out of the question. For that would be *Minu̯ŭi*, of which the spelling might possibly be reduced to MINVI. But in favour of the genitive is the fact of the governing noun preceding, whereas *pala* in the Lugano formula with the dative, follows, as in *Slaniai Verkalai pala*, p. 26 above. The other vocable seems to divide itself into *dieu* and *pala*, the latter being probably no other than the word for which the meaning of grave or burial place has already been conjectured: see pp. 26, 27 above. It remains to identify the meaning of the prefixed *dieu*: this recalls the Welsh *dieu* as in *tridieu*, Modern *tridi̯au* 'the space of three days', going back to *di̯ou̯-*. Compare also *dyw* in *hedyw* 'to-day', Irish *in-diu* of the same meaning, which is mostly prefixed (adverbially) to the names of the days of the week as in Welsh *dyw llun* and *dywllun* 'on Monday' and *dyw Awst* 'on Lammas Day, the first day of August' (Evans's *Geiriadur*, s. v. *dyw*), literally 'on the day of Augustus'. The substantive corresponding to these adverbials usually requires the cognate word *dyđ* (from *di̯es*), as in *dyđ Llun* 'Monday', *dyđ Mawrth* 'Tuesday', *dyđ Calan Gaeaf* 'the Winter Calends'. But *dyđ* has among its meanings that of one's day or lifetime, time, age, that is, a prolonged time. It is probably in that direction that we should seek the explanation of *dieu*, namely, as meaning 'for a long

time', just as the Latin word *diū*, which I would treat as closely akin,[1] meant 'long (in the temporal sense), for a long time'. In that case the inscription would mean the 'perpetual or permanent grave or burial place of Minuos', probably in the sense that the plot of ground was his property for ever, and that it was never to be seized or encroached upon by an alien.

3. VOLTINO is a village a little south of Limone far up on the western coast of Lake Garda; there in the church tower was found a slab of marble bearing an inscription which is in two languages. It is now in the *Museo Patrio*, at Brescia, where I saw it in 1906. My reading has been given in the *C. Insc. of France and Italy*, p. 65, as follows:—

TETVMVS	Tetumus
SEXTI	Sexti
DVGIAVA	Dugiaṷa
SAMADIS	Saśadis
⁘OWᚨ⁂ᚨCAᚨI	Tome · Ecaai
OBAΛ⁂ᚨИᚨ⁘IИᚨ	Obaa · Anatina

I will not repeat the remarks I then made to the Academy as to the individual letters, or remind you of the rash conjectures in which I indulged on that occasion. The former stand but needless to say the latter do not, and I may mention that my chief mistake was to assume the fourth letter of the last line to be a lambda, which was also Pauli's way of looking at it in his no. 30. I am now convinced that it was meant as a Latin Λ, purposely formed different from the A immediately preceding it, for it is to be noticed that the *aa* of *Obaa*, as I now take them to be, are most carefully made different from one another, for they are the Latin ones AΛ; and in the fifth line we have Latin A and Etruscan ᚨ next one another. Add to this couple of instances the Ladenburg vessel with *baai* with the two *aa's* made to incline awkwardly from one another, ⱯA, which was evidently meant to answer the same purpose.[2] They will come under notice

[1] This was the kind of derivation given to the Latin *diu* by the late Prof. Osthoff in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, V. 284–7, while Walde s v. contests some of Osthoff's details and prefers deriving *diu* from *dūdum* 'a short time ago, formerly'; but his argument fails to be convincing. Brugmann renders *diū* literally 'bei Tage', and adds that it is from **dioṷ*, if not from **dīēu*: see his *Grundriss*, I. II. 910.

[2] I cannot at present make use of the Tessereti *Aai*, as I have read AA, while I find that Giussani makes them ΛΛ, as may be seen in his *Tesserete*, p. 8; and the Λ꓃ of *aamiti* is altogether too uncertain: see pp. 44, 45 above.

under the next numeral: see also pp. 27, 36, 61, 85, 97 of this paper. The non-Latin character ⋈ was so familiar to the inscriber that he has introduced it here in the midst of letters of the Roman alphabet.

Taking the Latin legend first, I render it, 'Tetumus son of Sextus (and) Dugiaua daughter of Sasa', better Sassa. The form *Saśadis* probably renders a Celtic genitive *Sassad-os*, the nominative corresponding to which would be built *Sassad-s* and rubbed down regularly into *Sassā*, which we seem to detect in one or more of the instances of a masculine *Sasa* cited by Holder. One of them, in the Philharmonic Museum at Verona, comes from Este, and another, on a tile found at Turin, is supposed to be in the museum of that city, though Mommsen failed to find it: see *C. I. L.*, V. 2710, 8110. 428. Neither, however, is in point if the Corpus reading, *Sasae* or *Sasæ*, is correct: in both instances Holder gives *Sasa*, without alluding to the difference, as far as I have noticed.

Concerning *Dugiaua*, also *Dugiauua*, see my paper on the *C. Insc. of Gaul*, p. 4. *Tetumus* probably stands for a Celtic *Tettumo-s* formed with the affix *-u-mo-s* (fem. *-u-mā*) of which Holder has collected instances, while we probably have the stem of the word represented in such names as *Tettus*, *Tetta*, *Tetto*, *Tettonius*, derived from some form akin to **tato-s*, whence Welsh *tat*, *tad*, Breton *tat* 'father', the medial consonant being sharpened, which is common enough in the case of hypocoristic formations.

As already suggested I now treat the two last lines as reading *Tome · Ecaai* | *Obaa · Anatina* |, which seems to have meant 'To or for Toma daughter of Ecaaios, Obaa Anatina', that is to say, Obaa Anatina gives it to, or has it put up for, Toma daughter of Ecaaios. There is no suggestion of any relation between the Celtic legend and the one in Latin. All one can say is that possibly the persons commemorated were members of one and the same family, but that it was thought needless to indicate that fact on the monument. Otherwise it would look as if Obaa had simply seized on a slab of marble already inscribed, and put it up to the memory of a woman whom she was interested to honour. Against that is the fact that no care was taken to prevent the legend from appearing continuous from the first letter to the last, unless the dotted X be regarded as evidence to the contrary; but its significance, if any, is reduced by the use of the same dots afterwards in the middle of the last word.

As to the mixture of letters in the two last lines we find among the characters of the North Etruscan alphabet the Latin letters,

A, Λ, B, C, and perhaps one may treat as Roman the use of the twigs, not for *z*, but for stops. In any case with the lambda and the zeta goes the reason for Pauli's associating this inscription with that of Tresivio near Sondrio in the Val Tellina and others found near Lago d'Iseo: see his nos. 27–9, pp. 14, 15.

We now come to the proper names: I can make nothing of the first, as *Towe* or *Touue*, and *Tome* can hardly be the dative of a Christian *T(h)omas*. Perhaps we may connect *Tome* with a man's name *Tommos*, well established at Cittanuova on the west coast of Istria, and also at Buje in the same neighbourhood (*C. I. L.*, V. 381, 417): it probably follows that the name here would be more correctly written *Tomme*, the dative of *Tommā*. In his *Celtic Declension* Stokes gives Gaulish *rēda* 'a chariot' making in the dative '*rēdē* (*rēdī* ?)'; both are now established, thus Βηλησαμα is in the dative Βηλησαμι (loc. cit., p. 60, and *C. Ins. of France and Italy*, p. 13), but as the oldest dative fem. has been found to have been in *-āi* or *-ai* (p. 27 above) the intermediate stage between *-ai* and *-i* must have been *e*, which we have here in the case of *Tom(m)e*. *Ecaai* is probably the genitive of *Ecaaios*, a name spelt *Eccaios* on bronze coins of the Senones, which have been found in Paris, Rheims, Catenoy (Oise), Pommiers (Aisne), and Compiègne, and on silver coins of the Transpadan Boii. Holder cites besides *Eccaios* such related forms as *Ecco(-briga)*, *Eccius*, *Eccia*, and *Ecco*. They are possibly derived from *equ̯o-s* 'horse' with a hypocoristic sharpening of *equ̯o-* into *eqqu̯o-*, whence *eqqo-*, *ecco-*: compare *maqa-s* 'son' often in Ogam as the genitive *maqqi*, *macc* in manuscript Irish, while Welsh *map*, *mab* comes from **mapo-s* = *maqo-s*, not *maqqo-s*.

Next comes the feminine name *Obaa* which seems to claim kinship with **obno-s*, whence Welsh *ofn* 'fear' and Ir. *óman*, *uaman*; Holder also cites a man's name *Obnos* from a Celtic bronze coin, on the authority of Muret & Chabouillet, 6310; not to mention *Oba* and *Onoba* from Spain, together with *Obavus* and *Obienia* from Narbonne. As we have *Ecaai* here with *Eccaios* on the coins, we may treat *Obaa* as a probable spelling of *Obā*; the data, however, do not enable me to elicit the signification of the name. *Anatina* would seem to be an epithet or surname, which resolves itself in the first instance into *An-atina*. The prefix *an* in most Celtic proper names has the intensitive force of 'very or very like'. The compound would mean 'very *Atin-*'; but what *atin-* meant I cannot say. Holder cites a name *Attinus* or *Atinus*: one of those who bore it was a potter, who could not decide which he preferred, the spelling with *t* or that with *tt*. See *C. I. L.*, XIII. 10010. 197, where we have *Atinus* stamped

four times on a dish of black pottery traced to Saarlouis on the Saar in Rhenish Prussia, and thrice on one traced to Andernach, now in the museum at Bonn. The operator usually repeated himself until he got a stamp which he deemed satisfactory. The feminine of *Atinus* was doubtless *Atina*. Holder has no *Atinios* or *Atinia* as a personal name, but he cites a feminine noun *atinia* used by Columella in his *Res Rustica*, V. 6. 2, for one kind of elm as follows:— 'Ulmorum duo esse genera convenit, Gallicum et vernaculum; illud atinia, hoc nostras dicitur.' This brings us to a tree, and so does the ancient Irish proper name *Ethne* or *Eithne*, which seems to be, phonologically speaking, the exact equivalent of *atinia*. On the other hand *Ethne* does not mean any kind of elm, but appears to be identical in etymology with the common noun *eithne* fem., which Dinneen defines as 'a kernel; fruit, produce; a female personal name, now anglicized into *Annie* in Ulster'. *Eithne* as the name of a river, that is, doubtless, of a river goddess, becomes *Inny*, as for example, in the county of Westmeath. The data do not enable us to clear up the seeming discrepancy of meaning, and though *Ethne* is *Atinia* rather than *Atina*, I should guess that *An-atina* meant approximately 'very like a kernel', 'sweet as a nut', unless one should prefer an interpretation that would make the lady into a 'nut-brown maid'.

4. The vessel with BAAI·IV impressed on it has already been mentioned in connexion with the Ornavasso one with *Lutou·iu* (p. 85 above). The stamping of the former vessel four times with the same seal may be compared with the case of the potter Atinus which has been mentioned in passing. In the present instance the photograph shows only one of the four impressions as completely legible. But there is, if I am not mistaken, a difference: I am inclined to regard *baai* as a common noun, and to translate *Baai · iu* as 'A feast for battle'! In other words the vessel is supposed to say 'I bring you a feast to prepare you for the fray'. The syntax will stand, I think, even when the words are construed in that way.

Whence the little inscription in question reached Ladenburg in South Germany it is impossible to say; but the question here is rather where it was stamped, or, more exactly, where in Cisalpine Gaul. The formula might be said to suggest the district in which the Ornavasso vase had *Lutou·iu* scratched on it, wherever that was. But a still stronger claim for comparison presents itself in the case of the Tesserete tombstone bearing the words *Aai⁝pala*. Here the dative feminine *Aai* is exactly parallel to *Baai*—better *baai*— and is in its spelling peculiar in the same way. The parallel extends still further, namely, to the probable etymology of the word as

a possible reduction of *bāgā*, from the same stem as Irish *bág*, fem. 'conflict, battle' (Fick, II. 160). Compare *Aa* and Irish *ág* 'battle', and see p. 36 above, the chief difference being that *Aa* has to be treated as a woman's name.

There is, however, a consideration which is not to be forgotten, to wit, that both those inscriptions run from right to left in North Etruscan letters, while the one in the Carlsruhe Museum runs in the contrary direction in ordinary Latin capitals. This appears to imply that it belongs to a later time. Close as the foregoing parallels appear, there is another which seems to me still more convincing, namely, that with the Voltino bilingual, with the same trick of distinguishing the two *a*'s (p. 94 above), in addition to showing the same direction of writing. I am disposed to think that the Ladenburg vessel was stamped—let us say made *and* stamped—somewhere in the region around the Garda Lake.

5. The TODI bilingual now in the Gregorian Museum of Etruscan antiquities in the Vatican, has been discussed at length in the Academy paper on the *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 69–74. That being so I need hardly go into the details. There is no question of the inscription coming from Cisalpine Gaul, but the men who had it put up probably came from there, and in that sense it belongs to the present list of inscriptions. It was possibly in the course of a raid southwards that Ategnatos fell near Todi. The whole reads as if he were one of the important men of the expedition, possibly the leader. Is it past all hope that some reference to such an expedition to the banks of the Tiber may yet be found in historical documents? An alternative view is possible, namely that a small community of Celts from Cisalpine Gaul were settled at Todi. This however would also require to be supported by historical evidence. The inscriptions, which are in two languages, read, Celtic and Latin alike, from left to right; so they can hardly be reckoned among our earliest lapidary documents. This reference to them I append to the Garda group chiefly as a matter of convenience, to await a hint from the historians as to the origin of Ategnatos and his companions.

This brings to a close my notes on some seventy inscriptions of various kinds and of different degrees of importance. My paper has grown too long for me to end, as I had intended, with a brief account of the present state of the question of Celto-Ligurian ethnology and language. Those who are more directly interested in the inscriptions themselves will be more pleased to hear of a recently discovered epitaph of importance. My notes on it are appended, together with photographs.

That last word reminds me that a little explanation may be necessary here concerning the photographs referred to in the body of this paper :—

1. The photographs kindly procured for me by Dr. Jecklin, of Chur, have already been mentioned: they refer to the printed matter on pp. 26, 30, 39, and 64; also to p. 31, where I forgot to state that the Alkouinos stone is one of those at Chur.

2. The photograph of the Komoneos stone from Stabbio, p. 40, is one of two kindly presented to me by Dr. C. Vicenzi, the learned director of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan.

3. The photographs to illustrate the Giubiasco inscriptions (pp. 45–53 above) were, as already mentioned, sent to me by Dr. Viollier of the Zurich *Landesmuseum*.

4. The photograph of the Briona stone was presented me by Signor Morandi, director of the Civic Museum of Novara, to whom I was introduced by the Cav. Cesare Poma—one out of many instances of the invaluable help which he has rendered to me. It is neither gentleman's fault that the photograph is of little use for the details of the legend, or that a slab of cement figures in the picture, which is introduced only to show the outlines of the stone and the general arrangement of the lettering of this important epitaph. see p. 68 above.

5. The photograph to illustrate the Carcegna inscription, p. 79 above, is a copy of Dr. Lattes's plate, reproduced here with his kind permission: it gives two views of the inscribed vase.

6. References have been made repeatedly to the photographs in Giussani's *Tesserete* and the *Rivista*, which he edits. Through these and in many other ways, he has by his energy and courtesy placed me under a heavy debt of gratitude.

APPENDIX

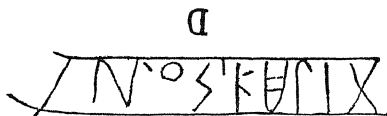
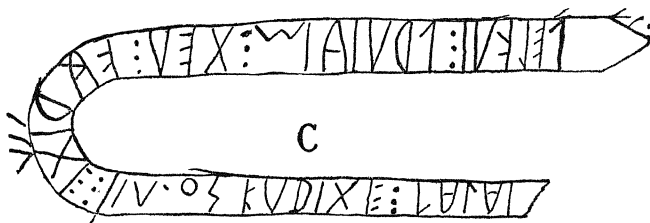
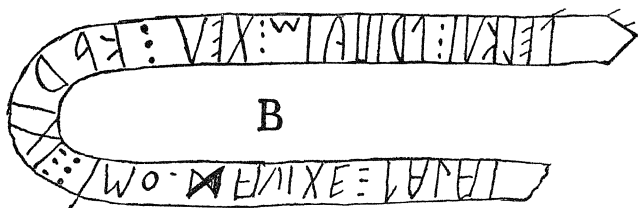
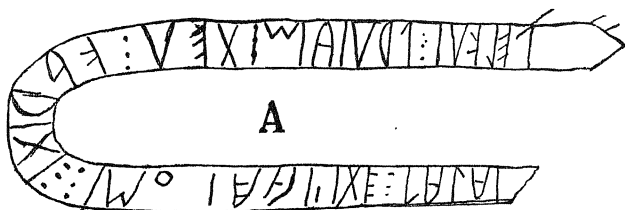
THE VERGIATE STONE

ON the 20th of March of this year Dr. Elia Lattes, to whom reference has already been made more than once as a well-known archæologist, sent me news of the discovery of another ancient inscription of the kind that interested me. Dr. Lattes belongs to the *R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* at Milan: the card stated that his friend the Comm. Francesco Novati, professor at that institute and president of the Historical Society of Lombardy, had sent him word that a leading pupil of his, a Signor Giorgio Nicodemi, had recently secured for the museum of his native town of Gallarate a large inscribed stone. The slab measured 2^{m} 23 long by 0^{m} 70 broad, of mica-schist, grey and friable, which had been unexpectedly disinterred early in February at Vergiate about a kilometre from the well-known little chapel of S. Gallo. Dr. Lattes suggested that for further information I should write direct to Professor Novati: I did so without delay, and I received at once a welcome photograph, from which I anticipated that the inscription would prove both important and difficult. Unfortunately the stone had been more or less damaged on the way to Gallarate from the rising ground where it was found, some 80 centimetres below the surface of the meadow covering it. Nor was that all, for it appeared that there was an ancient fracture which had occurred before it was buried in the spot where it was discovered. At all events with the materials which I then had before me I could not establish a reliable text, and I expressed a hope that Dr. Lattes would, if possible, publish an account of the stone, together with all the materials available. At length he sent me the good news that he was putting his notes together for a communication to the Lombardic Institute. The meeting at which he read his paper took place on April 24. As soon as it issued from the press he sent me a copy; it will be found in the proceedings of the *R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* (Pavia, 1913), vol. XLVI. 414–23.

The materials referred to by Dr. Lattes consist of the following documents:—

(1) A large pencil sketch of the inscription taken by Sig. Nicodemi before the stone was carried away to Gallarate: on the next page, devoted to his sketches, it is represented by that marked A.

(2) A smaller drawing also taken by him then and represented by the sketch marked B.

SKETCHES OF THE VERGIATE INSCRIPTION BY SIGNOR G. NICODEMI : see p. 100 et seq.

(3) A pencil copy of the inscription after it had reached Gallarate, taken with very great care by Sig. Nicodemi and represented here by C.

(4) Another copy taken by him of the more dubious part of the legend with the aid of a *carta oliata*, and represented by D.

(5) The photograph (E) in plate VIII, the cliché of which has, at the request of Dr. Lattes, been lent me by the *Istituto Lombardo*, together with the paper originals of C and D.

(6) Lastly, the photograph (F) which was sent me at the beginning by Professor Novati.

With the help of these materials I was enabled to make out the reading of the entire inscription. But that is not all, for Dr. Lattes, though not strong in health, was able early in May to go to Gallarate to see the stone himself, and to do that in the company of another well-known archæologist, Dr. B. Nogara of the Etruscan Museum in the Vatican, whose name I have mentioned to you on another occasion. Dr. Lattes has conveniently appended to his paper of the 24th of April a brief account of the examination which he and his friend made of the stone on May 10; he gives also a most interesting series of notes by Sig. Nicodemi as to the monument, to Vergiate, and to the neighbourhood, which that gentleman knows, nobody better.

The reader of a Celtic inscription in the North Etruscan alphabet has three things to keep in view—the forms of the letters used, the phonetic values to assign to them, and the meaning of what they spell. I shall try to confine the next few notes to the letters, regardless of phonetics and signification. At the outset I am pleased to be able to say that the reading I had guessed coincides with that of Dr. Lattes and Dr. Nogara, except in the case of the fourth word alone: that is, we agree absolutely in four out of the six words. The writing follows a boustrophedon arrangement on what appears at first sight a mere ribbon pattern of uniform width; but on further scrutiny the ribbon is found to have been very crudely assimilated to the form of some kind of eel. The head narrows into a point, and a little behind the narrowing on the left side is seen a sort of a rhomboid /. /, and opposite it, on the right side, is a similar appendage, except that the middle line is not visible in the photograph. The two seem to be crude representations of the animal's gills at the instant of making a stroke, so to say, to propel itself. I may add that a zoological friend of mine to whom I showed the photograph at once detected one of the beast's eyes: it is the right eye, and it lies almost on the outline of the head. In the next place the whole of the boustrophedon

bend shows the ridge of its back bristling with scores—not letters—intended to recall the eel's dorsal fins. Lastly and unfortunately, the tail of our beast was broken off in the ancient fracture, and with it might have gone a few letters. But there is so much of the space after the last letter left intact that one would have expected to find a portion of a letter following to be still visible, had there ever been any more writing there. The two archæologists arrive at the same conclusion, that there never were any more letters—'alcun chiaro segno di altri elementi': see Lattes, p. 419.

The unrounded letters are about 5½ inches high, some a little under 5 and others a little over 6. The first group make ⁝|V>|↿Ǝ1 or *Pelkui.* The characters here call for no remark. The next group runs as follows ⁝VƎX⁝M1A|VꟼΊ, that is *Pruiamiteu*; but there are one or two remarks to make, for example the *a* looks at first sight like A with a cross stroke passing right through both the limbs almost to the vertical lines of the next letter on either side, but more especially on the side opposite the reader's left hand. All this, however, does not cover the whole of the letter, for it appears in the photographs to be provided also with the short middle stroke of A, and we may add that this and the other instances of this letter in the inscription have the second limb gently curved: in fact its shape, a bit exaggerated, is this, Ꮎ, and we have it even plainer in the next word, but outside the Vergiate inscription it does not occur, as far as I have noticed, anywhere else in our inscriptions. The next letter is a good *m* of five joints, that is, of the oldest type found in the district: for other instances see pp. 37, 40, 44, and perhaps 49, above. The next letter, which I took to be :, and to be an error on the part of the inscriber for I, had attracted Sig. Nicodemi, who insisted on reading I, his explanation being that the inscriber had originally made three points, but had afterwards tried to correct himself by connecting the points: his account is practically accepted by the two savants. See pp. 415, 419, where their reading is *pruiamiteu.*

The next word is ⁝ƎX|ꟼᎾ>|, that is *karite,* and it covers nearly the whole bend of the boustrophedon. The inscriber made the second letter like the fifth of *Pruiamiteu*; but he had not considered precisely the bend of the ribbon, and he accordingly did not get the correct angle which the vertical of his Ꮎ should have made with the inside groove, so the second limb had to be prolonged downwards more than in *Pruiamiteu.* Add to this that the long limb is cut across near its lower end by a horizontal groove which reaches the vertical of the ꟼ: that groove appears to have been the result of the inscriber's tool slipping almost at a tangent when he was busied with the bend in the

groove delimiting the inscription on the inner side. Lastly, the tags of the ⅎ look at first sight as if clean severed from the backbone of that letter, but on close inspection it proves to be a trick of illusion which the eye sometimes plays on its unwary owner.

Next comes the word which is the crux of the inscription: it begins at the latter corner, if I may so call it, of the bend in the outlines, and to the best of my judgement it reads :$oVVI, that is *iuuos* or *iwos*. On these letters I have the following remarks to make. The I at first looks as if produced through the boundary groove, but that, I think, is not really the case. What happened is that one of the scores of the dorsal fins of the beast started from a point near that reached by the top of the I, but not quite. The next letter seems to be a V with its first limb vertical and its second limb gently curved. The next letter was also a V of the same formation as far as concerns the perpendicularity of its first limb; but it is impossible to say whether the second half of the V was curved or not as the upper part of it is gone. The lower part was detected by Sig. Nicodemi, as will be seen in his sketches C and D, especially the latter. That when undamaged the second limb passed up to its proper height behind and above the little circular o is rendered highly probable by the low position of that letter, which would otherwise have been placed in the middle: compare the instances to be seen on pp. 30, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44 above: the same central position is usually given also to the angular ◇. The two V's would seem to have been joined together at the top. After the o comes an $ which was made out by Sig. Nicodemi, and I can now detect it in the photographs, though I should probably not have done so had he not pointed it out. To be strictly consistent it should have been not $ but ? in lettering directed towards the left; but in these inscriptions *s* is a thing that looks both ways. See instances of $ on pp. 26, 30, 40, 46, 67, 68, 82, and of ? on pp. 41, 64, 66, 79, 82, 83, 86. After the $ Sig. Nicodemi shows in sketch D that he detected a vertical mark, and I think the photographs suggest the usual punctuation, while Drs. Lattes and Nogara read I and run the lettering on to the next word, making altogether *inosikalite*, if I rightly understand them. To put it otherwise, they would read *Inosi* or else *Imosi* for what I think must be IWOS:; all three readings seem to imply a slight crowding where : or I should come, as if the stop or the I had been forgotten and inserted afterwards. To begin with the differences between our readings: if *m* is to be thought of, it must be an *m* like Latin M against which the other very different ᴍI affords a presumption. Neither would N be exactly the form of that letter which one would expect here. In the case of M we may

remark (counting backward) that it would lack its second limb, and that the photographs make it impossible to suppose that to have ever been there. On the other hand there is a serious difficulty of another kind which forces me to reject both M and N, and this is that neither letter would cover the oblique line near the little O or fill the space in which it occurs. The surface of the stone at this spot seems to have been bruised, and Sig. Nicodemi's evidence in C and D becomes of capital importance, and establishes a condition which the two V's satisfy. On the data before me I should say that the only other possible reading would be ᛋV, that is to say, *ul.*

The next word seems to read ⁝ƎXIᛋAK, that is *kalite*, but I only accept the two first letters on trust. I fancy I can see their forms in the photographs, but I am not sure enough of their precise outlines to control Sig. Nicodemi's sketches as represented in C and D. The exact shape of the *a* eludes me, but if I have seized the right points in the photograph it is a straggling big letter having two cross-bars right through both limbs, the upper one being drawn sloping downwards towards the reader's right hand, though without meeting the other and lower bar. But the photographs prompt me to ask why it is so far from the next letter to its left. In any case I cannot think it so tidy and self-contained as it appears in sketches C and D. The next letter is ᛋ as I see it in the photographs, but sketches C and D give instead of a hook at the bottom a neat curve, and the former completes it into ᑫ (=*r*), which the curve suits less readily than the angle; the photographs seem by no means to favour the ᑫ.

The last word reads IAᛋA1, that is *palai.* Here the *a* is of much the same shape as far as the outlines go, but it appears to have a single horizontal cross-bar confined to the space between the two limbs of the letter. There is no room here for doubt as to any of these five letters, nor have I any misgiving as to whether those were all the letters of this last word. There are two reasons for thinking so. In the first place, there is enough space left before the breakage for a letter following *palai* to have shown some part of itself. In the second place, there is not even a trace there of the usual punctuation ⁝ which should stand close to the last letter of the preceding word. Its absence means that the inscriber considered that he had finished his writing. If you glance at the inscriptions in this collection you will find that the absence of stops at the end is the rule. For one or two exceptions see pp. 36, 84, and p. 56, where the point · at the end of the Andergia legend is suspect for more reasons than one.

These notes may be summed up in the following reading:—*Pelkui* : *Pruiamiteu* : *karite* : *iuuos* : *kalite* : *palai.* Dr. Lattes's reading is *pelkui* :

pruiamiteu ⁝ *karite* ⁝ *inosikalite* ⁝ *palai* . . . The real difference may be said to confine itself to two letters: I am very gratified at the limited extent of it, and deeply obliged to Dr. Lattes for the materials to enable me to follow him through his most valuable paper.

The individual words of the inscription have now to be briefly discussed, with the view of effecting a translation of the whole. The first is a proper name written IVꓘ⅃Ǝ𐌐 or *Pelkui*, the dative case of what would have been written *Pelkos* in this alphabet. It raises the question of the value of 𐌐, *p* or *b*, and of ꓘ in the same way, *c* or *g*. Turning over the leaves of Holder's Treasury we find that he cites a man's name *Pelgus* (*C.I.L.*, II. 5076) from the neighbourhood of Astorga in the north-west of Spain. The inscription is in Latin, so the nominative was presumably *Pelgo-s*, if Celtic. Holder also mentions a villa to which he gives the name *Pelgiacus*, now called Pigy, in the French dep. of Seine-et-Marne. If we try *b* as the value of the first consonant we can perhaps do even better, as we then stumble across various names the most likely of which is **Belgo-s*, dative *Belgui*, which would fit here, and also represent the base of the attested name *Belgius*, given by Trogus Pompeius and others as that of a Celtic leader acting in Macedon: Pausanias calls him *Bolgios*. See Holder, s.v. *Belgius*, to the bearer of which he gives the date 280 B.C. (vol. I. 384, III. 832). These names, together with that of the *Belgae* and of the goddess *Bolga* (Book of Leinster, 324[d], 336[b]), originate in a Celtic word cognate with Latin *fulgor, fulgur*, and *fulgeo, fulgēre* 'to lighten, gleam, shine'; also *flagro, flagrare* 'to flame, to burn', *flamma* 'flame', *fulmen* 'lightning'; and above all the Oscan dative *Flagiui* cited by Walde and interpreted as equivalent to *Fulguratori*; the more exact form in Celtic would be **Belgi̯ui*, dative of *Belgi̯o-s*, the relative position of the *l* being due to the Aryan stem having had probably the full form of **bheleg-*, in Sanskrit *bharēg-* whence *bhárgaḥ* 'brightness', *bhṛ́gu-* 'divinities of light'. And here one would naturally infer that *Belgos* (dative *Belgui*) and *Belgios* (Latin nominative *Belgius*) were names of the lightning as a god, or at any rate of a divinity of light, before either was ever that of a mortal.

The second word is *Pruiamiteu*, the curtailed dative, which in an older form would have been *Pruiamiteui*, i̯mplying a nominative *Pruiamiteo-s*, with the endings *-eo-s, -eā*, instanced at p. 29 above as one of those used in the formation of family names. Thus the two first words here, $\frac{B}{P}$*elgui* $\frac{B}{P}$*ruiamiteu*, would, if we drop an alternative letter, mean 'to or for Belgos the Pruiamitian', that is 'to or for

B. son of Pruiamitos'. This last name was probably a compound, but how it should be resolved is not certain, though *Prui-amitos* seems more likely than *Pruia-mitos*. In the former *amitos* might claim kinship with the name *Amitius* cited by Holder from Paris, and assigned by him to the first or second century. See also the conjectured *aamiti* on p. 44 above, where the original was possibly *Pruiaamiti*. The sequence *uia* suggests to me the former presence of a *g*: compare the national name of the *Boii* (Βοῖοι, Βώιοι), probably for *Bogii*, *Tolisto-bogii*, Τολιστο-βόγιοι (Τολιστο-βώγιοι), Τολιστό-βιοι, and *bria* from *briga*: see Holder, I. 462, 463, 1503, II. 1872, 1873, III. 931, 935, and compare *Comboios*, p. 71 above. Following up this conjecture we should have *Prugi-amito-s*, which in its first element recalls a woman's name *Prugia* in a Latin inscription in the museum at Pola in Istria (*C. I. L.*, V. 70); but if *b* is to be treated as preferable in this instance we should have *Brugi-amito-s*, and we might associate the first element with such place-names, cited by Holder, as *Brugilum* 'in pago Cenomanico', perhaps 'Le Breuil', *Brugetia*, which some would identify with Brouzet in the dep. of Gard, and *Brugalina* now Brujaleine in the dep. of Cantal. So dropping the alternatives we should have 'To Belgos son of Bru(g)i-āmitos'.

The next word is what has already been read *karite*, and the question is what values we are here to assign to *k* and *t*. To be brief I may say that I am disposed to treat the *k* as representing the voiceless mute *c* and not the voiced *g*. Similarly the *t* may be left as standing for *t*, not for *d*; but a medial *t* in this alphabet may also stand for *nt* as in *Kuitos* for *Quintos* and *Kuites*, genitive of *Kuita* from *Quinta*, also *Vitilios* for *Vintilios* (pp. 62, 63, 68, 70, 71 above). Treating the present instance in the same way, we arrive at *karinte*, which has the appearance of a participial formation representing a nominative plural *karintes* with the final *s* elided. There are other conceivable ways of explaining the word here in question, but none which lend themselves so well to a satisfactory interpretation of the whole inscription as I should construe it; I shall therefore not lengthen these remarks by discussing them in order to reject them one by one. The word is probably a form of the same origin as the Med. Welsh *carant* 'kinsmen', the old plural of *car* 'a kinsman': to this add *cares* 'a kinswoman'. These words are still used in that sense, and as far as I know in no other. Compare Cornish *car* 'a kinsman, father', *car agos* 'a near kinsman', in the Cornish Vocabulary (Zeuss[ii], p. 1068) rendering 'affinis vel consanguineus'; and Breton *kâr* '*parent*', *karez* fem. '*parente*'. In Welsh *carant* has been superseded by the forms *cereint*, *ceraint*, and *cerynt*. We can now consult Professor J. Morris

Jones's *Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative* (Oxford, 1913), p. 209, where these vocables are referred to the root *ker-* 'to grow', whence such cognates as Latin *cresco, crescere* 'to grow', and English *her-d*: see Walde, s.v. *creo.*

As regards the form *karinte(s)* as compared with *carant*, the *in* of the former, etymologically speaking, represents the *n̥* of *karn̥te(s)*, where the *t* was preceded by a sound which was precisely neither *in* nor *an*, but sufficiently near to *in* for the narrow vowel *e* of the last syllable to induce a modification into *in*, or what to the inscriber's ear seemed more accurately represented in that way. On the other hand *carn̥t-* was not always followed by a narrow vowel, *e* or *i*; thus the genitive singular would be *carn̥tos*, and that of the plural *carn̥tom, carn̥ton*, the influence of which would exert itself in the direction of *an* rather than of *in.* Add to this the influence of derivatives with broad-vowel endings such as the following in Holder's Treasury:—*Caranto-magus, Carantonus, Carantonius, Carantocos* (postulated by Welsh *Carantauc, Carannog*), *Carantus, Carantorius*, and others. Altogether the influence in favour of *an* seems to have been strong enough to prevent *e, i*, or *i̯* causing *n̥* to become *in*: take from Holder such instances as *Carantillus, Carantilla, Carantinus, Carantinius, Carantianus, Carantiana.* He supplies an exception, however, in *Carintianus* from Vaison in the dep. of Vaucluze, *C. I. L.*, XII. 1469.

The next word is *iuuos*, or, possibly, *iulos*, for which I have no manner of use. I identify *iuuos* with the IVOS of the *Coligny Calendar*, where it seems to have meant a feast or banquet, as already mentioned in connexion with the abbreviation *iu* and *eu* on pp. 84, 85, also 82. For instances of doubling the *u* between vowels see my *Celtae and Galli*, p. 64, *The Coligny Calendar*, p. 13, *The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, p. 95, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul*, pp. 38–41, 44, 45, 64. I find that Holder's Treasury contains many more examples.

The next word we have to deal with is *kalite*, which seems to be a verb in the imperative mood meaning 'do ye call'. The word, if this conjecture should prove tenable, would be of the same origin as Latin *calo, calare* 'to call', while the form resembles more nearly the Greek καλέω 'I call'. In Celtic itself we have the Irish word *cailech*, Welsh *ceiliog*, both signifying a cock, which come probably from the same origin: they are regarded as derived from an ancient stem *caliáco-s*, presumably meaning 'one that calls'. Compare German *Hahn*, supposed etymologically to mean singer, from the same origin as Latin *cano, canere* 'to sing', Irish *canim, canaim*, Welsh *canaf, canu* 'to sing'. See Fick II. 73, Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, p. 97, and Kluge, s. v. *Hahn.*

The last word is *palai*, a case of the noun *pala*, which has here throughout been treated as meaning a grave or a burial place: see more especially p. 26 above. The question now is what grammatical case *palai* represents. If we slavishly followed the instances with which we are now familiar, it should be the dative, and mean 'to or for the grave', that is, to or for the person in the grave. But it may have been the locative case, just as Latin *Romae* may have meant as a dative, 'to or for Rome', but as a locative 'at or in Rome'. Not only would *palai*, according to Brugmann's researches into the Aryan declension of feminine *a* stems (II^2. II. 284, 285), be both dative and locative, but Stokes specifies instances of the locative use of nouns of this declension in old Irish. See his *Celtic Declension*, p. 15, where he points, for example, to *tuaith* meaning 'in the tribe or in its territory', *tuaith* being otherwise the dative of *tuath* 'tribe or the tribe's territory': the text in question is Fiacc's Hymn, line 29, in the *Goidelica*, pp. 127, 131.

Summing up the substance of the foregoing notes, I submit the following as the text of the inscription:—*Belgui* (or *Pelgui*) *Pruiamiteu kari(n)te iuuos kalite palai.* I may say that I am inclined to think that it was meant as verse, composed in a metre approaching the form of a Latin hexameter; and I offer the following as a tentative translation:—

'To Pelgos' Pruiamiteos the kinsmen (give this burial plot):
Call ye a banquet at the grave!'

But on the whole I am disposed rather to put it thus:—

'To Belgos son of Bruiamitos:
Kinsmen, call a banquet at his grave!'

It is needless to say that such an interpretation raises questions as to the funeral feasts of the ancient Celts; but we have next to no data for the discussion of them. We can only await hints from such classical archæologists as are intimately acquainted with all that is extant concerning the treatment of the dead among the ancient populations of Italy and Greece.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 44. Fragment (*d*) of one of the Aranno stones suggests the following restoration :—

1:IVIMΛ⅃Ƨ[S L]ANIUI P.)

1:IƎMOIꓘƎX ([TE]KIONEI P. Compare *Tekialui*, p. 27.)

:IXIMΛꟻIVᗡ1 ([PRUI]AAMITI. Compare *Pruiamiteu*, p. 103.)

If, as I suppose, the three lines began opposite one another, the length of the name in the third line would explain why the end is thrown out a little : it may have ended like the other two, with 1 = *p*. In that case *Pruiaamiti* would have to be treated as a dative. But I must confess that it is of little avail to speculate in this way until the fragments are all conveniently housed in a museum.

P. 57. For more instances of Latin *c* for *g* see *C. I. L.* XII, p. 952.

Pp. 65, 66. In the meantime Jones's *Welsh Grammar* has appeared, and proves my quest of a stem *ali* for *eil, ail* 'second' to be unnecessary; we have only to suppose the starting-point to have been *ali̯ós* with the stress on the final syllable, and that gives *eil, ail* 'second', while *áli̯os* had long before yielded **alŏ, all, (ar-)all* 'other'. In the latter the stress accent helped the *i̯* to become a full consonant, thereby ceasing to effect a change of quality in the vowel. This I should regard as a very early change not to be confused with the later change of *all, arall* into *-eill, ereill* 'others', which may be on a level with that of *beird* 'bards', if from *bardi*. A good parallel for the Mediæval *eil* 'second', from *aliós*, is the Med. Welsh *ceili̯awc, ceili̯awg*, Modern *céili̯og* 'a cock', from *kali̯ākos*, which can be proved to have been formerly accented on the last syllable but one of the word in its early form. The passages to which I refer in Jones's *Grammar* will be found on pp. 97, 153, 154, 304, 305; see also p. 108 above.

P. 70. The genitive of *Onnā* should be *Onnās*, but the uncertain presence of the sibilant at the end made the name liable to be reduced to *Onnā*, like the nominative, except that the latter may have become *Onnă* at an earlier date; but even so such a close similarity between nominative and genitive must have been found an inconvenience, and the language probably took with readiness to the genitive in *-ēs*, of which we have an instance here in *Kui(n)tes*, the Celtic genitive of the borrowed Latin *Quinta*. On p. 80 above, a genitive *Messiles* (*C. I. L.*, V. 1438) is mentioned, but as it is in an inscription in the Latin

language it may be simply due to the influence of what Hirschfeld calls the *Declinatio Semigraeca*, of which he gives instances with feminine genitives in *-aes* and *-ēs*, *C. I. L.*, XII, p. 953. Whence was the ending *-ēs* of the genitive obtained in Celtic? Thurneysen suggests a convergence on a genitive *-i̯ēs* by *i̯ā* and *i̯ē* stems, together with some of the stems which appear to have had their nominative in *ī*, such as Irish *sētig* 'companion, wife', genitive *séitche*: see his *Handbuch*, pp. 178–82. Irish Ogam inscriptions, however, seem to supply only one certain instance in point, namely, in the bilingual epitaph at Eglwys Cymmun, in Carmarthenshire, which has in Latin *Avitoria* and its genitive in Celtic as *Avittoriges*, probably to be pronounced *Avittorii̯es*, whereas we have, commonly enough, the old genitive in such Goidelic names as *Dovvinias* and *Dovinia*, *Ercias* and *maqi Ainia*. Such a name as Κρειτε, if Celtic, suggests to me that there may have been a Celtic declension of old standing with a nominative fem. *-ĕ*, genitive *-ēs*, alongside of the one in *-ă*, genitive *-ās*. The stone with Κρειτε is in the museum at Nîmes, and is said to have come from Redessan in the dep. of Gard: see my *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. XXIII, p. 39.

P. 77. Bitos's epithet Λοστοιεκ invites analysis as follows:—it stands either for Λοστοιεξ (genitive Λοστοιεκκος) or Λοστοιεκκο-ς (gen. Λοστοιεκκι) and consists of *Losto-i̯ecc-* meaning 'herb-healer, one who uses herbs for healing purposes'. *Losto-* is a *u* stem represented in Welsh by *llys* 'herbs, berries' as in *llys duon* 'bilberries', *llysewyn* 'a herb', Breton *lousouenn* '*herbe*'; Mod. Irish *lus* (gen. *losa*) 'a leek; an herb, a plant, a weed, a flower' (Dinneen). Here the Welsh dictionaries of Davies and Pughe are hopeless; and Stokes in Fick II. 258 requires revision. The latter element of Λοστο-ιεκ is reduced in Irish to *īcc* as in *íc* (gen. *íce*) 'cure, remedy, balsam' (Dinneen), while Welsh has *i̯ach* 'healthy, sound', whence *i̯achau* 'to heal or cure'.

P. 79. The Etruscan letters in the footnote should be ⋈𐌌VI𐌅 'ŝnuia'.

P. 96. *Obaa* is to be analysed into *Od-baa*: compare *oberte* from *odberte*, p. 77 above; see also p. 97.

P. 106. The official spelling of the Tolistobogii's national name as established by those of their coins cited by Holder, makes the first part of that compound into *tolisto-*, probably *tolistó-*. The *tolis-* of the latter would equate naturally with the *toler-* of the Latin *tolero*, *tolerare* 'to bear, support, sustain, maintain', if the syllable *er* represents an earlier *es*. In any case we can probably refer *tolisto* to

the root from which comes the Latin *tollo*, *(sus)tuli*, *(sub)latum*, *tollere* 'to raise, to lift up, to elevate'. Holder's quotations go to show that besides the correct *tolisto-* there was a pronunciation which levelled the vowels by making the word into *tolosto-*, *tolostó-*, and we have this bodily, so to say, in the Welsh word *tlws* 'a jewel or ornament for the person'. Thus we have *tlôs tec* 'a fair jewel' in the piece of naïve advice given to Peredur by his mother when he is about to leave her: Lady Charlotte Guest renders the passage thus:—'If thou see a fair jewel, possess thyself of it, and give it to another, for thus thou shalt obtain praise': see her *Mabinogion*, I. 301. The original meaning of the word seems to have been what you take up in the sense of bearing or carrying on your person as ornament. Accordingly, the name of the Tolistobogii would suggest that they distinguished themselves by the weight of their torques or the abundance of the amber they displayed on their persons: compare the name Ουηβρουμαρος 'Amber-great', in an inscription at Avignon, *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. vii, p. 17. The reason why they put up with such encumbrances was, doubtless, that they thought, among other things, that this made the bearer look elegant and magnificent.

The Welsh have made *tlws* useful also as an adjective, meaning 'beautiful, pretty': this is a secondary meaning implying a shifting of the point of view from the means to the effect. The steps by which the shifting took place are not very obvious, but the Welsh word has long meant both 'jewel' and 'pretty'. With regard to the phonology the first *o* of *tolostó-* can never have borne the stress accent, otherwise the syllable could not have been lost. It is to be noted that the only other *tl* word in Welsh is *tlawd* 'poor', which comes from the same root and in point of form equates with the Latin *lātus* for **tlātus*: compare the Greek τλητός 'enduring, suffering'.

DAVESCO

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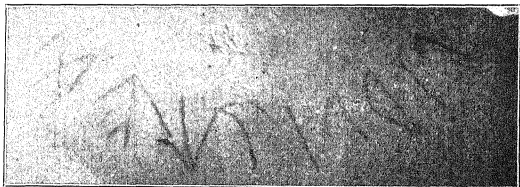
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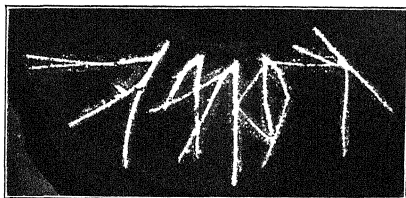
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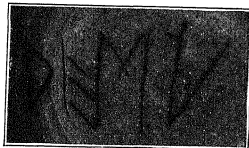
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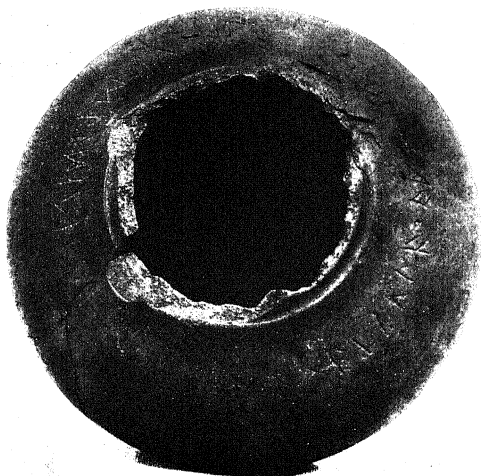
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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

AT THE OPENING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

APRIL 3, 1913

INTRODUCTORY WORDS

BY DR. A. W. WARD, MASTER OF PETERHOUSE

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL STUDIES,

It falls to my lot, in circumstances to which I will immediately advert in the fewest possible words, to express, in the place of the President of this Congress, the feelings of respectful gratitude which, I am convinced, has been inspired in us all by His Majesty the King's gracious consent to become the patron of this Congress. Her Royal Highness Princess Louise has, also, most kindly associated herself with our Ladies' Committee. I feel sure that all the members of this Congress will cordially join in expressing to His Majesty and the whole of the Royal Family, and more especially to Her Majesty the Queen Mother, round whom cluster so many memories of loyalty and affection, our profound sympathy with the melancholy loss that has recently befallen them in the death, by an act which has carried a shock of indignant horror through the whole civilized world, of the late King of the Hellenes. It is an occasion on which this Congress of many men and women from many cities and countries may appropriately speak with one voice of regret for the calamity which has, in such an hour, overtaken the high-souled Hellenic people.

The royal patronage was accorded to us with the readiness which His Majesty invariably shows in encouraging whatever tends to the advancement of the intellectual interests of this country and age; nor, as you are aware, has the royal welcome which has been extended to the Congress remained unaccompanied by other signs of His Majesty's interest in its labours and goodwill towards its members. And, in entire accordance with the Sovereign's gracious

action, His Majesty's Government has in various ways been willing to attest its recognition of the significance of the assembling of the Congress, and more especially through the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs kindly becoming our intermediary with foreign governments desirous of associating themselves, on the present as on former occasions, with our gathering and its objects. Thus a national character has been secured to the welcome in which every British historian or friend of historical studies cordially joins to-day, and which blends itself with the confident hope that the present meeting of our Congress may equal in importance any of its predecessors.

Of these predecessors the earliest would appear to date back to the year 1898, while the latest met five years ago. The *idée mère* of these international meetings of historians is claimed for a group of distinguished French historical scholars, who were able to interest the chief European governments in their project. By a happy choice—due, no doubt, in part to the remembrance of more than one international congress of a different sort, whose results are marked on the historical map of the seventeenth century, in part also to the circumstance that just at this time the young Queen of Holland was, amidst universal sympathy, about to assume the rule of an enthusiastically devoted people—her capital was fixed upon as the first place of meeting. An account of both the Congress and the contemporaneous ceremony has been recently given to the world by a veteran English historian whom our President, I know, would have been glad to meet here to-day. Mr. Frederic Harrison was sent to the Hague International Historical Congress as British delegate both by our Record Office and by the late Lord Salisbury (who had been invited to the Congress as representative of the Foreign Office, but whose hands were tolerably full there at the time, especially as he was then also Prime Minister). This, too, was a happy choice; for a Dutch translation of Mr. Harrison's monograph on *William the Silent* was just then passing through the press.

But I must pass on. When the Congress reassembled at Rome in 1903, it had already assumed considerable proportions, not unworthy of its place of meeting. To Rome all ways of studying or writing history have, at one time or another, led. Rome is the capital of the Italian kingdom, the period of whose creation has, with the years following upon it, witnessed the growth of a school of historians which bases its own achievements upon those of the Renascence age, when Italy became the parent of modern political history. Rome remains the seat of the Papacy, the archives of whose past, unequalled in the multitude of the ramifications connecting it with all political

communities of either old world or new, have been opened with wise liberality to the investigations of modern inquiry. And, beyond all this, Rome is the eternal witness to the interaction as well as to the conflict between the mightiest of historical forces, the Empire which was developed out of the city-state, and the Christian Church of the mediaeval West. The Congress of 1903 was, therefore, in many respects, fortunate beyond comparison in the associations of locality.

Though very different, in one sense at least not less inspiring were the remembrances which animated the meeting of the International Historical Congress in 1908, in the capital of the German Empire. From Berlin, if from any one seat of learning and culture in Europe, was derived the most potent impulse to the transformation of historical studies—a glory in which a share belongs to many names illustrious for ever in the annals of research and criticism, scholarship and philosophy, though in the present connexion I mention only one, that of the real founder of the Berlin University, Wilhelm von Humboldt. For he it was who first pointed the way towards the application to historical studies of the comparative method which has brought them into organic connexion with every part of the entire domain of human knowledge, and which has directed the attention of historical students, primarily, to the mutual relations between the actions of men and of the communities in which they act, and the ideas by which they are moved. As those of us who were not fortunate enough to be present at the Berlin gathering of 1908 cannot fail to perceive on an examination of the plans and records of its proceedings, the varied activity of its sections and sub-sections fully met the claims of the conception of history developed during the century which had passed since the foundation of Wilhelm von Humboldt's great University—great, like many others, in its achievements, but great also, unlike some of them, in its beginnings. For it was organized with a comprehensiveness of plan and an intimate cognizance of detail such as were perhaps only possible in the centre of an administrative system which, in both prosperous times and in adverse, had been steadily carried on during nearly a century of state life. And it was again Wilhelm von Humboldt who, in the evening of his life and the last phase of his public activity, when by the King's request he presided over the Commission for the organization of the Berlin Museum—to the establishment of which he had looked forward, half a generation before, in the hopeful year 1815—accomplished what may be regarded as the second great movement of his idealizing ardour, of his power of actual achievement, and of his services to historical research and learning.

Pardon what I hope may not be altogether a digression; but I was anxious to put on record my conviction that our London gathering owes something to traditions associated with the meeting-place of its immediate as well as of its earlier predecessors. In carrying on the work of the International Historical Congress in London, we desire so far as possible to adhere to the lines followed at Berlin, without, however, shrinking from the measure of diversity which, as we know, may appropriately modify without impairing a family likeness. There are particular branches of historical study which I am sure all our foreign as well as British members agree in desiring to see conspicuously represented in the city and country where we meet. Such, above all, is the study of Colonial History. Again, in the period of political history in which (for better or worse) we all have our being, Naval and Military History—of which all who have accustomed themselves to either a broad or a close treatment of these studies will prefer to speak as one—more than ever call for a prominent place in the Congressional scheme. Had it not been for the inexpediency—suggested by many considerations, and strongly urged by the experience of those familiar with the proceedings at Berlin and Rome—of multiplying the sections of our programme of papers and discussions beyond what is absolutely necessary—we should certainly have constituted Colonial History on the one hand, and Naval and Military on the other, separate sections. As it is, we have thought it preferable to treat them as Subsections of the large Section of Modern History, though of course each with an organization and officers of its own. For the rest, I am sure that you would not wish me, in these brief introductory remarks, to say more of the preliminary arrangements by which we have endeavoured to facilitate the proceedings of the Congress and in which the great London institutions for study and teaching, beginning with the University and the British Museum, and the Royal Historical and other societies in direct sympathy with the objects of our work, have with the utmost cordiality co-operated. On the claims of London to hold this assembly in its midst (if it have a midst) I refrain from enlarging. Our kindly nurse, as the most learned of our poets save one (and he, too, was a Londoner heart and soul) called the city which they both loved, spreads forth a liberal lap in which she bids you take comfort; but though the story of her life is long and varied, though its beginnings may lose themselves in mists as deep as those of her river, and may end in a uniformity flatter than Thames's own last farewell to the land, London is *one* by her history—the supreme test of unity in any kind of continuous life.

Something of this, however, will be said to you by the author of

the address which I hold in my hand, and which with your permission I will now read. It has been sent from Washington by the President of the Congress, Mr. Bryce, who to our deep regret found, only a short time ago, that public duties prevented him from fulfilling the hope which he had cherished so long as possible of meeting an engagement into which he had at first entered without serious misgiving. You will agree that no other course was open to him than to let us know that he must delay his return to a country where a multitude of friends are waiting to welcome him home; and you will join in thanking him for doing what he could to diminish our disappointment by sending us in writing what he had intended to say to us with his own voice. I know that you will absolve me from the painful task of offering an apology, not for our President, who has done his best to compensate us for a loss which was not his fault, but for myself in the part which unkind necessity compels me to play. Though, as historians, we have, at all events *post Herodotum*, as a rule preferred written to oral narrative or exposition, we cannot pretend to shut our eyes to the Platonic principle of the intrinsic superiority of the spoken word; and, on a memorable occasion like the present, we should all of us—Britons and Americans, and delegates from many a nation which of old owed allegiance, real or shadowy, to the Holy Roman Empire—have rejoiced to listen to the voice of our honoured President, who has been and is a historical force in the generation to which he and we belong. He has become such, not only by his extraordinarily wide and varied experience of travel, but by the insight, which this experience has continuously strengthened, into the public institutions, the public life, and the public character of many nations. To myself (if you will pardon such a reference) it is a kindly coincidence that, having followed his career as a scholar and a statesman with the admiration of a friend of more than half a century's standing, I should be allowed to act, however inefficiently, as his deputy in reading his presidential message to an International Congress of historians.

Before, however, I do this, it is my duty to mention to the Congress certain other changes which have of necessity had to be made in the nominations for the presidencies of its Sections—and among these one caused by a loss suffered not only by ourselves and by the British Academy, but also by English letters and the world of historical learning. The sudden death, on March 2 last, of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin (it was so sudden that a letter from him attesting his warm interest in the success of the Congress reached me by the post following on that which had brought the sad news of his decease) has deprived our

Third or Mediaeval Section of his proposed presidency, and this gathering of the advantage of his genial participation in its proceedings. Dr. Hodgkin, to whose achievements in the borderland and in the proper domain of mediaeval history no higher tribute can be paid than the general conviction that they have substantially supplemented the vast enterprise of Gibbon, was impelled to the successful accomplishment of an arduous task by an enthusiasm which never deserted him, either in this the main course or in many of the side-paths of his researches, and which reflected itself in the warmth and sincerity of a style that assured to him the sympathetic attention of a wide circle of readers. Although nothing could be more English than the breadth of design and the amplitude of execution which marked his principal productions, there are few historians of his century whom he recalls so much as Barante. Like him—allowing for the fact that Hodgkin was abreast of the historical learning of his age and understood its critical treatment of sources—he, too, brought home the harvest of a long and productive literary life in the spirit of the motto which Barante prefixed to his masterpiece: *Scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum.* Though master of his main theme, he could allow his historical sympathies to take him back into the archaeology of Asia Minor and home into the *origines* of the religious body of which he was a venerated member; and thus he has died, full of years and honours, one of the last—may he not be quite the last—of a class of historical writers of whom in this country we cannot help feeling proud—*dilettanti*, but *dilettanti* of the type of Mure and Grote and Hallam. Dr. Hodgkin's place at the head of our Mediaeval Section has, at what was necessarily the shortest notice, at our unanimous request, been taken by our friend Professor Tout.

I regret to say that the proposed President of the Legal Division of our Sixth Section (Legal and Economical History), the Lord Chief Justice of England, has not yet sufficiently recovered from an illness, in which he has had the sympathy of his entire Profession as well as (if I may be allowed to say so) of a University of which he has always proved himself a most loyal son and active friend, to be able to fulfil the active duties of his profession. Lord Alverstone's position as Master of the Rolls for several years placed him in official control of the chief historical treasures of the nation, in the whole field of which, as a member of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., he long took a strong interest. The duties of his sectional presidency have, I am glad to say, been undertaken by the Acting Vice-President, Professor Vinogradoff. I am also obliged to add that Lord Reay, proposed

President of Section I (Oriental History) is prevented by a cause which we sincerely regret from returning to England from the south to the meetings of the Congress. Lord Reay's absence will be felt all the more because of the constant and effective interest which he has taken in the advancement of Oriental Studies—an interest to which the establishment of the London School of Oriental Studies testifies, since no other statesman or scholar has taken a more active part in its foundation. May I add that the aid which, with his usual unselfishness, the late President of our Academy has given to the organization of the Congress is a further reason for our disappointment in not seeing him among us. Mr. Hogarth, of the British Museum, has kindly allowed himself to be nominated in Lord Reay's place. Finally, Sir Arthur Evans, we are sorry to find, is obliged by other engagements to absent himself from our meeting, for which he had accepted the nomination to the presidency of Section VIII (Archaeology and Prehistoric Studies). Fortunately, Professor Percy Gardner is able as Acting Vice-President to conduct the proceedings of the Section.

May I take this occasion of observing that, while we have allowed ourselves the pleasure of adding to our list of proposed Honorary Vice-Presidents, which includes the names of the High Commissioners of the Three Dominions and the Union of South Africa, a number of names of visitors to our Congress coming from countries other than our own, it is with great reluctance that we have refrained from enlarging this list by the names of many other distinguished visitors and home members of the Congress, several of whom are taking an active part in our work.

I will now proceed to read, as best I may, the address which Mr. Bryce, as our President, has transmitted to me for the opening of the Congress; after which, should time remain, I will with your permission offer in conclusion a few observations of a purely supplementary sort. Mr. Bryce has prefaced his address by the following letter:

British Embassy, Washington.
March 18, 1913.

My Dear Ward,

Will you please express to the Congress at its opening meeting my deep and sincere regret that it has proved impossible for me to be present? When I accepted a year ago the offer of the honour of presiding, I fully counted on being at home in England before the end of last year, and it is only three weeks ago that I found it would be out of my power to be present, His Majesty's Government having

requested me in the interests of the public service to remain at Washington through the month of April. I felt it my duty to comply.

It is a real grief to me to lose the opportunity I had hoped for both of meeting many old friends among the foreign as well as the British members of the Congress, and of making the acquaintance of others whose fame and whose services to history I knew. With earnest wishes that the success of this great gathering may equal that of the two preceding Congresses,

I am,
Very sincerely yours,
JAMES BRYCE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By the Right Hon. JAMES BRYCE, O.M., LL.D., F.B.A.

BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

Members of the Congress,

You are all heartily welcome to London. Your first larger meeting was, most appropriately, held in Rome, once the centre of the world, and still and always a sacred city to the students of religion and to the lovers of art. The second was held in Berlin, where a great people, inspired by noble ideals, has organized both the higher forms of teaching and every department of learning with unexampled amplitude of plan and unexampled perfection of detail.

You are now meeting in a place which is not only the seat of government of these British Isles and of a far extending Empire embracing many races of men, but is also a capital yielding to Rome only in antiquity and fame, a spot where, within walls of Roman building, history has been written during nearly nine centuries and made during nearly twenty.

A large field of work lies open before you, and whoever casts his eye over the programme of this Congress and remembers what was the state of historical studies half a century ago cannot but be struck by the immense expansion of their scope which our age has seen and by the corresponding specialization of the various branches of historical inquiry. In the scheme of work laid out for the Congress all the main lines of human activity are included as departments of historical study. Some of these departments have now been so developed as to cover almost as much ground and to provide material for as much discussion as history altogether, then chiefly political, did for men of the generation of Guizot and Thierry, of Hallam and Ranke. This widening of our field may be primarily due to a larger conception of History, which we have now come to regard as a record of every form of human effort and achievement, concerned not any more definitely with political events and institutions than with all the other factors that have moulded man and all the other expressions his creative activity has found. As instances of this enlargement, I might advert to the fuller

recognition of the importance of the economic factor in national development, and to the juster perception of what may be gained from a study of the psychology of races and peoples in the successive stages of their growth. Nor ought it to be forgotten that with the transfer of power in some countries to the Many from the Few there has come a quickened interest in the condition in former days of those whom Carlyle called 'the dumb populations'.

But the expansion of the range of history is also due to the opening up of new fields of investigation, which have not only provided new materials for our study but have incidentally affected our view of the way in which the old materials ought to be handled. Three of these fields may receive a passing mention.

One of them is the study of Primitive Man. If any one event were to be selected as marking the beginning of what was really a gradual awakening to sources of knowledge that had theretofore lain unnoticed, the discovery of the lake dwellings in Switzerland about 1860 might perhaps be taken as a point of departure. Since then, what investigations all over the world! Weapons and other implements of stone, traces of human dwellings, drawings which though rude are often full of spirit, and, above all, human remains have been discovered, sometimes in spots where they must, as geologists tell us, have been deposited at epochs many thousands of years ago, when animals of species long since extinct were living beside the men whose bones we find in caves or in layers of glacial gravel. Archaeology has thus given us data which extend the history of man from the Bronze Age back into neolithic times, and from those into one palaeolithic period after another, until at last osseous forms are reached which are only just recognizable as human, for they seem nearer to the *Homo Troglodytes* of Linnaeus than to his *Homo Sapiens Europaeus*. Thus we can faintly discern the outlines of a process of the slow and sometimes interrupted development of Mankind in the Old World (for no human remains of any great antiquity have yet been discovered in the Western Hemisphere) during a period each one of the divisions of which is longer than all the time that has elapsed since our first historical records begin.

Together with these revelations of the successive stages through which prehistoric man passed, the last sixty years have added to our knowledge of early Mediterranean civilizations more than did all the centuries that had elapsed since the days of Macedonian and Roman conquest. Layard's excavations at Nineveh and Rawlinson's decipherment of the great rock inscription at Behistun opened an era of exploration and digging in the West Asiatic regions which, along

with those excavations in Egypt that began with Napoleon's expedition and the study of hieroglyphics which followed the reading of the Rosetta Stone, have enabled us to push back by many hundreds of years the beginnings of refined art and settled industrial life. Incidentally these researches have told us more about Assyria and Babylon and the earlier annals of Egypt than any Roman writer seems to have known; and they have given us new views regarding the origin of the Hellenes themselves. The work done at Troy, at Mycenae, in Crete, and in Asia Minor has already disclosed, through mists that may be still further dispersed, a picture of the early Aegean lands fuller in some respects than was presented to Strabo or Pausanias. Less has been done in the New World; yet the explorations which are still proceeding in Arizona and New Mexico, in Yucatan and in Central America, as well as in Peru, have helped to fill out the too scanty records which the historians of the Spanish Conquest have given of the life and institutions of races remarkable especially for this, that they had developed and made striking advances towards civilization apart from all Old World influences and without the inestimable help of contact with other peoples of greater natural gifts.

Concurrently with these additions to our knowledge of the earlier stages of man's progress, the swift march of geographical discovery, followed by conquest and settlement, has brought within our ken the habits and manners, the religious ideas and rudimentary political institutions, of a large number of backward races and tribes scattered over the earth. Through the study of these tribes, which to-day are in some one of the various stages of savagery in which the prehistoric man lived, or in which the scientific observers of the ancient world found and described their nomadic neighbours in Libya or Scythia, we have gained a fuller and more lively idea both of primaeval savagery and of the state of those more advanced barbarian tribes, whether Iberian or Celt, or Teuton, Slav or Moor, or Turk or Finn, whom the ancient authorities describe. Thus we can piece out the indications which those writers have left us and can give to the dim barbaric world of antiquity that lay outside the frontiers of the Roman Empire something of the same sort of reality with which literature and art enable us to invest the peoples of the Mediterranean coast. One may even go further and say that some of those dark corners of Greek and Italian religion, in which primaeval superstition lingered, have been illumined by what we have lately learned regarding the spirit worship and the ancestor worship and the divination customs of African, American, and East Asiatic races. Parallels

even to the social and political usages of Greece and Rome have sometimes revealed themselves in unexpected quarters.

Thus, while the students of documentary history have been amassing more rapidly and examining more critically than ever before the records of mediaeval and post mediaeval ages, archaeology and exploration have made even greater contributions to our knowledge of the earlier ages of mankind. Where there was total darkness, glimmering light begins to fall on the prehistoric man of the forest or the cave. Where a few points of early culture stood out like hill-tops rising out of a stratum of cloud, the mists have begun to shift and dissolve sufficiently to let us perceive the general features of the landscape and the relation which these points bear to one another and to the earlier barbarism out of which they emerge.

The mention of what we are learning about the uncivilized races of to-day suggests a remark which may have a practical bearing. One whose other duties have prevented him from following closely the recent movements of historical research and methods of historical composition must not venture to summarize the progress made in our study, nor to offer such comments on its present state as you might naturally expect in a presidential address. Many of you here present could do that far better.

I must therefore ask permission to speak as a traveller rather than as a student of MSS. or of printed books. To wander through strange countries and see what Nature has given to their peoples and what the peoples have made of Nature is one way, and not the worst way, of approaching history. The earliest chronicler whose work has come down to us was a traveller. That which Herodotus tells us of the physical aspects of the countries he visited and their races and their customs is at least as precious as his narratives of the Ionic revolt and the great Persian war. Now what is it that the traveller sees to-day in India, in Africa, in the two Americas, in Australasia and the isles of the Pacific? He sees the smaller, weaker, and more backward races changing or vanishing under the impact of civilized man; their languages disappearing; their religious beliefs withering; their tribal organizations dissolving; their customs fading slowly away, first from use and then from memory. Some tribes, like the warlike Araucanians of Chile, are dying out by disease. Others, like the Red Indians of Oklahoma and the Maoris of New Zealand, are being absorbed into the white population. Others, again, like the Finnish tribes of North-east Russia, are being insensibly permeated by the customs and language of their more numerous neighbours so as to lose whatever racial quality they had. From the blending of others

with immigrants streaming in, a hybrid race is growing up, in which, as in the case of the mixture of Chinese with the natives of Tahiti and Hawaii, the stronger and more civilized element seems fated to predominate. In other cases, peoples too large and powerful to lose their individuality are nevertheless beginning to be so affected by European influences as to find themselves passing into a new circle of ideas and a new set of institutions. Change is everywhere, and the process of change is so rapid that the past will soon be forgotten. It was a past the like of which can never recur.

Ethnologists, Philologists, and students of Folklore are at work recording these expiring forms of speech and embodiments in custom of primitive human thought; and not a moment should be lost in saving the precious relics. But historians have also their duty and function in this field, for many of its phenomena are of high significance for history.

Let me take two instances. No historical problem is more obscure than the processes by which races have been differentiated from one another. When we first catch sight of Celts, Slavs, and Teutons we find them all dwelling in a physical environment and under conditions of climate and soil so similar that it seems impossible to ascribe their already manifest differences solely to environment and the influences of Nature upon them. Linguistic affinities show that there must have been a time when the ancestors of each race belonged to the same stock—that which philologists treat as part of the great Indo-European family. What then were the causes which produced divergence, giving to each race, Celt, Slav, and Teuton, not only a distinctive physical aspect but a distinctive intellectual and emotional quality, evident in their songs and legends and to some extent expressed in their institutions? We are almost driven to suppose that the sources of divergence must be found in peculiar blendings of blood between various detached sections of what must once have been a tolerably homogeneous race, with other non-Indo-European families of mankind. These blendings of blood may also have been accompanied by 'cultural influences' (as they are called) from without, proceeding from those other families or from divisions thereof. Now in the lack of any historical evidence as to how in primitive times these three European races were differentiated, any observations that can be made upon the phenomena visible to-day of race-blending and race-extinction, and on the action of cultural influences as it can be seen to-day in the extra-European world, may help us to explanations.

Take another instance. The causes by which and the conditions

under which, in the remote past, tribal groups or communities within the same race were formed, the process by which families coalesced into tribes and tribes into nations, are removed from our ken. We can speculate about them and make the most of the scanty data which legends and the study of language supply. But, inasmuch as causes and conditions producing these effects are visible to-day in the world outside Europe, it is of prime importance that the historian as well as the philologist and student of folklore should investigate the phenomena that illustrate tribal life and the growth of national life, and seek to gather from a study of the world to-day general principles showing how stronger peoples tell upon weaker or less advanced peoples, not merely by conquest, but also by the impact of intellectual and moral forces. The circumstances in which many tribes are dying out, those in which some few nations are now coming into existence, those causes whereby a central authority gains (as lately happened in Northern Siam) or loses (as in parts of Western Asia) control of the outlying members of the race, and those also by which an old nation passes into new phases of political life, are all full of instruction for any one intent upon carrying light into those dark places of the past to which I have referred. They seem to deserve more attention from the philosophic historian than they have yet received.

There is one other aspect of the present age of the world that has a profound and novel meaning for the historian.

The world is becoming *one* in an altogether new sense. More than four centuries ago, the discovery of America marked the first step in the process by which the European races have now gained dominion over nearly the whole of the earth. The last great step in that process was the partition of Africa between three European Powers a little more than twenty years ago. Now, almost every part of the earth's surface, except the territories of China and Japan, is either owned or controlled by five or six European races. Eight Great Powers sway the political destinies of the globe, and there are only two other countries that can be thought of as likely to enter after a while into the rank of Great Powers. Similarly, a few European tongues have overspread all the continents, except Asia, and even there it seems probable that these few European tongues will before long be learnt and used by the educated classes in such wise as to bring those classes into touch with European ideas. It is likely that by A. D. 2000 more than nine-tenths of the human race will be speaking less than twenty languages. Already there are practically only four great religions in the world. Within a century the minor religions

may have gone; and possibly only three great faiths will remain, with such accelerated swiftness does change now move. Those things which are already strong are growing stronger; those already weak grow weaker and are ready to vanish away.

Thus, as the earth has been narrowed through the new forces science has placed at our disposal, and as the larger human groups absorb or assimilate the smaller, the movements of politics, of economics, and of thought in each of its regions become more closely interwoven with those of every other. Whatever happens in any part of the globe has now a significance for every other part. Industrial disputes are felt more widely over its surface than those earthquakes in Java which the seismograph records at Washington. The money markets are affected simultaneously. Each Great Power, be it European, Asiatic, or American, is in close contact with all the others; it is allied, or friendly (or possibly not too friendly) with some one or more of the others. The great wave that swings round the world makes its last ripples felt in the world's remotest corner. In regions till lately unexplored, in the sombre depths of African or Brazilian forests, or on the oases that lie scattered along the dreary deserts of Mongolia, the fortunes of the native tribes are affected by what passes in European capitals. Even in the one continent which stands almost wholly outside the web of international relations, South America, finance reaches where politics do not reach. Finance, even more than politics, has now made the world one community, and finance is more closely interwoven with politics than ever before. The historian, who in the days of Thucydides needed to look no further than to Susa on the east and Carthage on the west, must now extend his vision to take in the whole earth, and will not be able to write the annals of any one country without keeping his eye fixed on the sovereigns and parliaments of every other. Nor is there a more striking illustration of the influence now exerted by the European races upon all others than is presented in the fact that in every country, except those which are ruled as subject dominions by some people of European stock, there now exists some kind of form (even if little more than a form) of representative government. World History is tending to become One History, the history no longer of many different races of mankind occasionally affecting one another's fortunes, but the history of mankind as a whole, the fortunes of each branch henceforth bound up with those of the others. In these conditions, the historian of the future will need an amplitude of conception and a power of grouping his figures like that of Tintoretto or Michael Angelo, if he is to handle so vast a canvas. In other ways too his task will be a hard one. Those of

us who have dealt with ancient or mediaeval or post-mediaeval history have been wont to deplore the scantiness of written or printed materials. But those who compose the annals of our own time and of the times to come will suffer from the graver difficulties presented by a superabundance of printed material, much of it false or misleading. To handle that material will require at least as much discernment as was ever needed before, and will impose a far heavier load of labour than Muratori or Tillemont, Gibbon or Mommsen had to bear.

These conditions in which the world now finds itself, these closer relations of contact between the great nations in their transmarine possessions as well as in their European homes, suggest a final observation. It is this. One duty that was always incumbent on the historian has now become a duty of deeper significance and stronger obligation. Truth, and Truth only, is our aim. We are bound as historians to examine and record facts without favour or affection to our own nation or to any other. Our common devotion to truth is what brings us here and unites us in one body divided by no national jealousies, but all of us alike animated by the spirit of scientific investigation. But though no other sentiments intrude here, we are only too well aware that jealousies and misunderstandings do exist and from time to time threaten the concord of nations. Seeing that we are, by the work we follow, led to look further back and more widely around than most of our fellow citizens can do, are we not as students of history specially called upon to do what we can to try to reduce every source of international ill feeling? As historians, we know how few wars have been necessary wars and how much more harm than good most wars have done. As historians, we know that every great people has had its characteristic merits along with its characteristic faults. None is specially blameless, each has rendered its special services to humanity at large. We have the best reason for knowing how great is the debt each one owes to the other, how essential not only to the material development of each, but also to its intellectual and spiritual advance, is the greatness and the welfare of the others and the common friendship of all. May not we and the students of physical science, who also labour for knowledge in their own fields, and bow as we do before the august figure of Truth, hope to become a bond of sympathy between the nations, helping each people to feel and appreciate all that is best in the others, and seeking to point the way to peace and goodwill throughout the world.

It is in this hope and in the spirit of a fraternal love of learning and loyalty to truth that the historians of Britain bid you welcome here.

CLOSING REMARKS

By Dr. A. W. WARD

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Like, perhaps, many of those around me, I feel greatly tempted to comment on some of the truths which our President has brought home to us from the experience of which, as traveller, observer, and expositor, he has taken advantage in a degree very few other historians of our own or any age have had the opportunity of equalling. In particular, I should like to ask you to allow me to illustrate the truth that, notwithstanding the universality on which he has touched of the effect exercised in these latter days by almost every movement in the world of ideas, whatever their nature and range, the differences of nationality and personality, though they may be diminished, are far from seeming likely to be altogether effaced. But the humbler task of which, in the few minutes remaining to me, I should like to essay one or two brief indications, is that of reminding the members of this Congress of some of the aids to historical studies which in the period of their development reviewed by Mr. Bryce have attained to new importance and have been put to a use unprecedented in its extent and bearing. I pass by, partly as already treated by him and partly as certain to receive abundant fresh light from the papers and discussions in more than one of the sections of this Congress, the achievements which have made the latter half of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century one of the ages of discovery properly so called in the story of the world—through the unearthing of so vast a quantity of historic monuments of divers kinds in the Far East as well as in the Near, in Egypt and in Greece on both sides of the Aegean, and in Northern, Eastern, and Western Europe, as well as Central and Southern America. But there is another kind of discovery which may be, for the most part at all events, described as lying nearer to our doors; and of this kind of discovery, too, the steady progress had not set in long before the beginning of the century at whose close the earliest International Congress of Historic Studies was held. At the present day, there is no European Government of any note, from St. Petersburg to Madrid, which has not, under more or less liberal conditions, and with a smaller or larger reserve of restrictions, opened

its archives to the researches of qualified historical students, and every one is aware with how extraordinary an advantage to the prosecution of historical studies the incomparable treasures of the Vatican Archives have been made accessible to study under the guidance of learned experience by the decision of a highminded and himself highly educated Pontiff. But I do not know whether, to the minds of all of us who find a natural satisfaction in this phenomenon, there is present the fact of which we have only recently been again reminded—that to the French Revolution, which at home destroyed so many historical documents, European students of history owe the first great succession of facilities for the study of archives. (In France itself, the reaction against the destruction of historical documents was alike speedy and continuous: during the Revolution period the national archives were thrown open, and a system was set on foot for their preservation in the Departments, as well as in the capital, which has since facilitated an unequalled collection of local and national historical material.) But it was the extinction or absorption of a whole series of Governments—chiefly I suppose of Italian republics, and then, as an indirect consequence of the Revolutionary wars, of German free imperial cities—which placed the contents of their archives at the service of disinterested research. By far the most important of these archives were the Venetian, destined to play a part of their own in the annals of historical studies. At the loot of Venice in 1797 possession of a large number of authentic documents was easily obtained by Count Daru, who on the strength of these acquisitions long held his own as the most authoritative historian of the fallen Republic; and the Venetian Archives speedily became the favourite ground of historical documentary study. As has been well said, without the relations in the Venetian Archives the new historic method first adopted by Ranke in his *History of the Popes* and in his *German Reformation*—the works which laid the foundations of his own paramount fame among the historians of the nineteenth century—would have remained, if not impossible, at all events practically hopeless. I have lingered for a moment on this striking example of the historic *sic vos non vobis*; for Venice had been not only a great, but, so to speak, a ubiquitous Power, and the historical treasure-house of which Ranke had opened the door has, as is known to those who remember Moritz Brosch, or who have benefited by the researches of Mr. Horatio Brown, remained unexhausted to this day.

Such archivistic treasures as these and narrative sources are closely akin, and, before the reforms of which we are the inheritors, were alike jealously guarded. Austria, for instance, was among the late comers,

and Mr. Gooch, to whose admirable recent volume I hope for a moment to return, reminds us how Gentz, who as one of the greatest of European publicists no doubt subscribed to the excellent maxim that the value of documents lies in their use, told Pertz, when in search of collaborators for the *Monumenta Germaniae*, that the formation of a society for the study of German history *could* not be agreeable to his Imperial master. The real opening of the Vienna archives was due to their large-minded later director, Alfred von Arneth, the author of the *History of Maria Theresa*, stimulated by the precedent of our own Record Office, whose system, first called into life in 1800, had been renovated in 1836, just as under its present judicious guidance and with the advice of a Commission whose reports we are reading with the utmost interest, it is preparing a fresh renovation at the present day. But, in the matter of the collection and publication of narrative sources, it is the Church which has set the example to the State. In touching on this subject in any meeting of historians it seems almost a pious duty not to omit a tribute of reverence to the learned Congregation of St. Maur, whose members, whatever apologetic objects they may have pursued, must be said to have done more than any other body of workers for the opening of a new era in chronological and lexicographical as well as in palaeographical, diplomatic, and epigraphical studies. Nor does such a tribute make it improper to add a word of acknowledgement of the minute conscientiousness and consummate skill with which the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* by this and other labours emulated those of the elder Order. In all the chief Latin countries of Europe, the principle which underlay these endeavours — the unswerving belief that *magna est veritas, et praevalebit*—has, under different conditions, been followed by secular or mixed bodies in later days. In France, and also in Italy, the spirit of Mabillon, and that of Muratori which derived from it, have hovered over the labours of their successors, and I should not omit to add that nowhere has more energy been devoted to the collection and publication of 'inedited' historical documents than in Spain, whose secrets fascinate the world of history as they once dominated that of politics.

The prosecution of historical research, thus strengthened at its roots, has been advanced in many ways to which I cannot now so much as allude. It has benefited by the creation of Commissions for the publication of edited historical texts of the past—of the type of the great *Monumenta Germaniae*, which represent the last great national endeavour of one of his country's foremost patriots, Stein, and of other general and special national commissions (I instance,

among the latter, the French Economic Commission of 1903). If our age is a democratic age, it is more especially that of the noblest and most hopeful among the manifestations of the democratic spirit—the tendency to cooperation; nor is it conceivable that the discovery, sifting, and coordination of historical material should have advanced, as it has in ever widening circles, but for the societies which have at once expressed and fostered it. In France (where these societies, of which the first was the great *Société de l'Histoire de France*, have spread them like a network over the face of the country, covering both earlier and later periods, and leaving unexplored no aspect of the Revolutionary or Napoleonic Age); in Germany (from our kindred Lower Saxony through East Frisia to Brandenburg, and thence east and west, and south-east and south-west through every component part of the Empire); in Italy, of whose Royal Society of National History we had hoped to see our friend the President here to-day; in the Scandinavian North (where no element of a great historic past has ever been carried away by the winds that blow across the seas which that past has ennobled); in Great Britain (among whose historical societies I single out the most ancient, the Antiquaries, and, of the younger, that which worthily bears the generic name of the Royal Historical Society, and with it the Selden Society, founded by a great legal historian, Maitland, who was and will long remain the pride of his contemporaries), and in other European countries, these societies have with single-minded and unselfish endeavour contributed to the common cause; nor should I, of all political communities, leave out that of the United States, where a succession of these learned bodies reaches down from the Massachusetts Historical Society of 1791 and the New York Society of 1811, whose Presidents are among us, to our own day. In addition to these societies, of not one of which historians would willingly miss the activity contributory to that of their science at large, there is the auxiliary legion of other societies, whose aid we cherish in accordance with Wilhelm von Humboldt's maxim, that the historian is ill bested who lacks either the philosophic or the historic sense. And perhaps I may be pardoned for reminding you that this sisterhood of historical and other cognate sciences is the cardinal principle of those European academies which have sought, not to control, but at times to aid and at times to guide the higher studies of successive generations of thinkers and workers in the earlier fraternities of Renascence Italy, in the majestic foundation of seventeenth-century France, and, largely through the memorable efforts of Leibniz, at Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and other capitals. The youngest of these Academies has thus, we hope, not inappropriately

taken a leading part in making ready for the welcome which greets you in London to-day.

Yet again, in their turn, the Academies, desirous by the very conditions of their being to encourage and develop historical studies, and so far as in them lies to help to make possible particular efforts of historical research, have at no time held it either practicable or desirable to dissociate themselves in these endeavours from the Universities of the countries to which they belong. Here (though our times have witnessed at least one glaring instance to the contrary) historical studies must always form an organic part of those comprised in the faculty of philosophy; and we may indulge a hope that the time is distant when our chosen study is dissociated from the broad lines of learning from which higher education will, we trust, never capriciously swerve.

Yet, inasmuch as in these days of inevitable specialization, historical studies have more and more come to follow particular paths, their course in each of these being regulated by methods which, after being definitely thought out, have been progressively developed by an experience and practice of their own, we have witnessed a curious series of changes in the academical teaching of history. The seminary system, which depends in its essence on individual initiation, and the growth of which can, more especially in Germany and America, and to some extent elsewhere, be distinctly traced to the personal influence and inspiration of particular great teachers—for to some eminent professors it is given to found schools of disciples, to others, equally eminent, it is not—has, in certain branches of historical knowledge, been not so much supplemented as superseded by the introduction of more permanent and regular methods of advanced instruction. Nor is it surprising that in France—where (as I have said) the genius of Mabillon seems still to preside over all efforts in the field of learned historiography, or contributory to it, and where only a very little time ago the death of the greatest master of Diplomatic whom our generation has known, Léopold Delisle, was felt as a national loss—the *École des Chartes*, founded some years less than a century ago, should have by its systematic palaeographical training have largely brought about that close study of mediaeval history to which we owe some of the masterpieces of French historical literature. In different ways, the *École des Hautes-Études* and the *École des Sciences Politiques* have devoted their attention to the training of select pupils in distinct spheres of historical study; and the lead thus supplied has been followed in almost every country where that study flourishes. It will be known to our visitors that in the Universities of London,

Oxford, and Manchester, and more or less tentatively in other British Universities, special provision has been made for special schools of this kind, the multiplication of which is one of the most striking signs in the modern progress of the studies whose advancement we in common have at heart.

The transition may seem abrupt from the top to the other end of the educational ladder; but, in the historical as in all the main branches of academic instruction and the studies with which it is concerned, the schools, and secondary schools in especial, cannot be neglected without disastrous consequences. Germany has long since set the example, which has of late been followed with singularly rapid success in France, and to some extent elsewhere, of giving to the teaching of history (including, I should not forget to mention, historical geography) a place corresponding to its importance in all systems of organized secondary and (within due limits) elementary school education. In this country, the *Historical Association*, which has already done excellent work in the clearance it has made of the lumber of obsolete notions and prejudices, has in no respect been more usefully active than in helping to vindicate to historical teaching its due place in the educational system of English secondary schools. As probably one of the oldest teachers of history present here to-day, though no longer to be numbered among the effectives of the force, I may perhaps indulge myself in the delivery of an opinion that no system of University history teaching can be called complete which fails to insist, with all who propose to profit from it, upon a fair knowledge of the outlines of both Ancient and Modern History. No building upon the sand can come to any other end but collapse; no long honour lists with a sweeping tail of barely competent students are any more satisfactory than large battalions of which only the front ranks are well provisioned, equipped, and armed.

The cooperative labours of the historians of the present generation and of those which have more immediately preceded it have been of immense advantage to historical study both at home and throughout life; and it would be ungrateful not to acknowledge with thankfulness the great biographical and other historical dictionaries with which Germany and England, with Austria, the Netherlands, and other countries, have followed in the wake of the more rapid and wider studies taken by the editors of the earlier French successors of the illustrious Bayle. This cooperation has further resulted in a relatively new department of historical work which it would, again, be ungrateful to pass by. In our age of journalistic effort—perhaps the most characteristic if not the most abiding of all its efforts—the

foundation of historical journals of a high class has been of very considerable importance; and it is only because the services rendered by two of these journals have possibly benefited the largest numbers of readers that I specially mention the great *Historische Zeitschrift*, which under the directing of Sybel and his successors has achieved a success denied to an earlier attempt of a similar sort by Ranke, and the *Revue Historique*, whose founder, Gabriel Monod, was in this as in other branches of historical work one of the most indefatigable as he was in a sense one of the most cosmopolitan of workers. To the chief Italian and to the leading Scandinavian historical reviews many of us owe debts which we are eager to acknowledge, as we do to the *American Historical Review*, while with its elder English sister publication our own activities, however small, have been so long and closely intertwined that we can hardly distinguish between the consulship of Creighton and that of the successor round whom his many friends gathered the other day in honour of his jubilee.

As the cultivation of our field of labour seems to be rendered more and more productive with the use of the machinery to which I have referred, we must not forget that the limits of that field are constantly being enlarged with the growing courage that springs from growing freedom, and that instead of having to record the consummation, we are only witnessing the dawn of the endeavour on which Mr. Bryce has dwelt—to include the whole history of human civilization in the range of historical studies. Of course, the idea of extending the range of the functions of history beyond the domain of political—or of political and ecclesiastical—records only, can be carried back in its origins to a date much earlier than the era of Historical Congresses. One of the best definitions (as it has always seemed to me) of the task of History (I believe it was Droysen's)—as that of telling the story of man acting in communities—had long been present to men's minds in a fullness which could not allow of so restricted an application. More especially strange would complete blindness on this score have been to those who recalled the intimacy of the relations between political history and the history of general culture in an instance familiar to all educated men—I mean, of course, the case of ancient Hellas, and that of Athens in particular. Ernst Curtius, whom I deprecate setting down as a great geographer claiming to be a great historian, has demonstrated the significance of this instance in his chief book, and has given striking expression to it in one of the most charming of his academical orations. No other higher intellectual culture, as he reminds us, presents itself in so primitive and popular a union with the nation possessed of it as the Hellenic; and yet none

has so entirely detached itself from its relation to one particular nation and so enduringly become part of the inheritance of humanity at large.

Yet how slight and transitory, even after Voltaire's pathfinding essay, were any efforts to include organically in the narrative of any historical period, or in the history of any nation as a whole, even an account of the art and literature of any such age or nation—except, may be, in the way of appendix to the record of political and ecclesiastical business—battles and treaties, synods and parliaments—from which a few pages could be spared! It is strange that by two leading historians—the one German and the other French—the endeavour should have been made almost simultaneously in the third decade of last century to treat modern history expressly from the point of view of the intellectual life of the nations that have contributed to it. Schlosser's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, the production of a fervid apostle of progress, in whom the spirit of the *Aufklärung* had refused to be alienated from the struggle for political liberty, directly called into life a sequence of historical writers and teachers which reaches down to the times in which we live. Side by side with the steady flow of political history as contained in the great works of Ranke, they impressed upon their age the meaning of movements which pervaded the whole of a nation's life and found the most immediate expression in its literature. I need only recall the name of Gervinus as that of a foremost representative of this tendency. About the time of the first publication of Schlosser's best-known work, or a little later, Guizot's immortal fragment—for unfortunately it was to remain such—began a survey of the progress of European civilization which, in the lucidity of its arrangement as well as in the breadth and variety of its range, furnished a model of scientific exposition which no successor has surpassed. Powerful minds, commanding rich stores of accumulated learning, have since followed in Guizot's path—men of attainments and aims so different from one another as Buckle and Lecky, Friedländer and Burckhardt. And even where the demands of political life subdued to their purposes the most brilliant art of historical narrative, when Macaulay was writing English history so as to delight the world without displeasing the Whigs, and when, at a later date, Treitschke was depicting the resurrection of the German nation with a clear consciousness of the form of political unity towards which its destiny was to shape itself, what were to become perhaps the most famous passages of their works concerned themselves with the intellectual and with the social rather than with the political life proper of the nations.

of whom they were the historians. And in a *Short History*, which will remain a living book to many coming generations, John Richard Green, who like some others of us had sat at the feet of Freeman and Stubbs, the greatest English political historians of our younger days, essayed to tell in a few pages the whole story of the making of the English people; and he told it not only from Chronicles and Charters, but from the sources whence life and light had flowed to our ancestors, from King Alfred's reign to that of the Plantagenets, and had descended to us from the spacious days of Elizabeth to our own Victorian age.

As I have taken my last illustrations from German as well as from English historical writing, I may perhaps be permitted to say how notable the fact seems to me that while in Germany—formerly long the unpolitical one among the great European nations—purely political treatment of history most stubbornly asserted a preferential right, the concurrent claims of literature and art, as well of physical and mechanical science, together with those of legal, economical, and sociological studies, should in the end have not only found full consideration, but united in bringing about a new phase in historical science and its chief auxiliary, historical instruction. The history of civilization may, in its full development, be still a science of the future; but that future is secure.

There remains one other class of history to which I think Mr. Bryce has not specially referred, but on which, before sitting down, I should like, in a single word, to touch; and that is the *history of historians*. What you will allow me to call a pious remembrance connects itself with this reference. The first number of the *English Historical Review*, which I mentioned just now, contained a contribution by the late Lord Acton, which is marked by his characteristic breadth of knowledge and depth of critical insight, on Wegele's well-known and admirable *History of German Historiography from the times of Humanism.* Other works by German scholars and those of other nations have since expanded this theme or supplemented its treatment; and now, only a month or two before the assembling of this Congress, we have been delighted by the appearance of a work on *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* by one of Lord Acton's own pupils—one of our sectional vice-presidents—Mr. George Gooch. Nothing, I take it upon myself, could have given Lord Acton greater pleasure than this work, which breathes all his own ardour for the advancement of historical studies, while marked by his unfailing candour of judgement and generosity of sympathy. The book, which is worthy of the attention of all members of this Congress,

seems to me as fit a token of welcome as could be offered to them by English historical scholarship.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is unnecessary but it may not be unfitting that I should, in the name and on behalf of our President, invite you to proceed to the work of the Congress in the spirit of cordial cooperation which has brought you together on this as on former occasions. That spirit, I feel assured, is ours as springing not only from the common choice and pursuit of a field of study incomparable in the breadth and depth of its interest, but also from the sense of concord which pervades the followers of the same science and those who have voluntarily submitted themselves to the same discipline. This it is which unites all of us, to the exclusion of any jealousy or misunderstanding—and which keeps side by side the humblest fellow labourers among us as it combined in aim and influence the most diverse among our leaders of the past—shall I say, a Niebuhr and a Michelet? At the present moment, no man thinks of narrowing the range of the historian's labours, and no man is desirous of weakening their effects by furthering their dissipation. The philosophy of history never made more imperative demands upon the studies of its votaries; but no historical research and no contribution to historical literature can any longer base itself upon what is not a *real* foundation. We must continue to practise a great inductive science, and to follow a main method which, without claiming to exclude or supersede all others, insists on processes indispensable in the search after historic truth. So much, the world outside our *sanctum*—the political and the literary world alike, of either of which we may or not be active members, but of neither of which we are the mandatories or the henchmen—may demand and should demand from us. In return, we ask for nothing but liberty—the liberty which is the correlative of that truth the search after which our President has declared to be our primary purpose, the liberty which is necessary to reasonable men, aware that the cardinal task of their study is to trace the influences of mind and soul upon the progress of humanity.

Le présent, says Leibniz, *est chargé du passé et gros de l'avenir.* We historians are called upon, as best we may, to relate and interpret the past—what it was and how it became what it was—to our own living generation. We do not shut our eyes to the problems of the future, but commit them to the God of our fathers.

THE STUDY OF MODERN HISTORY IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONSIDERED IN CONNEXION WITH EDUCATION, THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARCHIVES, AND THE DOCUMENTARY PUBLICATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

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The progress of the study of Modern History in any particular country depends mainly on three factors: the nature of the education given in its schools and universities: the organization of the national archives and the accessibility of the materials which they contain: the provision made by the government for the publication of historical documents. Other factors must also be taken into account, but these three are so closely connected that a defect in any one hinders the development of historical researches.

I

There has been great progress in historical education in Great Britain during the last thirty years. History has obtained a place in the curriculum of primary education, and is better taught in secondary schools than it was, but the teachers of the subject in the primary schools are insufficiently trained. In the secondary schools the teaching given is neither thorough nor systematic. Generally, there is no continuous and orderly course of study. In the universities the recent increase in the number of teachers and students of Modern History is remarkable. The study of Modern History was a plant of slow growth in Great Britain. George I in 1724 founded chairs of Modern History at Oxford and Cambridge, partly to secure some popularity for the new dynasty there, partly in order to train young men for the diplomatic service. Three years after their foundation both professorships became sinecures, and it was not till the beginning

of the nineteenth century that lectures on the subject were regularly given. About 1850 Modern History obtained a place in the curriculum of both universities, and an examination in law and history together was instituted. About twenty-five years later the two subjects law and history were separated, and history became an independent study, proficiency in which qualified students for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

In Scotland and Ireland progress was slower. Edinburgh possessed from 1702 a professor of ecclesiastical history and in 1719 the town council established there a professorship of universal civil history combined with Greek and Roman antiquities. This second professorship became in 1858 a professorship of constitutional law and history. At Glasgow in 1720 George I founded a chair of ecclesiastical history. To it was attached a lectureship on civil history, which seems to have become a sinecure almost at once. At Aberdeen during the eighteenth century, both at Marischal College and King's College, civil and natural history formed part of the second year's curriculum. The programme of the lectures given in 1810 exists: it begins with Poetry and ends with Zoology.[1]

In spite of these different foundations, Modern History was not really taught in the Scottish universities till the last twenty years. After the report of the Royal Commission of 1889, professorships in Modern History were founded at Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1894, while at Aberdeen a lectureship was established in 1898 which became a professorship in 1903.

Since that date the development of historical studies at Edinburgh has been very remarkable. A professorship of Scottish history and palaeography was established there in 1901, and a lectureship on colonial history in 1912. Edinburgh now possesses four professors of Modern History and three university lecturers. At the present moment Glasgow is establishing a professorship of Scottish history and literature. The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland has done much to promote the progress of historical studies there by the grants it makes to young scholars to assist their researches.

In Ireland the development of historical teaching has been less satisfactory than in Scotland. A lectureship in oratory and history was founded in 1724 at Trinity College, Dublin, and endowed with a salary of £35. Modern History was separated from oratory and made an independent professorship in 1762, and there is now a lecturer as well as a professor.

[1] William IV founded a professorship of ecclesiastical history at Aberdeen in 1833.

The three Queen's Colleges established by Sir Robert Peel in 1845 at Galway, Cork, and Belfast all possessed professors of history, but the holder of the chair was usually charged with the teaching of other subjects too. The lecturer on history at Galway, for instance, has also to teach English Literature and Mental Science. On the other hand, one of these colleges, Belfast, became a university in 1909 and an independent professor of Modern History was appointed. Further, in 1910 the two colleges at Cork and Galway were combined with a new college, entitled University College, Dublin, to form a third Irish university. The new college possesses besides a professor of Modern History a lecturer on Modern Irish History. But the progress of historical education in the three Irish universities is much impeded by the defects of the teaching in the subject given in the Irish schools.

In England and Wales there has been a similar increase in the number of universities and in the number of historical teachers. Three Welsh colleges, Aberystwyth founded in 1872, Cardiff founded in 1884, and Bangor founded in 1885, were combined in 1893 to form a Welsh university. Before that date, St. David's College, Lampeter, founded in 1828, had been the only centre of higher education in Wales. All these four colleges possess professors of Modern History, but though there is considerable activity in historical studies in Wales it is mainly limited to Welsh history and antiquities.

In England itself there are now, in addition to Oxford and Cambridge, eight other universities. Durham, founded in 1831, has been strengthened by union with a college founded at Newcastle in 1871. London, founded as a mere examining and degree-giving institution in 1836, developed into a teaching university in 1900, and is still in process of reorganization. The Victoria University, founded in 1880, originally consisted of three colleges, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, which became in 1903 three separate universities. To these have been added three other universities, Birmingham founded in 1900, Sheffield in 1905, and Bristol in 1909. All possess professors of Modern History with lecturers to assist them, but it is evident that most of these foundations are too recent to have produced much effect on the development of historical studies. In most of them the time of the professors is absorbed by the necessity of giving a great number of rather elementary lectures for examination purposes. Manchester, on the other hand, which is more adequately staffed than the rest, makes a serious attempt to give a scientific training to historical students and has educated scholars who have produced work of real merit. Liverpool aims at

the same object but has not yet attained the same degree of success. In London, political history is scientifically taught by Professor Pollard at University College and economic history flourishes at the London School of Economics.

Taking the new universities as a whole, it is clear that, with the exceptions mentioned, they do not devote adequate attention to the scientific preparation of students for historical research. They cannot do it: for one reason their staff is inadequate and they usually provide no teaching of the auxiliary sciences and no systematic instruction in method. Besides, in all alike, the defective teaching of history in the secondary schools imposes on the professors and their assistants an excessive amount of lecturing, and hinders advanced instruction of any kind.

In the older and richer universities, Oxford and Cambridge, the means for giving a thorough and scientific historical education exist. At Oxford there are about a dozen historical teachers appointed by the university and about twenty-eight appointed by the Colleges. At Cambridge, there are five or six university teachers and about twenty-seven college teachers. At Oxford nearly two hundred men annually take the examination in history, while at Cambridge about the same number take either the first or the second part of the Historical Tripos.

On the other hand, what are called the History Schools of Oxford and Cambridge are essentially attempts to give a general education through the medium of history, not attempts to train men for the study of history. They supply the general knowledge of historical facts which a student requires as a foundation for historical research, but they give no real training in historical method, and no training in the auxiliary sciences. Hence the preliminary training which they supply ought to be followed by a special and scientific training intended to fit students to write and to teach history.

At Oxford the machinery for giving such a training exists. There are teachers of the technical subjects needed for the study of mediaeval history, such as palaeography and diplomatic, and there is a seminar for the study of the social and legal history of the Middle Ages. Lectures on sources and bibliography and some training in historical method are also provided. That which is lacking is students. The few there are come from American universities or from other British universities: the young men who have gone through the preliminary training which Oxford supplies do not take the special training which is provided to complete it. The reason for this is that neither the possession of this special training nor the production of a piece of

original work is required in order to obtain employment in the teaching of history. There is a degree intended to encourage the production of original historical work, the degree of Bachelor of Letters, but since tutorships and fellowships for history can be obtained without possessing it, that degree is only taken by students who have obtained their preliminary training elsewhere, and seek for employment elsewhere.

At Cambridge the position is much the same. The examination in history for the degree of B.A., while differing in many details from that which exists at Oxford, is of the same character. It is a preliminary general training which needs to be followed by a special training. The machinery for giving such a training is less adequate than it is at Oxford, and there is a similar lack of students who avail themselves of it. On the other hand, the production of original historical work is usually required in order to obtain a Fellowship in History, and in this respect Cambridge is in advance of Oxford, which contents itself with a promise to undertake such work.

Thus, in practice, neither of the two older universities actually gives the students of history it breeds an adequate scientific training for the writing and the teaching of history. They have to pick up their technical knowledge as best they can after they begin to write or teach. This has two bad results. In the first place the level of the historical teaching given is lowered, not only in the old universities themselves, but in the new ones too, since the latter derive their professors and teachers from the older universities. Secondly, the level of historical writing is lowered, and the work produced in Modern History is not as good as it should be.

If the study of Modern History is to make real progress in Great Britain, a much more serious attempt must be made by the universities to secure that future historians shall be so taught that they may be able to utilize the magnificent materials which our archives contain.

II

Another cause which discourages advanced historical training in the universities is the nature of the organization of the archives. There is a great difference between the organization of the archive service in England and its organization on the Continent. Nowhere is the concentration of all public records and state papers in a single repository carried to the same extent as in England. There are here no provincial or district repositories such as exist in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Italy. Consequently a much smaller staff of

officials suffices for the service of the archives. At the same time the transmission of modern records from the public departments and the law courts to the archives has been carried out more systematically here than elsewhere. Legal records are automatically transferred from the law courts to the Record Office when they are over twenty years old, and the more important public departments generally retain in their own hands only the records of the last thirty years. Accordingly they do not think it necessary to employ specially trained officials to take charge of their papers.

The small number of archivists employed in the Record Offices of the three kingdoms are not specially trained for that service as they usually are elsewhere. The examination which admits them to it is merely the ordinary examination for the higher Civil Service. No knowledge of palaeography or of any other technical subjects is demanded, nor does the possession of such knowledge help a candidate to obtain a post in the archives. Even a general knowledge of English history is not considered necessary. Officials do not go through any scientific training after their appointment, but pick up the special knowledge they need during their service. This method of selection discourages students in the universities from learning the auxiliary sciences, Another result of it is, that since the arrangement of records and the preparation of catalogues of them requires special knowledge, the work done by the officials of the Record Office is less well done than it would be if they possessed it. In particular—what most concerns us—the published and unpublished catalogues of papers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are very inadequate. Historians should therefore press the government to carry out the recommendations of the Public Records Commission with regard to the training of the officials charged with the care of our archives.

III

The cost of publishing historical documents is defrayed either by the universities, by subscribing societies, or by the State. (*a*) The University Presses of Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester perform a useful service by publishing historical works too special in their nature or too expensive to find publishers in the ordinary way. But the libraries, both of Oxford and Cambridge, contain numbers of historical documents which it is desirable to publish, and the presses of the two universities do not devote sufficient attention to them. At Oxford, for instance, there is in existence a manuscript calendar of the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian which ought to

be published. These papers illustrate the history of Ireland during the seventeenth century and form one-half of the Duke of Ormond's Collection; a calendar of the other half has been printed by the Historical MSS. Commission. Again, half the manuscripts of Mr. Pepys—a collection of first-rate importance for the history of the Navy—are in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge; the other half are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In these cases the co-operation of the two universities with each other and with outside agencies, such as the Historical MSS. Commission, is essential. A systematic publishing policy preceded by a general survey of the documentary materials available is much needed. (*b*) The historical societies which publish documents by means of the subscriptions of their members are very numerous. An excellent list of them is to be found in the *Bibliographie Historique* of M. Ch. V. Langlois (pp. 496–500). The older societies of this kind were usually established in order to publish documents relating to some particular district. Those which aimed at publishing documents illustrating British history as a whole usually died young. The Camden Society is an exception: founded in 1838, it obtained a new lease of life by its amalgamation with the Royal Historical Society in 1897, and has now published one hundred and eighty-nine volumes. One of the satisfactory features of the historical work of the last twenty years is the establishment and the success of societies which instead of dealing simply with a particular county take a larger subject and seek to elucidate some side of general history. The Scottish History Society founded in 1886 has now published its sixty-fifth volume; the Navy Records Society founded in 1894 has reached its forty-second volume. Since 1900 five societies have been founded for the study of the history of particular religious bodies and the publication of documents illustrating their history. The Congregationalist and the Baptist History Societies, the Friends Historical Society, the Jewish Historical Society, and last, but not least, the Catholic Records Society. Between them they have published a very valuable collection of documents on the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain since the Reformation, but they might do much more if they could sometimes lay aside their sectarian prejudices, and co-operate for the publication of documents of common interest.

(*c*) The third and most important class of documentary publication consists of those printed at the expense of the government. The British Government is not illiberal in its contributions to historical studies. It expends at present from £32,000 to £33,000 a year on the staff and establishment charges of the Record Offices of the three

kingdoms. To this must be added the cost of the three commissions now employed in surveying the historical monuments of England, Scotland, and Ireland which amounts to another £7,000 a year. The expenditure of the government on the publication of historical documents is more difficult to state exactly, but taking the figures given in the estimates for next year it comes to an additional sum of between eight and nine thousand pounds a year.[1]

On the other hand, the British Government proceeds in a different way from most European governments. As a rule, they either appoint a commission of historians to publish the sources of the national history, with a fixed annual allowance for the purpose; or appoint a committee to publish some particular class of documents; or subsidize some existing academy or institution, leaving it to decide what it shall publish. In these cases the body which controls the expenditure of the grant from the State consists mainly, if not exclusively, of historians. But though the British Government entrusts its grants for the advancement of science to the management of scientific men it does not entrust its grants for the advancement of historical knowledge to historians. Since 1856, the head of the archives, besides being charged with the duty of publishing catalogues of the archives, has been charged with the expenditure of nearly all the money granted for the publication of historical documents. The selection of the documents to be published, the method of publication, the choice of editors, and the supervision of their work have all been in his hands. These duties, combined with the administrative work of the head of a department, are more than one man can fulfil, and require more special knowledge than any one man can possess.

Errors in the selection of documents for publication and in the method of publishing them have been the result. In saying this I am not blaming the present Deputy Keeper of the Records: I am attacking the system he represents. The present Deputy Keeper has repaired many of the omissions of his predecessors and corrected many of their errors. He has initiated also many very useful works. But

[1] This total is made up as follows:

Grant to the Public Record Office of England for the publication of Calendars and Documents, £4,250; The Scottish Record Publications, £1,000; the Historical MSS. Commission, £1,910; Calendar of the Historical MSS. of the House of Lords, £360; new grant to the British Academy, £400; the Historical publications of the India Office, about £300. I have not been able to ascertain the cost of the historical publications of the Irish Record Office, nor can I say what portion of the annual grant of £1,600 to the Royal Irish Academy is devoted to the publication of documents.

I calculate that about £5,000 of that sum is devoted to documents illustrating modern rather than mediaeval history.

a distinction must be made between the enterprises he inherited and those which he originated. When he came into office he found in existence a particular method of dealing with modern State papers which is not much practised elsewhere: I refer to the Calendar of the State Papers. Calendaring is a method of publication which can be applied with advantage to certain classes of documents, and to the documents of certain periods. But it has been applied without sufficient discrimination. It has also two great drawbacks: it is a very expensive method, and a very slow method.

A calendar such as that of the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, which includes all the known State papers of a particular reign whereever they are, is a great boon to the historians of that reign. But to deal in this way with the papers of the thirty-eight years of that king's reign has taken about fifty years' work and has cost over £50,000. To apply a similar method to the papers of succeeding reigns is impossible: it would cost too much money and demand too much time; besides this, the quantity of documents preserved steadily increases as we draw nearer to the present day.

Hence the complete calendar, which included all the papers of a particular period wherever they were to be found, was superseded by the incomplete calendar—or partial calendar—which included only the papers contained in the English Record Office. Though this is useful to historians, it is much less useful than the other form of calendar. Its value depends on the question whether the important State papers of the period are in the English Record Office or in some other repository, as, for instance, the British Museum, or the Bodleian Library, or the Irish Record Office. Often some of the important papers are in one place, some in another. In such cases, when it is held impossible to calendar all the papers together, it would be better to print a selection of the important papers from all the repositories, rather than to calendar all the papers in one place, whether important or trivial, and leave those in other places still in manuscript.

The treatment of the Irish State papers for the seventeenth century furnishes an example of the defects of the present system.

But even these incomplete calendars take a long time to produce. The editors employed by the Record Office have spent nearly sixty years in calendaring the State papers. The result is that the domestic and nearly all the foreign papers of the sixteenth century have been calendared; the domestic papers for eighty-five of the hundred years of the next century have been calendared, but not even a beginning has been made with the foreign papers of the same period. As to the eighteenth century, a few of the domestic and the financial papers

have been calendared, but the foreign are untouched, and no nineteenth-century papers of any kind have been calendared. It is evident that calendaring involves in practice clearing up the history of some periods and leaving others in darkness. The reason originally given for adopting the plan of calendaring was the difficulty of distinguishing between important and unimportant papers. But it leads in the end to a system of selection applied to periods instead of documents.

Finally, there is this objection to the calendars: in printing documents, either in full or in abridged form, for the use of historians, arrangement and selection are essential. Calendaring, as it is applied to the modern State papers, is the negation of selection; all documents, whether trivial or important, are analysed and condensed. It is the negation of arrangement—papers on all subjects are mixed up together, the only order is the chronological order. Some less chaotic method of publication should be devised.

I conclude, therefore, that the plan of calendaring the modern State papers should be reconsidered, and some of the present calendars discontinued. Instead of them there should be published volumes of selected State papers illustrating the working of particular institutions, the policy of particular statesmen, or the history of particular problems. Provided that the papers in general are adequately catalogued, selections of this nature are the most convenient method of publishing documents for historical uses.

If any such system of selection is adopted it is clear that historians should be given a larger share in the management of the documentary publications needed for the study of the national history than our Government has hitherto given them. The determination of the subjects to be dealt with and the papers to be published is a difficult task. It requires knowledge of all periods of the national history and of all the published materials on each period, not merely knowledge of the contents of a particular repository. The choice of the subjects to be dealt with, the determination of the method in which a particular series of documents shall be treated, the selection of editors and the supervision of their work, are properly the business of historians rather than archivists, though the co-operation of the keepers of the various collections of archives is indispensable. Some machinery must be devised in order to ensure this co-operation, and in order to give British historians their proper part in the publication of historical documents.

With that object the Public Records Commission has made the following recommendations. First, that there should be established a permanent Commission for the administration of the archives, con-

sisting partly of officials, partly of historians. Secondly, that there should be a permanent Board of historians entrusted with the publication of calendars and documents. Thirdly, that the British Academy should be associated with the Board in its publishing work. Something has already been done to carry out the second and the third of these proposals. An Advisory Committee for publications has been appointed by the Master of the Rolls, has held several meetings, and made a number of recommendations. The estimates for the coming year include a grant of £400 a year to the British Academy for the publication of documents illustrating social and economic history. But those interested in the study of modern history should press the Government to make the Advisory Board a permanent institution, increase the grant to the British Academy, and carry out the recommendations of the Commission in their integrity. Meanwhile, without waiting for this consummation, there is a piece of work which needs doing and can be done at once. It is an indispensable preliminary to any definite schemes for the future. A general survey of the documentary materials for British history should be undertaken by a Committee of historians, and a report on the subject drawn up and printed. It should specify the documents which require to be published or re-edited in order to fill the gaps in our knowledge of different periods of our national history. The proceedings of the Commissie van Advies appointed by the Dutch Government in 1902, and the report produced by it in 1904, furnish a good model. Another example is afforded by the 'Report on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government' drawn up by nine American historians in 1908. And no doubt there are in existence similar reports drawn up by the historians of other countries.

I have chosen, at this first meeting of the Section of Modern History, to bring before the Congress the three questions of the training of historians, the training of archivists, and the publication of historical documents, because they are all three questions upon which the knowledge and the experience of foreign historians enable them to help us, and I hope that both publicly and privately they will give us their advice upon them.

THE PRESENT STATE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

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FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

A Presidential Address delivered to the Mediaeval Section of the International Historical Congress at London, April 4, 1913

There are few mediaevalists optimistic enough to regard the present state of mediaeval studies in this country with any profound satisfaction. Nevertheless, the most pessimistic among us will agree that there has been substantial progress during the last few years, and that at no earlier period could we contemplate the outlook with so much hope as we can at the present moment. We have now more University teachers of mediaeval history, more students of the subject, and greater encouragements to them to specialize. Moreover, history has a better recognition in our schools and in public opinion than it used to have. Most gratifying of all is the development made at the top. Ten years ago, Mr. James Bryce, our president, told the first historical congress at Rome that higher historical studies were not organized in England. The statement, though not made with special relation to mediaeval studies, was certainly at that time pre-eminently true of them. I am glad to be able to tell this conference that a substantial beginning has been made since Mr. Bryce made this statement. It is now widely, but by no means universally, recognized that mediaeval studies have a technique of their own, which can only be acquired with painful effort, and that students of history, however well-read they may be, and however many high examinations they have passed, are not properly equipped to teach mediaeval history in Universities, unless they have submitted themselves to systematic training in the technicalities of their craft. In six Universities at least—Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, Manchester, and Liverpool—some provision is now made for the instruction of intending mediaevalists in palaeography and diplomatic. Of the languages necessary for the student of the English middle age, Old and Middle English can be learnt almost anywhere, and the teaching in Old-

French is, thanks to the recent remarkable development in the scientific instruction of modern languages in this country, almost equally widespread. Even a knowledge of mediaeval archaeology is not now impossible of attainment, and Liverpool has here led the way by instituting a professorship of that subject in 1908. More important by far than the mere institution of more lectures is the fact that of recent years several organized seminars of mediaeval history are now in operation in which teachers of mediaeval history show to their pupils their own methods of work, and guide them in the pursuit of their first efforts in original investigation. The first steps in this direction were taken by Mr. Hubert Hall in the University of London. Since then Professor Vinogradoff has conducted a seminar of the best continental type in mediaeval economic and legal history at Oxford. In Edinburgh, Professor Hume Brown directs something like a seminar in what is rather quaintly called 'ancient Scottish history and palaeography'. In Manchester, Professor Tait and myself have for some years held a seminar on English history in the fourteenth century, and Professor Unwin has very powerfully helped us on the economic side of mediaeval history. Some published results of work, done under seminar conditions at London, Oxford, and Manchester, are already before the world, and before very long I hope that many more will appear.

We must not only look to the Universities for training in mediaeval technique. We have been witnessing for many years the gradual process by which under the auspices of the present Deputy-Keeper, Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, the spirit of the Public Record Office is being changed. What was once an unorganized agglomeration of individual government officials, discharging routine tasks with very varying degrees of competence, is slowly developing into a society of highly trained scholars, co-operating in the great work of calendaring, classifying, and making accessible our incomparable collection of mediaeval records. The results are already seen in the higher standard, greater uniformity of treatment, and increasing rapidity of production of the numerous series of calendars of records which are now being issued under the auspices of the Deputy-Keeper. The process of development is still, however, in its earlier stages. We may hope that it will be facilitated by the recent action of the authorities in appointing a consultative committee of historians to give advice as to the publications to be issued from the Office. It is not too much to expect that before very long the Public Record Office will add to its other functions that of being, in fact, if not in name, a real practical school of charters and other higher mediaeval

studies. When this has become the case, it will not be a very difficult thing to bring such an ideal training ground into intimate relations with the mediaeval departments of our Universities.

Organization of study and courses of advanced teaching are important, but are by no means everything. In fact, there is sometimes a tendency to overstress these things. They can and do immensely smooth the way of the beginner, but when the first lessons of technique have been learnt, too much organized method may do as much harm as good. After all, when a scholar makes some way in any subject, there is no one who can teach him so much as he knows himself, and even watching the methods of the best masters must after a time have a deadening rather than a stimulating effect. Even in the preliminary stages of learning mediaeval technique the most vital thing of all is the provision of adequate individual direction to young aspirants to knowledge from well-informed and properly trained directors. I am convinced that there has never been a greater willingness than there is now for elder scholars to put their knowledge and experience at the service of their pupils in this direction. Wherever I go, I hear of help ungrudgingly and freely rendered, and I know that the burden of advising and directing research in this way has in many cases made serious inroads into the leisure and opportunities of private work of university and college teachers. They must be content, however, to persevere in well-doing, for their devotion is the chiefest of all the conditions of progress. It is to be regretted, however, that work of this sort obtains so little recognition. The lecture hours, the time consumed on undergraduate essays are recognized, but such private and informal help to advanced students is looked upon as a work of supererogation, an addition to the day's burden. Fortunately it has its own reward. But it is extremely arduous work to discharge properly. None of us can give real help except in the limited fields we have studied at first-hand for ourselves. And it unluckily remains true that there are still some academic teachers of history whose personal work can hardly be said to suggest any special capacity for direction in any period.

The result of all this progress is that we have now what ten years ago we had not—the beginnings of organized schools of mediaeval history in some of our Universities. It follows that the ways of the beginner may now be made much smoother than they were to my generation. A very few of us in my early days had the wisdom to go to Paris or Göttingen, or some other place where real mediaeval technique was systematically taught. The great majority of us had to learn for ourselves as best we could. We necessarily made many

blunders and wasted much time in the process. There were no British schools of history in those days. Even Stubbs, the one great historical professor, though he knew and admired the work of Ranke and his pupils in Germany, made no serious attempts to follow in their footsteps. Stubbs's general outlook was too conservative; his dislike of organizing, and being organized, was too strong to make it possible for him to be an effective pioneer of salutary revolution in promoting that 'historical teaching of history' which he so often desired to see established in our country. The traditions of English individualism, the forces of the 'college system', the cast iron of the great examination machine, repelled him from even entering the conflict. We know what he felt from reflections in his correspondence and conversation, whose humorous or semi-humorous form very imperfectly conceals the deep bitterness of spirit which inspired them. Still there were none of us, brought into direct contact with him, who did not derive stimulus and encouragement from a teacher whose kindliness and sympathy were as great as his learning and grasp. And Oxford men at least must not forget to record with gratitude encouragement and advice from other teachers. Some of these, if not themselves specially addicted to research, have been in many cases the cause of research in others, and so have a right to a place in the record of the beginnings of British schools of mediaeval history.

Perhaps the greatest external stimulus which those who sought to be mediaevalists had in those distant days was that derived from co-operation in joint historical work of an advanced character. The *English Historical Review* has now been so long at work that even the oldest of us hardly remember what long and painful discussions there were before the various projects to set up a specialist periodical for historians became materialized, and how difficult it was before its first appearance in 1886 for scholars to find a means of publishing their earlier efforts. The *Review* has given us this and also a severe corrective to our deviations from scholarly lucidity and brevity. Nowadays we have also the *American* and the *Scottish Historical Reviews*, covering in friendly rivalry the same ground. More than any single undertaking the *Dictionary of National Biography* was the practical school of history to the mediaevalists of my generation, and I know not to how many other students in how many other branches of learning. And the *Victoria County Histories* have been the training school for a younger generation of mediaevalists, just as the *Dictionary of National Biography* was for my own contemporaries. In the somewhat neglected field of mediaeval archaeology the *Victoria County Histories* have done particularly useful work. And we now

have an additional encouragement to that pursuit in the establishment of three royal commissions with the mission of describing and cataloguing the historical remains of England, Scotland, and Wales. But I must not dwell any longer on the evidences that we are advancing. My business is not with what has been, but what is, and still more with what we hope will be! It is enough to say that nowadays there are many more opportunities of co-operation in production with other scholars, and of publishing one's work, than there were thirty years ago. The development of publishing societies, general, special, or local, the increased facilities for publication afforded by the multiplication of publishing agencies under academic auspices, are features of the last few years. If a good book or paper on a mediaeval subject is written in these islands nowadays, it is generally the author's fault, or misfortune, if it is not published. If the career open to mediaeval talent with us is still inferior to that available in most other civilized countries, it is at least wider than it has ever been before.

As the result of all these things the output of good mediaeval work in this country has considerably increased, and is still increasing, though doubtless it is not what it should be. Great additions have been made to the available material for natural history. I have already spoken of the many score of volumes of the official calendars of mediaeval documents which enable us to rewrite the detailed administrative history of the later Middle Ages. So much progress has been made with the various Chancery rolls that we may soon look forward to similar treatment being given to the chief classes of Exchequer records. Even the bulky judicial archives of the two Benches will ere long demand some sort of treatment. These, however, have been at least sampled, notably in the publications of the Selden Society, with which the great name of F. W. Maitland will always be associated. Our local records, too, are published, or calendared, to an increasing extent, and the work is generally competently done, though not all the contributions to the sources of municipal history can be as well edited as were Mary Bateson's *Records of Leicester*. If the suspension of the official Chronicles and Memorials of the Rolls Series has retarded the rate at which mediaeval annals have been issued or re-issued in adequate editions, we have still new chronicles published, or old ones critically treated, by scholars working on their own account. Nor are original studies of great value lacking. If I do not particularize them it is partly because it is invidious to make selections, and partly because I want to get on to other things. Yet there is need to emphasize the fact that we are producing a reasonable amount

of mediaeval work, because a recent learned and stimulating study of *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, excellent within its own lines, and deservedly praised for what it contains, has almost altogether omitted to deal with the work of mediaeval scholars of the present generation, not only in England but also in other lands.

I have suggested some reasons why we should feel that we have been making real progress, but I should be wanting in courage or in candour were I not to admit that there is much still to be done before we bring ourselves up to the standpoint of the best continental examples. Our best work may not fear comparison with any in the world; but there is not enough of it, and there is in much, even of our best work, a touch of that insularity that is on some occasions our pride, but on more occasions our reproach. What then are the difficulties that still confront us? I cannot but think that progress is mainly checked from the fact that, though the spirit of reform is in the air, reform does not go far in practice before it is pulled up short by the spirit of traditionalism, which is stronger in England than in any other country in the world. And as regards mediaeval science traditionalism means, first of all, distrust of the specialist and the glorification of the amateur. As a result of this it involves profound belief in the individual, and an indifference to all system, method, and organization.

History is still to the British traditionalist a new subject. He admits its importance, but he thinks that it is less 'educative' than certain other things. He is still simple-minded enough to regard it as an easy subject. He may, perhaps, have some reason for his scepticism if he knows what history means to the great majority of those who take history as their subject in the various 'honour schools of history' that flourish in our Universities, and force hundreds of students to read exactly the same books—mainly modern—and to strive, in competition with each other, to do exactly the same things in exactly the same way. So far as they go, however, these honour schools are all well enough. They give in different fashions a wide knowledge of general history, and familiarize our academic youth with the things which every instructed historian is the better for knowing. Unluckily they are taken for more than they are worth, and the cult of the examination, which the British Islands share with China, and have extended with disastrous results to India, is so enthroned amongst us that the young men and women who have attained a 'first class' are thought able to turn their hands to anything without further study. If there be any doubt as to their competence it is not by reason of their historical deficiencies, but because the traditionalist has little confidence in the educative results of any training in the

mediaeval age. He prefers an education in the tongues, history, or thought of Greek and Roman antiquity, and regards the History School as a *pis aller* for those unable to brace themselves up to the more traditionally acceptable curriculum. As things are at present, it is hard to deny that he is altogether in the wrong. Our schools of mediaeval history are still too one-sided and partial to equip the would-be mediaevalist in the broad outlines of the literature, history, language, thought, and art of the Middle Ages after the fashion in which the Oxford School of 'Literae Humaniores' has evolved a system of combined study of the tongues, philosophy, and history of the Graeco-Roman world. As good a training could be found in the one as in the other, and life is too short and time too precious for it to be desirable that all should tread the same path, however excellent that one path may be. As long as in practice an excessive proportion of our young talent is driven in one particular direction, so long will it revenge itself by refusing to equip itself adequately for any further journeys it may have to undertake.

Let us not, however, dwell longer upon examinations, for at the best they are but the preliminary schooling of the scholar. Yet even examinations can be made to do more than they have done, and in particular the specialized study on right lines of such periods in original sources may be, in some places actually is, a real easy introduction under undergraduate conditions to the historical teaching of history. In any case, however, the serious training of the mediaevalist can only begin after graduation, and for that reason it is an encouraging sign of progress that some Universities are beginning to insist on some real first-hand work as the condition precedent of such 'higher degrees' as the mastership. We must, however, regard the training of the mediaevalist as an end in itself rather than as inspired by a quest of degrees. Our danger is still that such a training will never be begun at all, though the opportunities of such training are now coming nearer to hand. The root of the matter for the 'first class honours man' is to realize how little he has learnt. He has shown, we must admit, an amazing memory, and a wonderful capacity to keep in his head at the same time an enormous number of facts of varying degrees of importance. He has given proof, too, of great smartness and rapidity in writing, against time and without book, short journalistic essays on any given historical problem. He has proved himself clever, as possessing some gifts of style, generalization, co-ordination, and readiness. All these are excellent things so far as they go, but when you tell him that he is still at the beginning of his course, that he must now specialize, learn the technique of his trade, do

original work, he will, if he be worldly wise, meet you with questions that you find it very difficult to answer. You may tell him that by following your advice he may become a distinguished scholar; but you cannot hold out any rosy prospects of fame and still less of fortune. When you urge him to study technique, he promptly answers that this man and that man have got the best posts in the limited profession of the academic teaching of mediaeval history, without having taken any such otiose and painful precautions. He can tell you that such a college or such a university has chosen as its teacher of your subject a man who had taken his degree a few years before, and has done nothing since save teach and write for the newspapers.

This seems to me the root of the matter. The vital difference between England and France or Germany is that with us, but not beyond sea, original work in his subject is not regarded as an essential qualification for the academic teacher. No doubt things are much better than they were, but so long as University opinion allows an academic appointment to be given to the non-specialist, so long it will not be to the interest of the aspirant to such posts to make himself a specialist. The worst offenders in this matter are a certain number of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, which practically, though not nominally, appoint the mass of the University teachers of history in those Universities. They are not, I fear, the only culprits. The evil done by them is the more harmful, however, since traditionalist public opinion regards anything done by the 'older Universities' as necessarily right. Yet it is proper to add that human nature often triumphs over the vicious system of appointment. Some of the very best workers on mediaeval history have held, and are holding, such college appointments. Their science is, however, a work of supererogation, the gratification of a scholarly ambition, the response of the zealot to the divine fire which is in him. Things are made worse too by the appalling demands on the time and energies of the teacher, which is the result of the much vaunted 'tutorial system', a system admirable in conception, but pushed sometimes to ridiculous excess, so that the work of the University teacher is conceived to be the constant feeding of the individual with spoon meat, cut up and prepared in such a way that it can be most easily digested, even by the most delicate of intellectual and moral constitutions. Things are in some ways worse in the smaller academic centres, where one professor, with perhaps one assistant, is expected to hold innumerable courses on all sorts and 'periods' of history, and that in places where even books are not always to any

adequate extent procurable. Again, in the higher posts of the schools of France and Germany, the teachers are men of the same training and of the same ambitions as the academic teachers. In England, however, there is such a deep gulf between school teaching and academic teaching, and such excessive demand on the time and temper of the school teacher, that it is a very rare thing for a would-be specialist to begin his teaching career in a school, despite some distinguished instances to the contrary. It is no wonder, then, that no form of the career of the history teacher makes a very direct appeal to persons of talent and ambition.

And what other openings for the mediaevalist are there in this country save the career of teaching? In France he can by reason of his training obtain a post as an archivist in the national or departmental records, or become a librarian in one of the great libraries. In England there are no departmental archives, and the records not safely housed in Chancery Lane are looked after by custodians who can only accidentally and by special grace read them or care for them, and who, though generally kind and sympathetic, do in some cases exact extortionate fees from those who would wish to consult them. And in our Public Record Office officers are appointed, not by reason of their special knowledge of history, still less by their skill in palaeography, diplomatic, Old-French, and mediaeval Latin, but as the result of a portentous examination in universal knowledge that lasts the best part of a month, and is used as the one portal to the higher civil service for Britain, India, and the Crown Colonies. It would be fatal for any one with an ambition to become an archivist in the Public Record Office to devote the time between his graduation and the entrance on his profession to the study of the subjects that will be of any use to him if he gets into it. These subjects are not recognized in the examination. From the point of view of 'getting marks', he would be wasting his time. He would be sure, therefore, to do so badly in the examination that if he secured any post at all, he would come out low on the list and would perhaps be sent to help in the administration of the Malay Peninsula or Hong-Kong, where mediaeval learning is not a specially useful accomplishment. Similarly, if our young mediaevalist wished for library work, he would find that in most libraries there is no career at all for a man of education. In the British Museum there is a chance, and the British Museum has luckily escaped thraldom to the general civil service examination which controls entrance into the Record Office. But with our usual British distrust of the specialist the special examination follows in the main the old-fashioned lines of a liberal education. Thus the

man who wishes to work at Old and Middle English manuscripts has to prove his fitness by being examined in a 'limited competition' in Greek and Latin, in French and German. Thus the 'classical' tradition still lays its dead hand on mediaeval learning. No wonder that our best mediaevalists are men whose means put them above worldly cares, and allow them to teach themselves their craft at their own leisure. The danger is that such men are solitary workers, and can mainly help the advance of science by the example of their output.

Much that I have said about the teaching career applies to any branch of historical science, but it holds good with special force to mediaeval studies, which can only be mastered after a severe technical training. This is the worse since, though specialization in education has not produced as yet with us technical proficiency, it has resulted in some of the worst effects of specialization—the divorce of even the preliminary study of our subject from those auxiliary studies without which the main science is cultivated to little purpose. Very lamentable results flow from the divorce of history from linguistic and literary studies. Your would-be mediaevalist does not know Old-French, and if he does, it is the Old-French of Paris, not the Anglo-French of Stratford-atte-Bow, which is what he most wants. If he knows Latin well, his Latin is of so 'classical' a variety that he is certain to be unable to construe, and probably liable to despise, the 'Low Latin' of the Middle Ages. He is not likely to learn Old and Middle English unless he has 'taken honours' in that subject, and those who take their degree in mediaeval literature and philology are as innocent of any knowledge or interest in mediaeval politics as our mediaeval historian is of the relevant languages, thought, literature, and art. Thus when you get your specialist, he is only half a specialist. He is so absorbed in his own 'point of view' that he has no eyes or ears for aspects of mediaeval life which are vital to its comprehension as a whole.

We can now go back to where we began, and realize why it is that the progress in the organization of mediaeval study is not so great as at first sight appears. The technical training exists, but it is shunted on to a siding which is not a direct continuation of the main line. It is perhaps illustrative of the want of correlation in England between mediaeval history and the auxiliary sciences which we cannot do without, that if any member of this section wishes to hear at this Congress what brother scholars have to say on questions so vital to us as those of diplomatic and palaeography, he will have to make the long pilgrimage from King's College to Burlington House to gratify his very

natural desire. And mediaeval technique is side-tracked in other ways also. To put it brutally, it does not 'pay' to specialize in mediaeval study, since, when you have specialized, you cannot always secure an opening for your talents. No wonder then that our distinguished teachers of palaeography and diplomatic teach to very modest audiences, and that they complain, anyhow in our largest Universities, that their hearers are not the home-grown product of the place, but strangers who come in from far and near, attracted by those 'research degrees', which, admirable in conception, are still a delusion and a snare, except when the candidate can find in the University a teacher able, and willing, to direct his study of his subject. Perhaps it is easier to set up a school of history at a new British University than an old one: that is always supposing that there are the money and men enough to make the plan practicable. We are less hampered by tradition. We have smaller numbers to deal with, and, if I may speak of our own Manchester experience, we can more easily make the examination subordinate to the teaching, and make our training in sources, our preliminary seminar work, an integral part of the course. We have, on the other hand, difficulties in obtaining recognition for work done in a new University that no one outside the British Isles has any conception of. Nevertheless, we have little reason to complain, in Lancashire at any rate. In particular, we are free to vary our methods, and strive to combine what is best in the old with what is best in the new. Our experience is, I say emphatically, that what is best for the education of the historian is also best for the general training of the men and women who intend to devote themselves to other professions or to practical life. Under traditionalist conditions it is very hard to graft the new shoots of research on to the old tree of the 'education of a gentleman' in general culture divorced from professional technicality.

Even the examination system bears hardly enough on mediaeval history. The majority of both teachers and students have as little to do with it as they can. It is looked upon as too technical to attract, and so remote from modern needs that it is in most places an unpopular subject. It might be in peril of disappearing, if it presupposed a further technical training, to be pursued after graduation, which is not exacted from the students of more recent periods! As a matter of fact each branch of history has its own technique, and because in mediaeval history the need for technique is becoming obvious, the zealots for the history of recent times have, I believe, even more reason to complain than we mediaevalists of the hordes of unskilled labourers who aspire to till some section of the field of

knowledge, with such information as the light of nature and general reading give them.

What then does English mediaeval science require to realize its opportunities to the full? It is not enough to provide technical training; it is necessary to insist upon it. And the best way to secure this is to make research, based on sound technique, the condition precedent of appointment to all academic posts. It requires that our archives should be reorganized on the lines suggested by the new Record Commission, and staffed by experts. It requires the ending of the unhealthy centralization of archives in the capital, and the establishment of local record offices after the model of every other civilized country. It requires the compulsory concentration, within these local record offices, of the uncared-for ancient documents that are still lurking in a score of unsuspected places. It requires that, as in all other civilized countries, historians should be consulted in the preparation of public documents for publication, calendaring, and summarizing, and that State grants for the encouragement of historical learning should be administered by historians, just as similar grants for the development of natural science are administered by scientists. It requires that the great libraries, where mediaeval manuscripts are stored, should attract not repel, from their staff students who have already given proof of sound training in mediaeval lore and some grasp of mediaeval technique. It requires the strengthening of our nascent schools of mediaeval history, the co-ordination of our too isolated and individualistic efforts. It requires the co-operation of the general historian with the historian of a distinct or of a special aspect of the science. Moreover, it needs the co-operation of the mediaeval historian with the student of mediaeval thought, art, and letters, of society, of economic conditions. In short, it involves a further recognition of the dignity, the importance, and the practical value of our science, and encouragement to the rising generation to enlist themselves under its banner.

If I have drawn too gloomy a picture of what is, too ideal a picture of what might be, I hope I have not from excess of zeal given offence to any one. Nothing is further from my thought than the blaming of schools, institutions, or still more individuals. You will know that the preacher is always liable to see the worst of the age which he endeavours to urge to repentance. You will make allowance for the fervour of the would-be reformer or prophet. As you would not go to Jacques de Vitry for an unbiased picture of the morals of a mediaeval university, so you will realize that you must not go to a modern Jeremiah for a perfectly balanced view of the shortcomings

of modern academic England in regard to his particular hobbies. Yet I cannot believe that these are mere visions, for I know that the distinguished visitors whom we are welcoming to-day from every land beyond sea and ocean, see in their own countries things in actual operation that are with us only visions of the future. Fortunately the republic of learning is one, and no more signal service can be done to us Englishmen by our foreign friends and visitors than to bear witness that they have already accomplished what we ourselves feel ashamed that we are only just beginning to undertake. Above all, we can appeal to the magnificent services which continental Europe and America have rendered to the advance of British mediaeval science, so much neglected in its own home. If we cannot ourselves produce a critical edition of our early laws, have we not one now from Liebermann? If we cannot edit all our own chronicles and records, we can at least rejoice that Paul Meyer has given us an admirable edition of the *Histoire de Guillaume le Mareschal*, and that Léopold Delisle's vast scholarship has illuminated many dark places in our history, notably the reign of Henry II. Charles Bémont has given English editors an exemplar of how a record should be published in his *Rôles Gascons* of Edward I. M. Bémont we hold in special honour, not only as one who has done admirable work on nearly every part of our thirteenth-century history, but as conducting the most productive school of mediaeval English history on the Continent since R. Pauli, whose *Englische Geschichte* remains of value after more than half a century, ceased to teach at Gottingen. Liebermann by his continuation of Pauli's work on the English Chroniclers in the *Monumenta Germaniae*, by his editions of chronicles and law books, and by his admirably minute bibliographies, now alas! no longer appearing, and in countless other ways, has done for our history in Germany what Bémont has done for it in France. I pass over work on the earliest periods, such as that of Mommsen in his editions of Gildas and Nennius, of Hubner in his British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, the renewal of Celtic studies by Germans, from Zeuss to Zimmer and Meyer, and the overwhelming share taken by Germans in the study of the early stages of our mother tongue. I pay but a passing tribute to some of the greater early scholars, to Brunner, to Maurer, to Gneist. I barely mention too what Rössler and Böhmer, Cartellieri and Wissowa, have done for the Norman and Angevin periods. Petit-Dutaillis has severely corrected our national self-complacency in *Magna Carta*, and in our mediaeval constitution and its historian; has made the most systematic effort yet made to bring up to date Stubbs's great work, and has supplemented the

labours of the lamented André Reville on the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. J. Flach has given us something to think about in his revolutionary views as to the part taken by England in the development of feudalism. We owe to Makower an elaborate study of the law of the English Church, and to S. Goldschmidt the most detailed account of the early history of the Jews in England. Koch has written the best account of the early career of our only English emperor, Richard of Cornwall, and I call Earl Richard an emperor with the more conviction since H. Bloch has shown that there is twelfth-century canonical sanction for the view that an emperor-elect can be styled emperor, even before his coronation by the pope. Who is there who has worked on English church history that has not used the magnificent editions of papal registers published by the École française de Rome? It is all to our profit that Bémont has written the best life of Simon de Montfort, that Wurstemberger and Mugnier have illustrated the careers of the Savoyards who flocked to the England of Henry III, that Langlois has elucidated the age of Edward I, that Finke has shown how much light the archives of Aragon throw upon that monarch's foreign policy, and that Kern has collected from many archives, including our own, vivid illustrations of the external relations of the same period. Gavrilovitch has worked out the history of the execution of the treaty of Paris of 1259. Mme Lubimenko collected all that could be known of John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, and Dimitresco did something towards the elucidation of the career of Gaveston. Horstmann has helped us to disentangle the relationship to each other of some of the chroniclers of the reign of Edward III. We owe to Déprez our introduction to the diplomatic of the documents issued under the small seals of the English kings, and by far the completest study of the origins of the Hundred Years' War. Denifle first taught us to appreciate the true part which our mediaeval Universities played in the history of institutions and of culture, and has written the fullest narrative yet published of the early campaigns of the Hundred Years' War in a book which is not called, what an English critic has called it, 'the Dissolution of the Church of France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries!' Déprez and Denifle hold a high place among the distinguished band of scholars who are re-writing for us the history of the Hundred Years' War. To them we may add the name of Luce, whose great work is already accomplished, of Beaucourt, the historian of Charles VII, and of Delachenal, who will develop before this section one of his most striking discoveries in his history of Charles V. Nor must we forget what we owe to the editors of fourteenth-century chronicles, to Luce and Lettenhove, to

Viard and Déprez, to Molinier and Moranvillé. Puiseux and Prentout have worked out aspects of the war in Normandy; Moisant has written on the Black Prince's administration of Aquitaine; Wallon has given us what still remains the fullest history of Richard II; Lechler and Loserth have illuminated the age of Wyclif and co-operated with English scholars in the publication of the reformer's writings. Caro has studied some aspects of the diplomatic history of the early fifteenth century, and Hans Prutz has introduced to German readers the 'crusading' account books of the future Henry IV. German scholars have first set out in detail the economical developments of England towards the end of the Middle Ages. Russia has sent us Vinogradoff, whom we may now almost claim as a fellow countryman, though on that showing we might also claim our share in Liebermann and Keutgen, and some other of our visitors also. And we must perforce claim an even greater share in the zealous scholars of our own tongue from the United States of America, who are taking a characteristic share of their own in the task of compelling our mediaeval records to yield their stores of new knowledge. How should we find our way about the materials of our mediaeval history were it not for the Bibliographies of the lamented Charles Gross, a man whose contributions to municipal history alone have put every scholar under a further obligation? Special emphasis should be laid upon the services which Gross has done to British history by organizing its systematic study at Harvard, a task now carried on by his pupil and successor Haskins, whose good work on the Normans is universally recognized. G. B. Adams has given us one of the best general histories of the Norman and Angevin periods. Child has illuminated later mediaeval history by his great collection of ballads. Who could enumerate the monographs which American scholars of this generation have written or are writing on mediaeval history? But I have special reasons for paying a tribute to the part which American scholars are playing in developing our administrative history, which is still to our shame so largely an unworked field. Such work as Lapsley's on the Palatinate of Durham, of Baldwin's on the Privy Council, of Lewis's on the Stannaries of Cornwall and Devon, of Matzke's on the Laws of William the Conqueror, of Lunt's on ecclesiastical assessments and taxation, of Willard's on the lay subsidies and other aspects of the activities of the Exchequer, of Miss Putnam's on the execution of the Statute of Labourers, of Miss Scofield's on the reign of Edward IV, may be cited simply as instances of what the Americans are doing for the early history of their mother land.

But I will not go on, though my list is far from exhaustive. May

even an imperfect enumeration of what foreign scholars have of recent years done for English history have some effect in inspiring British scholars to betake themselves to the Record Office and British Museum, so that they also may claim a reasonable share in the work that is to be done there. But I am far from wishing to claim for Englishmen a monopoly of the study of English history! May the deliberations of this conference be strengthened by the friendly co-operation of our friends from beyond sea, and may the example of what is done not only by them for us, but by them for the organized study of history of their own homes, do something to stimulate the British Government and British public opinion to a more lively sense of the obligations that the nation owes to its mighty past, and to take a little more interest in us who are trying, rather wearily and without much encouragement, to do what in us lies to make the mediaeval past a more living thing to our own age.

NOTES ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MASONS' CRAFT IN ENGLAND

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The evidence as to the organization of the masons in England is much more difficult to follow than that in regard to many other crafts. The descriptions we get in municipal archives of the formation of other industrial associations are sufficiently complete; but masons' work went on for the most part outside municipal jurisdiction, and there is nothing to be gleaned as to the origin of their associations from municipal records.[1] The houses in a mediaeval town were constructed by carpenters and plasterers, and did not, generally speaking, require the work of stone-masons. The principal employment of stone-masons was on the great Abbeys, and on Castles; so that municipal authority could not be readily brought to bear to regulate the building trades, as it was in the case of industries which provided goods to be exposed for sale in the local markets. The information we get about the organization of the masons' craft in England is chiefly drawn from ecclesiastical sources, and there is great difficulty in piecing it together into an intelligible story. It is probable that in early times building was carried on as a domestic employment by monks who did their best, as a religious duty, for the erection of a church and the housing of the community. There seems to have been very little building for private purposes before the Norman Conquest, though some public works, in which the services of lay workmen would be required, may have been undertaken by the kings.

The traditions from this early time in England contain so much that is obviously mythical that they cannot be regarded as evidence; but as the building art was being re-introduced from the Continent the progress in organization probably followed, but at some distance behind, that which was taking place in the eleventh century at such

[1] Compare also my address on the *Guildry and Trade Incorporations in Scottish Towns* (Royal Historical Society, Feb. 20, 1913: *Transactions*, 3rd Series, vii. 8).

a model establishment as Hirschau in Würtemberg. The monks practised the craft with their own hands and associated lay brothers and oblates with them;[1] subsequently they employed craftsmen to do the work, either at the quarries,[2] or under their own direction where building work was being carried on. They created an architectural tradition, which would be handed down and enabled each generation to find intelligent supervisors of the work that might be going on. In Norman and Angevin times the monks in English monasteries were able to consult the skilled artificers from the continental dominions of the English kings[3] and practical artisans appear to have come over in large numbers. The art advanced apace under these new conditions, and Englishmen made such excellent use of Purbeck marble and other British materials that the native art attained a very high reputation. Professor Prior assures me that there are distinct proofs of English influence and the following of English models in some of the churches which were built in France and Germany in the early fourteenth century. But during this period of rapid development and high artistic excellence we have no direct evidence in regard to the organization of the building trades.

I

From the fifteenth century onwards, however, we find a great deal of evidence, especially in ecclesiastical sources. We begin to hear something about the organization of the masons both at Canterbury and at York. Part of the ordinary monastic establishment at Christchurch consisted of a certain number of carpenters and artisans who were retained to do the ordinary repairs on the monastic buildings, including the church, and on the houses on the estates. The register of the prior of Canterbury renders this clear;[4] he gives a statement of the allowance at Christmas of livery for the monks, the retainers, and the servants of the monastery; and we can see of what the

[1] C. D. Christmann (*Geschichte des Klosters Hirschau*) gives an account of the building operations of Abbot William (1069-91) and of the systematic organization of labour (p. 58) he introduced. There were close relations between Hirschau and Canterbury (p. 78).

[2] The stone required in 1067 for the building of St. Augustine's at Canterbury was imported, ready worked, from Caen (*Acta SS.*, May 26, 401 f).

[3] Isenbert of Saintes, who had built a bridge at Rochelle, was recommended by King John to the citizens of London, when they wanted to complete their bridge. 18 April 3 John (1202) (*Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 9). William of Sens was chosen at Canterbury in 1174 after a great consultation of artificers (Gervase of Canterbury, *R.S.*, i, p. 6).

[4] Bodleian Library, *Tanner MSS.* 165.

establishment consisted for more than half a century.[1] The names are arranged under definite headings—Clerici, Milites, Armigeri, Valetti, &c.; the heading 'Artifices' includes workmen of different trades—carpenters, tylers, and masons, in numbers varying from five to twelve. There are also a few carpenters who are regularly enumerated in connexion with the office of the Treasurer. These may be regarded as the regular building staff of the monastery, though some of them are specifically referred to as retained for employment on the manors;[2] this establishment can be traced as existing without substantial changes from 1413 to 1448, though we do not get information each separate year.

During a portion of the period, however, there seems to have been a considerable development of building operations. I am inclined to believe that the chapel in the south transept was the precise work on which the masons were now engaged, and it was necessary to obtain additional hands for this extra work. We first meet with the signs of this influx of masons in the entries made when William Molessh was prior in 1428; we have a new heading *Lathomi*, and find a staff of 20 stonecutters, 6 layers, 2 apprentices, and 4 labourers. These masons are described in 1429 as *Lathomi de la Loygge*; and we thus get a marked distinction drawn between the ordinary staff, which is enumerated as before,[3] and the workmen who came and settled down for a brief period and who formed a Lodge.[4]

Fuller details as to the character of a Lodge may be obtained from the building accounts of York Minster: Canon Raine describes it as 'a shed or temporary residence put up for masons and quarrymen'. At the time of the rebuilding of the choir, when the fourth pier was being erected, there was already one Lodge for twenty masons, and it was determined to erect a second Lodge with accommodation for twelve.[5] The hours of labour, of midday sleep, and of drinking were laid down by the Chapter of the Cathedral. 'After dinner from Holy Cross Day till S. Peter's ad Vincula they ought to sleep in the

[1] There are many gaps, but the series begins (f. 121) with 25 R. II and ends with 35 H. VI.

[2] f. 133.

[3] f. 133 b. So far as we can gather from the form of the entries this staff of twenty with separate organization was maintained in 1431 and 1433; but in 1437 the reduced staff of six masons is described as *Lathomi Ecclesiae*, and the two groups are merged.

[4] The existence of a similar Lodge may be proved from the accounts of the building of the Royal Palace at Westminster in the early part of the reign of Edward III (J. T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 181).

[5] *York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Soc. 200.

Lodge, and when the Vicars come from the Canons' table after dinner the master of the masons or his substitute shall cause them to rise from sleep and proceed with their work and so they ought to work till the first bell for vespers, and then they shall sit drinking in the Lodge till the third bell has struck both in summer and winter.'[1] On October 31, 1370, Robert of Patrington and twelve other masons came before the Chapter and swore to observe the rules.[2] 'It is ordained', to quote a part of this interesting document, 'that no mason shall be received at work, to the work of the foresaid church, but he be first proved a week or more upon this working and after that he is found sufficient of his work be received of the common assent of the master and the keepers of the work, and of the master mason, and sware upon the book that he shall truly and busily at his power, without any manner of guile, feints or deceits keep whole all the points of this foresaid ordinance in all things that him touches, from the time that he be received to the foresaid work,' &c. There is also a record of the tools which were kept in 1399 at the Lodge at York,[3] including 60 stone axes, 1 great gavel, 96 chisels, 1 compass, 2 tracing boards, 1 wheelbarrow, 2 buckets, 1 large car with four wheels, and so forth, besides many other implements.[4] It is plain that the Lodge was a sort of rough shelter or workshop, but that the personnel was definitely organized. There was a supervisor[5] who was to have access to the Lodge at all times, and no mason was to be received in the Lodge contrary to the wish of the Chapter; the Cathedral authorities kept it in hand, and it was obviously a recognized institution among the masons who were carrying on a piece of work, but were not part of the ordinary staff. The accounts too, both at Canterbury and York, show that the Cathedral supplied some of the masons' requirements in kind; at Canterbury they had their livery given them, while at York there are frequent entries both for gloves and aprons for the masons.

[1] *York Fabric Rolls*, 172. Similar regulations, for Dundee masons in 1557, will be found in Mylne (*Master Masons*, 63), and for Edinburgh in 1491 in Lyon (*History of Lodge of Edinburgh*, 35).

[2] *York Fabric Rolls*, 181 n.

[3] Ibid. 17.

[4] I am indebted to Miss E. A. McArthur for an instance from the Sacrist's Roll, Norwich, 1411: 'Pro cariagio petre a porta aquatica usque ad lodge.'

[5] The duties of the supervisor must have been onerous. There were no fewer than 346 artificers and workmen on the household establishment of Edward III (Brayley and Britton, *Westminster*, 221 n.). On the position of the supervisor compare Wyatt Papworth on the *Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages* in papers of the R.I.B.A., iv (1868), p. 38.

It will serve to render the conditions of the organization a little more clear if I point out that the *York Fabric Rolls* bear incidental testimony to the constant travelling of masons. This is the most striking contrast between their trade and those which were organized in ordinary craft gilds. It is the characteristic feature of the English craft gild that it is so intensely local, and that the facilities for intercommunication, which were provided for journeymen on the Continent, were conspicuous by their absence here. The ordinary craftsman could work in his town and nowhere else; but the York Chapter were forced to send their chief mason, Robert Spilsby, riding for twenty-eight days to secure carvers, and he had also spent some time in the month of June in a search for workmen in diverse places.[1] On a subsequent occasion the Cathedral authorities had some trouble to obtain the exemption of their workmen, who had been requisitioned by the royal officers to proceed to Nottingham for some work of the king's there.[2] These documents give us unimpeachable evidence that the masons were a migratory body who worked in one place or another as occasion served, but that they were accustomed to organize themselves in lodges at any place where regular work was being carried on for a considerable time.

But there is also good evidence that the masons had something corresponding to a trade congress, where members of the craft assembled to discuss matters of common interest to the whole craft. The preamble of 3 Henry VI, c. 1, runs as follows: 'Whereas by the yearly Congregation and Confederaries made by the Masons in their general Chapters assembled the good cause and effect of the Statutes of Labourers be openly violated and broken, our said Lord the King . . . hath ordained and established that such Chapters and Congregations shall not hereafter be holden.' The Cathedral body at York evidently had difficulty with their masons, and insisted on a right of access to and on retaining complete control over the Lodges; and here the Statute forbids the annual chapters of masons who might come together from different Lodges. The terms of the rules which controlled the masons serve also to bring out the character of the organization which had been built up in this trade.

[1] *York Fabric Rolls*, 73 f.

[2] On another occasion John Porter was fetched from Lincoln by the Canons of York for a hurried consultation, and a few years later he was established at York as master of the masons.

II

This account, drawn from ecclesiastical documents, of the organization of the masonic craft is confirmed by the evidence as to contemporary masonic tradition and masonic terminology.[1] The question, which we can hardly help raising, as to the reliability of this tradition as an indication of what held good in earlier times, is one we cannot hope to solve with any certainty. One small piece of external evidence may, however, be mentioned for what it is worth. Erwin of Steinbach, who was the builder of Strasburg Cathedral, died in 1318. It is said that he constituted a freemasons' Lodge at Strasburg in imitation of the English;[2] and that Rudolf gave these masons privileges in 1375. They formed one of the four chief lodges which ruled the masons' craft in Germany in the fifteenth century,[3] and their constitution of 1459 is a most important body of rules. If this story can be substantiated, it appears that masonic organization, as described in the masonic tradition, flourished in England before 1318.

1. The earliest expression of the English masons' tradition as to their own craft is in a poem which, in its present form, dates from the middle of the fifteenth century. It opens with the history of the craft in England, and then gives fifteen articles which were propounded for the government of the craft, with nine additional articles. These purport to have been agreed on at annual assemblies, and we further read that the master of each Lodge was bound to attend these assemblies[4] annually if he heard in good time of the place where they were to meet. The assemblies were, according to this account, of a public character, 'of masons with grete lords many mo. There shall be the Sheriff of the country, and also the Mayor of that city; knights and squires there shall all be, and other aldermen as ye shall see.'[5] If any mason was proved to be disobedient to the ordinances of the assembly,[6] and refused to make amends, he might be expelled from the craft by this assembly, and

[1] I do not propose to enter on the argument from internal evidence and the analysis of the elements embodied in masonic ritual and the sources from which they are probably drawn.

[2] D. Ramée, *Architecture*, 924 n.

[3] The others were Vienna, Zürich, and Cologne. Heidelhof, *Bauhutten*, 13.

[4] Halliwell, *Early Freemasonry*, p. 14.

[5] Ibid., p. 25.

[6] Ibid., p. 27.

imprisoned by the sheriff. The additional information which the poem gives about the Lodge is slight, but the account it affords of the assemblies and their public character is exceedingly interesting, and is quite congruent with what we know of the times, though it is a feature which later writers would have been unlikely to ascribe to an institution of the kind. Under Henry VI these assemblies were rendered illegal,[1] but there is no reason to suppose that they may not have formed a sort of national organization of masonry under public patronage in the fourteenth century.

2. Leaving tradition for the moment, we come to *terminology*. There is an immense amount of curious controversy in connexion with the use of certain words, especially from the fact that so much of the terminology is of Greek[2] rather than Latin derivation. But I shall only deal with one or two points.

(*a*) There seems to be good reason to regard the term free mason as meaning primarily a freestone mason,[3] but it is possible that some other significance was attached to the term as well. The suggestion that the freedom of freemasons was conferred by papal charters[4] may be dismissed as mythical[5]; but as far as commercial and industrial companies are concerned the word has a fairly definite meaning; it generally means free of a town. The free vintners in London[6] were the wine merchants who were not mere aliens, but who, whether Gascon or English, were free to sell wine in the city; the free fishermen and free carpenters were apparently men who, while they sometimes practised their callings in the suburbs, were free of the

[1] Statute 3 Henry VI, c. 1. 'First, whereas by the yearly congregations and confederacies made by the masons in their general chapiters and assemblies, the good course and effect of the statute of labourers be openly violated and broken, in subversion of the law, and to the great damage of all the commons; (2) our said lord the King willing in this case to provide remedy by the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the special request of the said commons, hath ordained and established, that such chapiters and congregations shall not be hereafter holden. (3) And if any such be made, they that cause such chapiters and congregations to be assembled and holden, if they thereof be convict, shall be judged for felons. (4) And that all the other masons that come to such chapiters and congregations be punished by imprisonment of their bodies, and make fine and ransom at the King's will.'

[2] See my *Western Civilisation*, ii. 129 n.

[3] Lapidis liberi. Giraldus *Itin.* Camb. I iii, R.S. vi. 45. Exception is taken to this derivation by G. W. Speth (*Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, x. 10), and his view appears to be approved by Dr. Murray in the *Oxford Dictionary*.

[4] Pownall, *Archaeologia*, ix. 118.

[5] Janner, *Bauhütten*, p. 43.

[6] Speth, *op cit.*, x. 13, enumerates many cases of the use of the term.

city.[1] In the same way the mason who found temporary employment on a building in a town where he had no personal status, and was therefore liable to be treated as a foreigner, yet claimed to be free to exercise his craft. However it may have been derived, the term would be retained in popular use if it was regarded as accentuating a claim to a right to be free from the disabilities, whether manorial or municipal, to which other craftsmen were subject.[2] The earliest mention of the term Freemason in a public document occurs in the Statute of Labourers, 25 Ed. III, St. ii, c. 3, and the building trades are treated in quite a general sense along with labourers as working for wages, and not as artisans who were interested in obtaining high prices for their wares and were under municipal authority.[3]

(*b*) On the other hand, we find that the mason had to be formally received in a Lodge, and that he might be put to practical tests as to his skill; there is no improbability that a system of signs might be in vogue, by which masons established their right to be harboured in the Lodge and put on their trial as workmen; nor can we see any unfitness for the use of the word *accepted* to designate the man who had been satisfactorily tested and received into a Lodge. There is, as has been pointed out, an analogous use of the term free in connexion with other crafts, but, so far as I know, there is no analogous use of this term *accepted*, and this is only natural if it was connected with a unique institution—the Lodge. It may be worth while to add that the term, as it survived in the seventeenth century, was definitely applied to acceptation or reception in a Masons' Lodge.

(*c*) The term *chapter* which is applied in the Statute of Henry VI to the annual assemblies and congregations of masons is of interest; it is an ecclesiastical rather than an industrial term, and suggests

[1] Compare the tylers in Worcester (12 Henry VII), Green, *Worcester* II, App. p. liii.

[2] The exemption from the obligation to keep watch is interesting. Speth, *op. cit.* 19.

[3] The clause enumerates the different workmen who co-operated in building operations. 'Item, That carpenters, masons, and tilers, and other workmen of houses, shall not take by the day for their work, but in manner as they were wont, that is to say; A master carpenter, iii. d. and an other ii. d. A master free mason iiii. d. and other masons iii. d. and their servants i. d. ob. tylers iii. d. and their knaves i. d. ob. and other coverers of fern and straw iii. d. and their knaves i. d. ob. plasterers and other workers of mudwalls and their knaves, by the same manner, without meat or drink. i. s. from *Easter* to Saint *Michael.* And from that time less, according to the rate and discretion of the justices, which should be thereto assigned. And that they that make carriage by land or by water, shall take no more for such carriage to be made, than they were wont the said xx. year, and iiii. years before.'

a meeting of a corporation at which the constitutions and rules were read; monks met in their chapter-house and read the rule. It is congruent with the conception of masonry as a sort of industrial order, where the constitutions of masonry were read and discussed or applied to new cases. The constitutions which survive in various forms, of which the metrical version already alluded to is only one, quite harmonize with this view of the type of organization to which these masonic gatherings approximated.

(*d*) The position of the master mason, as we read of him, was analogous to, but different from, that of a master shoemaker who carried on a domestic industry. The masters in any craft gild were householders, and as such were responsible to the town authorities for the conditions under which work was done and for the conduct of the apprentices and journeymen in his establishment. But the mason who ruled in a Lodge was not necessarily a householder in the place where he worked; he may be more properly regarded as a contractor; no one was to take work in gross in the city of London (in 1356) [1] unless he was substantial enough to complete it, and he had to bring six men of the craft who became his sureties; in this way the interests of the employer were guarded. On the other hand, the constitutions provide that the master 'shall deal fairly with the men, and pay them wages according to the scarcity of the time'; this is the first constitution of all; while the mason was to take his wages meekly. If the master wished to dismiss a mason he must give him notice before noon on the day he paid him. The master was a skilled workman who took work on contract, but he could not manage his business arbitrarily; on the one hand he was more or less under the control of his employer,[2] while the constitutions show that the Lodge had to some extent a democratic character.

III

The relations of the masons' craft with municipal authorities throw a little additional light on the organization of the craft. Looking at London itself we find plenty of regulation for masons; an assize of buildings, in the time of Henry II,[3] lays down rules for construction similar to by-laws which are enforced in towns at present; we also know that there was no regular company with authority over all the

[1] Conder, *Hole Craft*, 64. Compare also Heldmann, *Die drei ältesten geschicht. Denkmale*, 261.

[2] *York Fabric Rolls*, 199.

[3] Turner, *Domestic Architecture*, 275

masons in London as late as 1356, when a difference between the free masons and the other masons came for discussion before the mayor. The distinction between the free masons and the rough masons appears to have been that they were men who undertook different classes of work; but as a result of the colloquy the setters were allowed to undertake work as hewers if they were competent, and rules were laid down for the trade. There is no proof of the existence of an organized local company till 1376;[1] but it is quite possible that those who claimed to be competent to do a superior class of work as free stone-masons were also organized as free to work in any city or town. At any rate Henry Yevele,[2] who was one of the representatives of the Freemasons at the colloquy of 1356, worked at Westminster and Queenborough, and also at Cambridge. He was a Londoner, and a monument to him was erected in St. Magnus in Bridge Ward, but he worked for the king at many different places. He seems to come under any possible definition of Freemason, and doubtless belonged to any organization of the craft which then existed; and this was, as we have seen, on national or at any rate extra municipal lines.

The first clear evidence of a local London company of masons occurs in 1376, at the time of the municipal revolution, when the craftsmen obtained a new measure of civic power and the common council came to be elected by the companies. All craftsmen would be encouraged to form themselves into municipal companies whether they had done so hitherto or not. But the masons' company would comprise two elements, those who were merely London men, and those who belonged to the larger organization as well, and were therefore Freemasons; the Freemasons with their special Lodges would thus, according to Mr. Conder,[3] continue to exist as an inner circle within the London Masons' Company.

So far we have followed the development of the organization of Freemasons as operative masons; but at the point we have reached we come upon indications which help us to see how Freemasonry originated among those who were not operatives. The admission of love brothers, as honorary members of craft gilds, was common enough; and this practice appears to have been widely diffused both in England and Scotland at the beginning of the seventeenth century. King James VI is said to have been made a mason in the Lodge at

[1] The error in Herbert's *Livery Companies*, by which both Freemasons and Masons are specified as distinct London Companies in 1376, is explained by Conder, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, ix. 29.

[2] Conder, *Hole Craft*, 64, 65.

[3] Ibid., 176.

Scone,[1] John Boswell of Auchinleck was present at a Lodge in 1600,[2] and Elias Ashmole was admitted to a Lodge at Warrington in 1646.[3] The building of St. Paul's after the fire gave a fresh interest to the operations of builders, and Wren was a member of the craft; but it was not till 1717 that the institution of Grand Lodge took shape and that Freemasonry came to stand alone as a national institution, and to lose its close and direct connexion with operative masonry. The transition can be traced in connexion with the London Company of Masons, and even more distinctly at Dundee;[4] the old lodges of operative masons would be points at which the newly organized Free Masonry could readily obtain a footing. There seems to have been contact between the old organizations of craftsmen and the Lodges of modern Freemasons at Durham,[5] Alnwick, and Lincoln. Throughout the country generally, however, existing masonic lodges derive their status entirely from Grand Lodge, and have no links of connexion traceable with the bodies of operative masons who may have flourished in the same places in bygone times.

[1] Lyon, *op. cit.* 92.
[2] Ibid., 51.
[3] *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, xxv. 239.
[4] A. J. Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee*, 578, 582.
[5] *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, xxii. 19

THE ROSE OF THE WINDS:

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMPASS-CARD

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This inquiry embraces three chief points :—

I. The origin of the Names of the Winds.
II. The origin of the arrangement of the Rose of Thirty-two Points.
III. The origin and significance of the distinctive marks used on Compass Cards.

Preliminary.

Although the construction of the compass lies outside the scope of this inquiry, some preliminary considerations are necessary concerning the origin of the compass itself; and these must be stated briefly. The mariners' compass, as we know it to-day, consists of a light circular disk or card, beneath which is attached a magnetic needle or system of magnetic needles. The card is provided at its centre with a small cap, by which it is poised movably upon a pin. The whole is enclosed in a hollow box or bowl covered with a flat lid of glass; and the compass box or bowl is suspended within two hinged rings of brass to enable it to conserve its proper horizontal position in spite of any tilting movement to which it is subjected by the rolling or pitching of the ship on which it is carried.

The card is divided out into thirty-two 'points' or 'rhumbs' of equal angular breadth forming a rose or star, and to these are affixed the initials of the names of the thirty-two points. The magnet needle, or system of needles, is affixed to the card parallel to the direction marked NS on the card, so that when left to itself, the card, obeying the directive force which acts on the needle, sets itself in a direction pointing (magnetically) North and South; the several 'points' (or, strictly, *pointers*) marked on the card then indicating the several directions that the mariner may know in which way to steer in order to follow his desired course. The card is also usually marked at its North point with a fleur-de-lis or other distinctive sign. The magnetic needle is controlled in its pointing by the magnetism of the earth's globe.

It is no part of the present paper to enter upon the reasons for the irregularities which are found to exist in the directive force of the earth, and which produce those local 'variations' of the compass which the mariner encounters everywhere. Neither is there here any question considered as to the errors or perturbations due to the presence near the compass of pieces of iron on the ship, nor as to those due to the incidental presence of magnetism in the iron of the ship's hull or fittings; nor, again, as to the means for compensating those perturbations or correcting those errors.

The compass, as above described, has remained practically unchanged in all essential particulars for four centuries. The compasses carried by Columbus in his voyages of discovery in the West Indies certainly possessed every one of the features enumerated, save that it is doubtful whether all or any of their thirty-two points were marked with initials, and whether in them the North point bore a fleur-de-lis. As will be seen, probably only six of their points were so marked; and almost certainly there was no fleur-de-lis on any of them. For none of the compass-cards which have yet been identified as of earlier date than 1500 bear a fleur-de-lis; and those of them which bear initials carry only the initials of some of the eight principal winds. The windroses (*see* Fig. 7, Plate IV), on the Mappamundi drawn in 1500 by Juan de la Cosa, who was pilot for Columbus in 1493, have no fleur-de-lis and no initials.

Nothing is more perplexing to the student of the history of the compass than the unhistorical way in which the chroniclers have transcribed and transmitted erroneous statements and unfounded assertions, the truth of which should have been tested. Flagrant errors arising from bad copying, or worse etymology, have been sedulously propagated in the interests of mistaken patriotism; and the invention of the compass has been claimed for many different nations on the most absurd grounds. It may therefore be worth while to set down a few of the more important points as now established:

1. The attractive power of the lodestone was known to the ancients, as appears from the writings of Plato and of Euripides; and it was independently known to the Chinese.

2. The fact that this attractive power could be communicated to iron or steel by the lodestone was known to Lucretius and to the Chinese.

3. The directive action of the lodestone and of the piece of iron or steel which had been touched by the lodestone, causing it to point in the north and south direction, was unknown in Europe in classical times, but was known to the Chinese, who claimed for that knowledge

the date 1100 B.C., though Klaproth regards that date as mythical. The first authentic mention of the directive properties of the lodestone and of the needle is A.D. 121.

4. The application of the directive action of the magnet to travelling on land was known to the Chinese from A.D. 139.

5. The application of the directive action of the needle to navigation is of later date. It is doubtful whether the Chinese used the magnetic needle at sea before it was introduced by Western navigators in the sixteenth century. They had no pivoted compasses before A.D. 1297; and in 1680 were still using a floating compass. In Europe, the magnet was certainly used in navigation in the latter half of the twelfth century, as attested by Alexander Neckham (1157–1217), who describes the needle as mounted on a dart.

6. The first primitive form of mariners' compass was a floating apparatus, the needle being supported on a reed or a cross of reeds upon the surface of water in a basin. In this form it was used in the Levant and throughout the Mediterranean, as also in the Baltic. That it was in use in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is attested by the ancient poem of Guyot de Provins (1190); by the maritime laws of Wisbuy; by the letter to Pope Honorius (1218), quoted by Bongars; by the narrative of Cardinal de Vitry (1219); by Baïlak of Kibdjak (1242); by Hugo de Bercy (1248); by Brunetto Latini (1260); and by a reference (1263) in *Las Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X. Roger Bacon in his *Opus Minus* (second half of the thirteenth century) states that sailors resort in cloudy weather to the 'stella maris'.

7. The earliest description of a pivoted magnetic needle placed in a box, with a glass lid, provided with a divided scale, and with 'sights' for taking bearings, is that of Pierre de Maricourt (Petrus Peregrinus), 1269.

8. In or about the year 1302 the improvement was made of affixing to the pivoted needle a light card whereon was painted the rose of the winds. Such evidence as exists points to this improvement having been made in Southern Italy, and in all probability at the port of Amalfi; but the attribution (by Mazzella in 1586—two hundred and eighty years after the event) of this step to a mythical personage called Flavio di Gioia is unhistorical, and the various stages in the growth of that myth can be traced.

9. Practically without exception, the compass-cards or windroses used in mariners' compasses were from the beginning divided out into 8, 16, and 32 equal divisions; the North point being distinguished by a dart, a triangle, a trident, a star, a group of stars, or, after 1500, by a fleur-de-lis. The east point was often marked with a cross. The

six other of the eight principal points were almost invariably marked with the initials of the Italian names of the winds. The rhumbs of the eight principal winds were usually painted black, occasionally blue or gold; sometimes they were painted alternately blue and red. In the windroses of thirty-two points the rhumbs of the eight principal winds were usually black; the rhumbs of the eight half-winds being usually painted green; while the rhumbs of the sixteen quarter-winds were commonly painted red.

10. The use of the initials of the Frankish names of the winds—N., NNE., NE., &c.—on compass-cards, seems to have arisen with Flemish navigators, but was early adopted by the Portuguese and Spanish. No examples of this use are, however, known prior to 1536.

11. The placing of the compass-card in a fixed position beneath the needle, as in miners' dials, surveying instruments, and opticians' compasses, appears to have originated with Stevinus of Bruges about the year 1595.

Origin of the Names of the Winds.

Long before the invention of the mariners' compass the ancients had adopted the arrangement of the names of the winds symmetrically around a circle representing the horizon; such an arrangement constituting a *Rosa ventorum*. The so-called 'points' of the compass are the names of the winds. Scholars have written much on the question of the number of winds recognized in antiquity, and on the names assigned to them, about which there has been considerable confusion. Apparently in primitive civilization the peoples reckoned but four winds, namely those that blew from the four quarters of the horizon—East, West, North, and South. Homer recognizes only four[1] by name: *Βορέης, Εὖρος, Ζέφυρος,* and *Νότος*. Four winds only are recognized in the Old Testament; see Jer. xlix. 36; Ezek. xxxvii. 9; Daniel viii. 8, and xi. 4. The same number is mentioned in the New Testament,[2] in Matt. xxiv. 31; Mark xiii. 7; and Rev. vii. 1.

[1] *Σὺν δ' εὖρός τ' ἔπεσε, ζέφυρός τε, νότος τε δυσαής,*
καὶ βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων.
Od. V, 295.

It is remarked by Aulus Gellius that Homer recognized no more than four; for in the description of the storm he says that *all* the winds conspired :—
πάσας δ' ἄελλας παντοίων ἀνέμων.

[2] In the account of the voyage of St. Paul, in Acts xxvii. 12–14, four separate winds are mentioned. The passage may be thus translated :—'And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the majority advised to depart thence,

Late Greek writers mention other winds having many different names. Homeric scholars have, however, found some difficulty when comparing these with the usage of Homer and Hesiod. For instance, Homer in the *Iliad* (ix. 4) says that Boreas and Zephuros blew from Thrace; and it appears doubtful whether his Boreas was directly opposite to his Notos, and whether his Euros was opposite to his Zephuros. The East and West points seem not to have been regarded as fixed in the same way as the North and South points. For the position of the sunrise varied with the season of the year, being some forty degrees northward of East at midsummer, and some forty degrees southward of East at midwinter; and similarly with the shifting position of sunset. Moreover, in different localities there were found prevalent winds which did not seem to blow from any one of the four cardinal points of the horizon; and these frequently received specific names, and were personified after the manner of Greek thought. For seeing that a cold East wind in spring and a mild East wind in autumn were looked upon as two different personages, one malevolent and the other beneficent, two different names would be allotted to them. The *Euraquilo* of Crete, and the *Skiron* of Athens are examples of the names of purely local winds.

Some of the local or topical names given to winds found wider usage, and spread into regions far from the locality of origin. An example is afforded by the mediaeval use in the Italian Mediterranean of the name *Greco* for the North-East wind which blew from Greece. But the same term became used for the North-East wind in Spain, where certainly it did not blow from Greece. In many cases there seems to have been no clear distinction between the name of the wind and the name of the geographical direction from which it blew. Some of the names are clearly directional; thus, the name *Septentrio*, though used for the North wind (in place of *Boreas*, *Arctos*, or *Thrakias*), obviously refers to the direction in which appeared the seven circumpolar stars; and the name *Meridies* (in place of *Notos* or *Auster*) is essentially the name of the direction of the midday sun. The names *Oriens* and *Occidens*, as well as the Italian *Levante* and *Ponente*, are obviously directional. But such names as *Euros*, *Auster*, *Zephuros*, *Aquilo*, and *Kaikias* are proper names denoting personified winds which seemed to have special properties, favourable

if by any means they might reach Phoinike, to lie up; it being a haven of Crete lying towards *Libs* and *Choros*. And when *Notos* blew softly, supposing they had gained their purpose, loosing thence they sailed by Crete. But not long after there arose against it a typhonic wind called *Euraquilo*.' In the Vulgate the names are given as *Africus*, *Corus*, *Auster*, and *Euraquilo*. The last-mentioned is a purely local name for a North-East wind.

or unfavourable. Attempts to identify the names of special winds, and the topical names of winds, with their appropriate geographical directions, have not always been successful; and the imperfect state of knowledge of geography prior to the fifteenth century added to the confusion. To fit such winds into an ordered system occupied many minds, and the developments were conflicting and even contradictory.

Probably the most consistent account of the views of antiquity is that given by Strabo. He was confronted with the fact that *Notos* and *Argestes* were used as names of winds blowing from the North; that *Euros* and *Apeliotes* were used for winds from the East, and *Zephuros* and *Dusaes* for winds from the West. Here he points out that *ἀργέστης* (whitish) is merely an epithet of *Νότος*; also that *δυσαής* (impetuous) is not a separate westerly wind, but is an attribute of *Ζέφυρος*, and does not imply or qualify the direction of the wind. That the wind which blows from the place of summer sunrise is called *Εὖρος*, while that from the place of winter sunrise is called *Ἀπηλιώτης*, he accepts, remarking: 'Exortus et occasus mobilia et varia sunt, meridies septentrionesque statu perpetuo stant et manent.' Of the four cardinal winds he regarded two as fixed and two as movable. We find other opinions in other writers, Hippocrates, Varro, Anaximander, and Theophrastus. Hippocrates adopted six as the number of the winds, but some confusion exists as to their directions. To the two fixed winds, North and South, there were now apparently added two sets of triplets, three winds from the East and three from the West, making eight winds in all, but they were not equally spaced out in their directions. The equally divided rose of eight winds is a later conception. But eight winds did not exhaust the number which had received definite names, and room had to be found for more in the disposition of them around the circle of the horizon. In Aristotle we find the arrangement of twelve in course of development. On the North, at the side of *Boreas*, he placed two winds, *Thrakias* and *Meses*, making a northern triplet. He also framed a southern triplet by placing two additional winds at the sides of *Notos*. At first these had no names, but afterwards he (or his Editors) named *Phoinikias* as being placed opposite to *Thrakias*, still leaving one (subsequently known as *Libonotos*) unnamed. The four triads so evolved are:—

Northern	*Thrakias* *Aparktias* *Boreas*	Eastern	*Kaikias* *Apeliotes* *Euros*
Southern	[Euronotos] *Phoinikias* *Notos* [Libonotos]	Western	*Libs* *Zephuros* *Argestes*

This arrangement of twelve unquestionably goes back to Aristotle, and is set forth in the writings of Alexander Aphrodisiensis and other of his immediate disciples.[1] It is, however, most frequently attributed to Timosthenes, the admiral of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who adopted it in his Portulan; and the arrangement of the circle of the winds, equally divided into twelve, is known as the Rose of Timosthenes. We find references to it in the writings of Varro, Suetonius, St. Isidor, Vincent of Beauvais, and others, down to the end of the Middle Ages, though with latinized forms of the names in Western Europe. In the meantime Eratosthenes had modified the scheme in two ways. Whereas the Aristotelians had viewed the winds as issuing from different points, Eratosthenes assigned to them definite spaces or regions, which, according to Vitruvius, were of equal width; and he had simplified the arrangement by fixing the number of spaces as eight.[2] To this system the fundamental witness is the Tower of the Winds at Athens, erected about 100 B.C. by Andronicus Cyrrhestes. It has eight flanks facing the eight winds, each adorned with an emblematic figure in relief, as follows: *Boreas, Kaikias, Apeliotes, Euros, Notos, Lips, Zephuros,* and *Skiron.* Pliny, in his *Natural History,* refers to the schemes of four and twelve winds, and adds that 'the Moderne sailers of late daies, founde out a meane betweene both: and they put unto that short number of the first, foure winds and no more, which they tooke out of the later. Therefore every quarter of the heaven hath two winds apeece. From the equinoctiall sunne-rising bloweth the East wind *Subsolanus*: from the rising thereof in Mid-winter, the Southeast *Vulturnus.* The former of these the Greekes call *Apeliotes,* and the later *Eurus.* From the mid-day riseth the South wind [*Auster*]: and from the sunne-setting in Mid-winter the Southwest, *Africus.* They also name these two *Notus* and *Libs.* From the equinoctiall going downe of the Sunne, the West wind *Favonius* commeth, but from that in Summer season, the North-west *Corus*; and by the same Greekes they are tearmed *Zephyrus* and *Argestes.* From the North-waine or pole Arctike, bloweth the North wind *Septentrio*: betweene which and the Sunne-rising in Summer, is the Northeast wind *Aquilo,* named *Aparctias* and *Boreas* by the Greekes.'[3]

[1] For a later example of the unequally-divided rose of twelve winds, four principal and eight collateral, see Schoner's *Opusculum Geographicum,* Nürnberg, 1533, which gives the names in Latin and Greek.

[2] Vitruvius also gives a diagram of twenty-four named winds; but this rose never found acceptance either on land or at sea.

[3] *The Historie of the World.* Philemon Holland's Translation (London, 1601), p. 22.

The rose of twelve winds continued to be used, and is found in Seneca and later writers, using the Latin names, down to the *Margarita Philosophica* of Reisch in the sixteenth century. The northern nations had never possessed, however, such a multiplicity of names. Eginhard,[1] in his life of Charles the Great, narrates how that monarch, at the beginning of the ninth century, finding in the Teutonic tongues the names of the four cardinal points only, combined them two-and-two in such a way as to denote the twelve winds, as follows:—

Latin	Frankish
Circius	Nordwestren
Septentrio	Nordren
Aquilo	Nordostren
Vulturnus	Ostnorden
Subsolanus	Ostren
Eurus	Ostsundren
Euroauster	Sundostren
Auster	Sundren
Austroafricus	Sundwestren
Africus	Westsundren
Zephyrus	Westren
Chorus	Westnordren

This notation, with some slight changes, was repeated in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of the Abbess Herrade de Londsberg, in the eleventh century, in a magnificent Manuscript which unfortunately perished in the fire of the Library of Strassburg, in the siege of 1870. The same scheme appears again in the fourteenth century on a planisphere in a Latin Manuscript in the Library of Arras, but with further variations, the form of which suggests that by that time another Frankish adaptation to sixteen winds had already become current. The Paris edition, 1555, of Orontius Finaeus, *De Mundi Sphera sive Cosmographia*, gives two windroses of sixteen points with the Frankish names; and the author comments on the circumstance that the making-up of the names of the subsidiary points by combining the names of the four cardinal winds imposed the adoption of monosyllables for those four. The Flemish mariners, and particularly those of Bruges, early adopted these Frankish terms; and the tradition is recurrent that the actual denominations of the thirty-two points, as used throughout all Europe to-day, were framed by the pilots of Bruges.

The Latin rose of twelve winds had found acceptance throughout the Roman Empire from Egypt to Spain, and continued through

[1] Eginhard, *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni*, p. 34.

the Middle Ages. It appears in the *De Natura Rerum* of St. Isidor, and in the work of the same name by the Venerable Bede. It occurs in the *Cosmographie* of Azaph, about the end of the eleventh century. It is repeated by Vincent de Beauvais and by Albertus Magnus. It reappears in the famous Mappamundi in the Cathedral Library of Hereford, in the *Polychronicon* of Higden (1357), and in the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of his contemporary Bartholomeus de Glanvilla. Most of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century editions of the *Geographia* of Claudius Ptolemaeus give the rose of twelve winds. Nevertheless, a transition from the rose of twelve to the rose of eight winds, with its subdivisions into sixteen and thirty-two, by the interposition of half-winds and quarter-winds, was in progress. The same kind of simplification which Eratosthenes had effected in the system of Aristotle was to be repeated, but with the accompanying gain of a more minute secondary and tertiary subdivision. The transition was accompanied by a change too in the current names. The *Cosmographie* of Azaph, cited above for an example of the rose of twelve, exhibits this transition in process, for it gives also a planisphere with eight. In the somewhat later *Livres dou Tresor* of Ser Brunetto Latini the same simplification appears, and the names adopted by these two writers may be compared.

Azaph	Brunetto Latini
Tramontana	*Tramontainne*
Graecus	*Grec*
Oriens	*Levant*
Sillocus (or *Imber*)	*Siloc*
Meridies	*Midi*
Garbinus (or *Lebex*)	*Aufrique* (or *Garb*, or *Lebech*)
Occidens	*Couchant*
Magister	*Maistre*

Here we meet with the arrangement destined to supersede the classical twelve-point rose, namely, that which, because it better satisfied nautical needs, won its way amongst the seamen of the Mediterranean. They modified the names by substitution of vernacular equivalents, using *Levante* for *Oriens*, and *Ponente* for *Occidens*. For *Meridies* they adopted *Ostro*, the Italian form of the classical *Auster*, while for *Garbin* or *Lebex* (which appears to be of Arabic origin) they more commonly used *Africo*, though *Libeccio* (or *Labetes*, or even *Le Bex*) continued also as a synonym. In this list of the eight winds of Azaph we meet for the first time with two new names, that of *Magister* for the North West wind, and that of *Sillocus* for the South East wind. The occurrence of these two names fixes the

origin of the system in the Italian Mediterranean, just as surely as does the occurrence of the other terms *Greco*, *Africo*, and *Tramontana*. In the Mappamundi of Marino Sanudo, of 1321 (now in Brussels), the eight names are given in Italian. A comment on the date of this transition from the twelve-point rose to the eight-point or sixteen-point rose is afforded by the circumstance that while in the poem (middle fifteenth century) entitled *La Sfera*, of Gregorio Dati, there are several stanzas in ottava rima recounting by name the twelve winds, we find in the kindred poem called *La Nuova Sfera*, of Joannes Maria Tolosani, published in 1514 at Florence, four stanzas similarly reciting the names and virtues of the sixteen winds. In Italy, and throughout Southern Europe, the name *Magister* for the favourable North West wind is preserved to us in the familiar form of *Maestro*. *Sillocus*, for the South East wind, is the familiar *Scirocco*, which reappears in subsequent windroses and charts under many forms: *Silocco*, or *Sirocco*, on the Pisan charts; *Siloc*, in Brunetto Latini; *Exaloch*, in the *Ars Magna* of Lully; *Laxaloch*, on the Catalan Atlas; *Issalot*, in the *Lexique Roman* of Raynouard; *Xaloque* and *Saluq* in certain Arabic sailing-charts.

Such then was the order of developments which issued in the eight-point windrose, with its Italian names. What the influence of the Crusades was in bringing about its adoption is a matter for conjecture only. It remains to be remarked that the Portuguese mariners at an early date seem to have adopted the Flemish designations of the winds in preference to the Italian. In the *Arte de navegar*, of Pedro de Medina (Valladolid, 1545), the Flemish names of the winds are given, and are displayed variously in roses of four, eight, twelve, and thirty-two points. Roderigo Camorana, in his *Compendio del Arte de navegar* (Seville, 1588), uses always the Flemish names. Flemish designations appear also in the windrose in the chart of Ruiz de Estrada e Peñato (1525). Flemish names are exclusively used in the *Trattado da Agulha de marear* written by João de Lisboa in 1514 (printed 1903 at Lisbon). The Jesuit writers of the seventeenth century—Kircher, De Lanis, Dechales, Riccioli, and Fournier—give elaborate tables of the names of the winds in various languages. Dechales (*Cursus Mathematicus*, 1674, T. ii, p. 250) points out at some length the differences in usage between Southern Europe and Northern. The drawings of compasses given by Nuñez (1536), Martinus Cortes (Seville, 1556) and Pedro de Medina (Valladolid, 1545) bear the names or initials of the Flemish winds, though the last-named also gives one with Italian initials. A rose of thirty-two points

drawn by Willebrord Snell in his *Tiphys Batavus* (Lugd. Batav., 1624) gives the full names in Dutch: Noort, Noort-ten-oosten, Noort-noort-oost, Noort-oost-ten-noorden, Noort-oost, &c.

In the works of the contemporary cosmographers we meet with many diagrams of the winds, usually depicted around the planisphere or map by cherubs' heads blowing. The various editions of the *Cosmographia* of Pietro d' Abano (Bienewicz) are rich in such. The

Cecco d'Ascoli. 1521.

Antwerp edition of 1533, fol. 27, shows twelve cherubs' heads with names in three languages. The *Arte de navegar* of Pedro de Medina (1545) gives a planisphere surrounded by eight cherubs' heads. The *Cosmographia* of Barocio (Venice, 1585) gives one planisphere with four cherubs, another with twelve, another with thirty-two, large and small. A Mappamundi in the Cologne edition of Macrobius, of 1521, depicts sixteen cherubs, the four principal ones being within the periphery, and the twelve auxiliary ones grouped in triads outside.

The Milan edition of the *Acerba* of Cecco d' Ascoli (F. de Stabili), of the same date, contains a remarkable cut—the earliest known professed picture of a compass in any printed book—of the Italian eight-point rose, having the usual initials and cross marked upon its rays, and the names of the winds printed opposite each in the margin. Between the eight rays are eight cherubs' heads blowing. (*See* page 189.)

ORIGIN OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROSE OF THIRTY-TWO POINTS.

It is certain that so soon as the compass was used for sailing, the division of the horizon into eight or twelve winds was found altogether insufficient for the purposes of navigation. On the other hand the division of each quadrant into ninety degrees, as proposed by Pierre de Maricourt (Petrus Peregrinus) in 1269, was too fine to be practical. Division into thirty-two by the intercalation, between the eight principal winds, of eight half-winds and sixteen quarter-winds, by successive bisection of the angles, afforded the most natural way of attaining the requisite precision. Whatever the plan retained by geographers for the delineation of their land-maps, nautical chartographers from the thirteenth century onwards preferred the division into eight, sixteen, and thirty-two. As authorities for this statement may be cited Chaucer,[1] Schöner,[2] Nuñez,[3] and Riccioli.[4] The last-named says expressly that the division into thirty-two winds has been exclusively employed, since the time of Carolus Magnus, by chartographers and seamen. Prior to the introduction of the primitive compass, seamen in the Levant and in the western part of the Mediterranean could not direct their courses, when out of sight of land, with any precision. This circumstance undoubtedly accounts for two facts: (1) that their navigation was—at any rate in doubtful weather—largely confined to coasting routes; (2) that their primitive maps were exceedingly crude. With the introduction of the compass the sailing of direct courses became comparatively safe and habitual; and, with the knowledge of the direction in which their courses were set, they were able to delineate, with far greater precision than before, the outlines of the coasts in the sailing-charts which almost suddenly superseded the older forms of map. It is, indeed, impossible to sever the develop-

[1] Chaucer, *The Astrolabe*, Pt. 2, § 31, 1390.
[2] Schöner, *Opusculum Geographicum*, Norimb., 1533.
[3] Nuñez, MS. of sixteenth century in Bibl. Nat., Paris.
[4] Riccioli, *Almagestum novum*, Lib. II, cap. xvi, De Ventis, Bononiae, 1651.

ment of the compass from that of the sailing-chart. The more closely one regards the question, the more insistently is one convinced of the immense changes brought about by the introduction of the compass. In mere coasting, the important thing to know is the distance from port to port, and the aspects of the various headlands. Angular distances are of relatively little moment. But in sea-sailing the direction is everything, and distances are of secondary importance. The character of such charts and maps as have come down to us from pre-compass times may be judged by the typical examples of the maps accredited to Ptolemy, in which the directions of the coast lines are often ludicrously wrong, while the distances from port to port are carefully stated. The Portulani, or haven-finding guides, to direct the mariner from port to port, laborious compilations of distances and landmarks along the routes, were in abundant use before the advent of real sailing-charts, and go back to the Byzantine *Stadiasmos* of the fourth or fifth century, now in Madrid. A late example, in English, of this kind of treatise is *The Safeguard of Saylers, or Great Rutter*, of Robert Norman, printed in London in 1590.

Totally distinct from all the earlier maps, planispheres, mappaemundi, and other primitive forms, are the *sailing-charts* which made their appearance at the outset of the fourteenth century. The most characteristic thing about them, distinguishing them from all previous kinds of map, is the presence of the so-called loxodromic lines, presenting a system of rays, starting usually from some central point, and uniting a subsidiary series of centres arranged in a circle around the map, which becomes covered as with a web of fine lines. These lines are supposed to indicate direct routes along the recognized directions of the winds; hence the term *loxodromic*. That they indicate straight courses can, naturally, only be true upon the assumption that the projection of the map is a true projection on a plane (as in the method of projection known as Mercator's), and in this case the distances are distorted, the scale at the margins being different from that at the centre. When, however, so small a part of the whole globe as the Mediterranean region is all that is represented, the scale of distances will not vary greatly between different parts of the same map, and the loxodromic lines will practically represent straight courses. The vast majority of the sailing-charts in question are of Italian origin, most of them executed by Italian chartographers; and they present a number of features in common which distinguish them from all other maps. They are all executed on parchment, and almost invariably on single skins. They all have the loxodromic lines. These lines are almost without exception thirty-

two[1] in number, very rarely eight or sixteen. The lines are invariably drawn in colour: the eight principal winds black; the eight half-winds green (rarely blue); the sixteen quarter-winds red.[2] At the centre of the network of loxodromic lines, at least in the charts after 1375, there is usually depicted a decorative *rosa ventorum*, gaily coloured; and at one or more subsidiary points serving as centres for other systems of loxodromic lines other roses or rosettes are frequently painted. On comparing chart with chart it is seen that these loxodromic centres are differently chosen in different maps, there being no fixed point,[3] no meridian of Greenwich, nor of Rome, nor of Naples, not even of Jerusalem. Nor is there any fixed size of radius for the network of lines. Most of these charts depict the seaboard almost exclusively, and give the names of places on the coast, but rarely the names of inland places; nor do they give many inland features beyond vague indications of mountain ranges or forests. The later charts mark political divisions by heraldic banners or devices, or by figures of eastern potentates, and in some the cities are indicated by conventional castles or churches. Wild animals, camels, elephants, lions, bears, and reindeer adorn the outlying regions of the later maps.

[1] Santarem, vol. i, p. 275 of his *Essai sur l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie pendant le moyen âge*, erroneously states that there are no charts with thirty-two rhumbs upon them before the Pizigani chart of 1367; and he argues fallaciously that Italian and Catalan sailors had never undertaken navigation on the high seas before the Portuguese expeditions to the Canaries from 1331 to 1344. The sailing-charts of the priest Giovanni da Carignano and of Petrus Vesconte, both of Genoa, have thirty-two lines; and these unquestionably were prior to 1331.

[2] These are the colours used in the Perrinus Vesconte Chart (Florence) 1327, in the Catalan Atlas (Paris) 1375, and in practically every one of the hundreds of charts of the period down to 1600 which have survived.

[3] The principal loxodromic centres in some of the best known charts are as follows:—

Pisan Chart (end of thirteenth century), two centres, one in the Aegean, the other near Sardinia; Petrus Veschonte (1311), in the Levant, east of Cyprus; Perrinus Vesconte (1327), near Carcasonne; Mappamundi of the Medicean Atlas (1351), at isthmus of Suez; Giovanni da Carignano (early fourteenth), to the south of Marseilles; Pizigani (1367), near Toulouse; Catalan Atlas (1375, Bibl. Nat., Paris), one near Naples, another to the north of Spain; Pinelli (1384), one in Spain, another south of Naples; Guillelmo Soleri (1385, Archivio di Stato, Florence), one near Bilbao, the other south of Rome, in the sea; Jachobus de Zeroldis (1446, Soc. Colombaria, Florence), to north of Sicily; Catalan Chart (early fifteenth, Florence), between heel of Italy and Greece; Gratiosus Benincasa (1467), off Cape Finisterre; Petrus Roselli (1466, Bibl. Corsini, Florence), to east of Sardinia; Giacomo Bertran (1482), between Sardinia and Sicily; Chart of Badia di Cava (circa 1492), south of Rome, in the sea; Baldasare di Majolo Visconte (1583, Bibl. Naz., Florence), between Palermo and Gaeta; Diego Homen (1558), in Sardinia; the same author (1570) in central Italy.

Islands are often strongly coloured to distinguish them the more readily. The coast lines are depicted with a precision never attempted in the earlier maps, and are most frequently drawn in a peculiar manner by joining together little arcs of circles of different sizes, concave toward the sea, like a series of little bays. Most of these charts, though not all, have the North at the top. Even for a century after the invention of printing all the sailing-charts were drawn by hand; the only exception appears to be in certain charts of Grazioso Benincasa, who seems to have worked by hand upon a printed or etched outline. The chartographers appear to have jealously guarded their individuality. The chartographer's signature is usually given at the left, that is at the West, in some such form as this: *Guillmo Solerij ciujs Maioricaru me fecit Año Añt. Dnj. Mccclxxxv*; or this: *Jachobus Vesconte de Maiollo composuit hanc cartam in Janua anno domini MDLXV.* The inscriptions are mostly written in a Gothic hand of the type current in the fourteenth century. No such charts appeared before the latter end of the thirteenth century, and from that epoch to the end of the sixteenth century they preserved almost unaltered the same features, though the draughtsmanship of the coast lines shows great improvement, and the decorative features received remarkable development. They were highly prized by navigators, as is shown by the circumstance that on the chart of Gabriel de Vallsecha, of 1439, preserved at Palma (Majorca), formerly in the possession of Vespucci, he wrote on it with his own hand: 'For this large geographical skin Amerigo Vespucci has paid 130 gold ducats.' The use of such loxodromic charts is recorded at various dates. Thus the chronicler Nargis, who sailed in the Crusade of St. Louis against Tunis in 1270, tells how the king, being anxious after a storm to know where they were, was shown by the captain the position of the ship on a chart. Vasco da Gama mentions, with some surprise, that the pilot whom he engaged at Malinda to take him to India, in 1498, had a map of India 'without compass lines'.

The question has been debated whether in these loxodromic charts the lines were laid down first, and the coast lines then drawn in over them; or whether the map was first drawn, and the loxodromic lines added afterwards. Nordenskjöld maintains that the lines were drawn over the chart; Theobald Fischer that the chart was drawn over the lines. Kretschmer cites the case of the Atlas of Vesconte de Maiollo, of 1548, now in Florence, having fifteen charts, of which one is unfinished, the lines being drawn, but no map. It must not, however, be concluded that for all charts the lines were drawn first.[1]

[1] Blundevile, in his *Exercises* (1594), gives a blank chart, covered with loxo-

The writer after examining many of the original charts in the museums of London, Paris, Florence, Milan, &c., is convinced that in almost all cases the black lines of the eight principal winds were drawn first, and usually also the eight green lines of the half-winds, but that in many cases the sixteen red lines of the quarter-winds were added after the outlines of the coasts had been drawn on the chart. On comparing together some of the earliest Mediterranean charts one is struck with the extraordinary accuracy of the coastal features which they depict, and the striking similarity which they present one to another, contrasting notably with the crude inaccuracies and variations of all the maps of the antecedent period. It would almost seem as though there had been an accepted standard map of the Mediterranean which successive chartographers had adopted and reproduced. But no such supposition is admissible; for there are differences which exclude the possibility. In the fourteenth century the declination of the needle was unknown; and at that epoch [1] it was relatively small in the middle Mediterranean. The fact of a declination gradually became known; probably being independently observed by pilots and attributed to local error or faulty compasses. But the fact that the declination varied from place to place was quite unknown. That discovery, usually attributed to Columbus,[2] seems to have been more or less known to others. It probably constituted the 'secret' which Sebastian Cabot when dying declared to have been a divine revelation to him. Still less known was the fact that the declination suffered a saecular change; and, unknowingly, the chartographers, working out their maps from observations made at sea, set their coast-lines across the loxodromic lines at angles which differ slightly between one lustrum and another. The differences observable, for example, in the slope of the Adriatic coasts, between the first quarter and the close of the fourteenth century, remain to attest the slow change in the variation of the compass. So long ago as 1624

dromic lines, which he calls 'the shape and figure of the first liniaments of the Mariner's carde, drawn after the old manner', and proceeds to instruct the reader 'how to set down the places of the land or sea therein'.

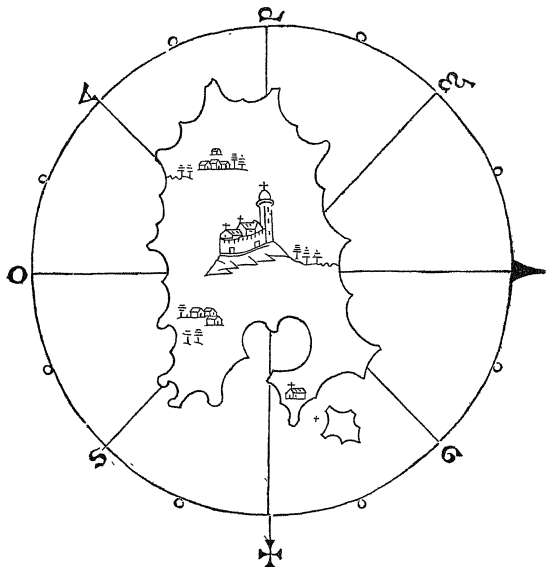
[1] In the middle-Mediterranean in the thirteenth century the declination was westward. It became zero about the middle of the fourteenth, and was eastward until about the year 1655.

[2] Columbus in his great voyage of 1496 took with him both Genoese and Flemish compasses, and found a discrepancy between them. At a point three degrees west of Flores the Genoese compass showed a westerly deviation, while the Flemish compass showed none. The Flemish pilots probably had adopted the practice, afterwards general in certain ports, and reproved by Dr. Gilbert in 1600, of setting the needle slightly obliquely under the card to compensate for the declination occurring in that region.

Willebrord Snell pointed out that the internal evidence of the charts proves that the compass was used in their construction as early as the thirteenth century; and Signor Enrico Rostagno (of the Biblioteca Laurentiana at Florence) is of opinion that the maps of St. Louis in the Sixth Crusade, 1244–7, were prepared by compass.

Another feature of these sailing-charts is the method of indicating the principal winds by the initials of their names. We have seen how in the early windroses of the prior age the eight, or twelve, or twenty-four winds were named, and how they were represented by heads of cherubs blowing, set around the rose, or framed in the margin of the Mappamundi. This practice was carried on into the fashioning of the sailing-charts, many of which bore brightly coloured margins marked with the names of the winds, or bearing their initials. These initials, or symbols representing them, were usually inscribed in medallions or circles, set in eight of the sixteen subsidiary points of the network, or else placed where the loxodromic lines reached the margin. An example is found in the Majorcan chart of 1385 by Guillelmo Soleri, now at Florence, wherein the *Tramuntana* [*sic*] is named and marked by an eight-point star in red; the East by a red cross, labelled *Levant*; the South is indicated by a face appearing half-way across a circle, marked *Migiorno*; the other points having the names *Grech*, *Axaloch*, *Labetes*, *Ponent*, and *Mestra*, inscribed in Gothic lettering inside coloured circles. Other examples occur in the Majorcan chart of 1447, by Gabriel de Vallsecha, in the Hamy collection; in the chart of Petrus Roselli of 1465 (Fig. 4, Plate II), in the British Museum (Egerton MS., No. 2712); in the Atlas of early American charts in the Egerton MS. (No. 2803) of the British Museum, of about 1508; and in a sixteenth-century map of North Peru, by Bartolomeo Olives of Majorca, now in the Vatican. Where initials are used they are invariably those of the Italian names of the winds; but the *Tramontana* is sometimes marked with a star or a dart, or later with the fleur-de-lis, and the *Levante* almost invariably with a cross. The next change was to place the eight initials, or symbols, around the rosette at the centre of the loxodromic system of lines, as may be seen in the Andrea Bianco chart (Fig. 1, Plate I) of 1436, now in Venice, or in some of the maps in the Venetian Atlas (*circa* 1489) in the British Museum (Egerton MS., No. 73). Another example is afforded by the printed maps of Crete, Patmos, and other islands[1] in the *Isolario* of Bartolommeo da li Sonetti, Venice (?), of 1485. The

[1] The maps in the *Isolario* of Bordone, Venice, 1534, afford another excellent example. On the title-page of that work are two excellent pictures of early Italian compass-roses with the initials of the winds

third stage was to construct at the centre of the loxodromic net a rose of eight, sixteen, or thirty-two points, drawn as a star with eight rhomboidal rays for the eight principal winds, and with smaller rhombuses or triangles between them for the half-winds and quarter-winds, and to place on the eight principal rays the initials or symbols formerly inscribed in the margins. The decorative treatment given

ISLAND OF PATMOS. From the *Isolario* of Bartolommeo da li Sonetti.

to these central windroses has already been noted. With the progress of time the embellishments became more elaborate. The art of the miniaturist lent to them its fascinating aid. We find the centres of the roses, in the later maps, adorned with the device of a ship, or of an armillary sphere, and even with miniatures of the Virgin, or of the Holy Family. Thus ornamented, for example, are the roses of the American chart of 1500 of Juan de la Cosa, repro-

duced by Lelewel. But, for the most part, except in the charts originating at Mallorca or those with inscriptions in the Catalan dialect, the roses bear on the eight rays of the principal winds the respective initials in Gothic capitals, four of them usually in black, and four in red. The colour treatment of the rhumbs varies, but it is significant to note that in the earlier charts, and indeed commonly, the colours given to the rhumbs of the thirty-two point star correspond with those given to the corresponding loxodromic lines, viz.: black for the principal winds, green for the half-winds, and red for the quarter-winds.[1] Specific instructions for the use of these colours exist in several treatises: Ruscelli's *Espositioni sopra la Geografia di Tolomeo* (1561); Crescentio's *Nautica Mediterranea* (1602); Pantero Pantera's *L'Armata Navale* (1614); Fournier's *Hydrographia* (1671); Fabritius Paduanus's *De Ventis* (1601); Falconi's *Breve Instruzione appartenente al Capitano di Vasselli quadri* (1612). They are also referred to by W. Bourne in his *Regiment of the Sea* (1574), and by Sir H. Manwaring in his *Seaman's Dictionary* (1644).

These particulars have been dwelt upon not merely to show the intimate connexion between the compass-card and the sailing-chart, but to justify certain conclusions that may be drawn from the comparison. It has been pointed out that, with the introduction of the compass into sea-sailing, the old system of eight or twelve winds became inadequate, and that finer subdivisions were needful; hence charts with loxodromic lines to indicate the courses were the natural result of experience in sailing by the compass, as well as being the needful complement in the equipment of the navigator who intended to steer by the compass. Did then the division into sixteen or thirty-two points arise first with the compass itself, or with the map? A map with sixteen loxodromic lines would be of little service with a compass having only the eight principal winds marked upon it; while a compass with thirty-two winds would naturally be associated with a chart marked to correspond. In any case it would be very simple for the maker of either the chart or of the compass to add the extra divisions. Again, why should the chartographers of the beginning of the fourteenth century adopt green lines for the half-winds, and red lines for the quarter-winds, if the compass by which

[1] This convention is, however, not rigidly adhered to, even in the early examples, as we shall see, when considering the various types of roses. For example, in the celebrated Atlas of John Rotz (1542) in the Additional MSS. of the British Museum, No. 11548, the four cardinal winds are painted in gold, and the other four of the eight principal points are blue, while the eight triangles of the half-winds are painted green, and the sixteen triangles of the quarter-winds are red.

these observations had been made, and those with which they were destined to be used, did not possess the same colorations on their corresponding rhumbs? The correspondence in the choice of colours is most significant, as it suggests that both compass and chart developed *pari passu*. But that development would not be in the least likely to occur so long as the compass remained a mere floating needle of the primitive Levant type, or even so long as the needle was pivoted to move over a fixed card, or within a box having fixed graduations on its edge, like an astrolabe, as in Peregrinus's compass of 1269. The necessary step in evolution must have been that of the fastening of the movable card with its coloured rose upon the pivoted needle; and that step was subsequent to 1269. If we may infer that step from the appearance on the sailing-charts of the thirty-two loxodromic lines, then the date cannot be later than 1311, the year of Petrus Veschonte's chart, and may be earlier, if the Pisan chart, now in Paris, commonly supposed to date from the end of the twelfth century, is really so old. The tradition, which is strong in fixing the year 1302 for the 'invention' of the mariners' compass by the unknown navigator of Amalfi, seems therefore to be well founded so far as regards two of its principal features: (1) that the 'invention' consisted in the mounting of the *rosa ventorum* upon the needle; (2) that this 'invention' took place at the end of the thirteenth, or at the very beginning of the fourteenth, century. That it was made at Amalfi must remain a matter of tradition: for the matters which have been urged as evidence in support are all fallacious. For instance, it has been urged that geographically the only place where the North East wind blows from Greece, where the South West wind blows from Africa, and the North wind across the mountains (the Apennines), giving rise to the respective names of *Greco*, *Africo*, and *Tramontana*, must have been Amalfi. On this it suffices to observe that those denominations were in general use as the Italian names of the winds at least one or two centuries earlier. Another allegation, that the civic arms of the city of Amalfi bear emblazoned the figure of a compass, has long ago been shown to be wholly devoid of foundation in fact. But the well-attested tradition embodied in the line, attributed to Panormitan,

Prima dedit nautis usum magnetis Amalphis,

remains undisturbed. It seems to have escaped the notice of recent writers that, according to Crescentio, the addition of the eight half-winds and the sixteen quarter-winds, bringing up the number of points to thirty-two, originated[1] with the Amalphitanians. Certain

[1] Op. cit., p. 157. 'Ultimamente in Amalfi hanno collocato tra questi otto

it is that the compass with the pivoted card, marked with the winds in a rose of eight principal points in the Italian manner, and with subdivisions corresponding to half-winds and quarter-winds, originated in Southern Italy at the end of the thirteenth century; and that the characteristic features of the compass-card, including the system of colouring adopted, were developed in connexion with the loxodromic sailing-charts of the Italian navigators.

Origin of the Distinctive Marks used on Compass-Cards.

It has been mentioned above that the majority of the early Italian compass-roses bore, in Gothic capitals, the initials of the Italian names of the eight principal winds. There were variants, however, in the usage. The East point, instead of being inscribed with L for *Levante* was more commonly marked with a cross. The West point, though almost always marked with a P for *Ponente*, was rarely indicated by the symbol of the setting sun. The South West point is usually marked with A for *Africo*, less often with L for *Libeccio*, and very rarely with G for *Garbino*. The South point is usually marked with O for *Ostro*, and but rarely with M for *Mezzodì*. The three invariables are the North East with G for *Greco*, the South East with S for *Scirocco*, and the North West with M for *Maestro*. The most variable of all in the manner of its indication is the North point. We are so accustomed to see the North point marked on the compass-card with a fleur-de-lis that it is somewhat surprising to be told that the compass-card existed two hundred years without any fleur-de-lis, that symbol being, in fact, a late addition. In the pre-compass era the names for the North, as inscribed on maps were either astronomical, such as *Septentrio* (from the seven stars) or *Arctos* (the Bear), or were the names of winds such as *Boreas*, *Hyperboreus*, *Aparctias*, *Aquilo*, or *Tramontana*. The name *Tramontana* became applied not only to the wind that blew across the mountains, and hence to the geographical North, but also to the North Pole Star (Stella Tramontana), and, by metonymy, even to the magnetic needle itself, because it pointed northwards. None of these various names for the North lent its initials to mark the North point except *Tramontana*. In windroses, and in early compass-roses, the initial T is often used to denote the North point, but never are the initials

venti principali altri otto, detti da loro meziventi.' On p. 255 he adds :—'Può essere poi che in Amalfi, per più commodità de' Naviganti, fusse l' una [la carta] e l' altra [la bussola] in 32 punti o venti scompartita.'

of the other names *Boreas, Septentrio,* &c. so used. Other symbols, however, are found quite as frequently as the letter T, and sometimes in association with it. A star, or a group of seven stars, is sometimes found. A star, for instance, marks the North in the Planisphere of the *Cosmographie d'Azaph* (MS. Paris, twelfth century), and in the Mappamundi of Marino Sanudo, 1321 (MS. Brussels). A group of seven stars appears in the compass-card (Fig. 11, Plate VI) printed in the chapter 'Dei Venti e della Bussola da navicare' by Giovanni Quintino à Sofo in the *Della Guerra di Rhodi* of Jacopo Fontano (Venice, 1545). A star or a group of seven stars appears in the compass-cards of the Catalan type mentioned below. A more frequent mark for the North may be described as a triangle representing an arrow-head or a dart. This mark is not found in the pre-magnetic windroses, and may therefore be regarded as distinctively denoting a magnetic needle. A narrow, dart-like triangle, extending from the middle of the rose to the North, is found in the sailing-chart (late fifteenth century) in the Archives of Lucerne (Figs. 4 & 5, Plate III), and in the similar chart at Upsala; also in Fontano's book just mentioned. Another occurs in the chart of Juan de la Cosa (1500) (Fig. 7, Plate IV). A broad triangle, like an arrow-head, marks the North in the compass-roses of the Catalan or Majorcan type. A commoner form is that in which the North triangle or rhumb of the rose is painted black, as in the rose of the Pinelli chart of 1384 (Fig. 2, Plate II), the still earlier rose of Nicolao di Combitis in the Marciana library at Venice, the compass on the chart of Jachobus de Giraldis, of 1426,[1] in the same library, and on that of Battista Agnese, of 1545, also in Venice; also in the rose of the Agnese chart now in Stockholm. A triangle for the North is one of the four symbols found in the MS. Atlas—the oldest atlas of the New World—in the British Museum.[2]

Occasionally the triangular or arrow-head mark is associated with the star-symbol,[3] as in the rose of the Catalan Atlas (1375), and in

[1] In this instance the coloured rose appears to be of later date than the chart itself.

[2] Egerton MSS., No. 2803, dated 1508.

[3] The close association of the symbols of the star and of the dart with the North is attested by a remarkable etching in a book on Painting, by Marco Boschini (Venice, 1660), called *La Carta del navegar pitoresco,* p. 616, representing a female figure, emblematic of the North wind, with a javelin; while above is an eight-point star. Opposite it is the following quatrain :—

Voi che 'l me rapresenta, in bela forma,
La Tramontana, che stabile, e immota
Sia scorta al Marinier, al bon Peota,
Come stela, che in mar xè vera norma.

that of the chart of Petrus Roselli (Fig. 4, Plate II) in the British Museum, also in that of Giorgio Callapoda (1552) (Fig 10, Plate V) in the Museo Civico at Venice. Also, occasionally, the triangle is associated with the initial T, as in the rose of Andrea Bianco (1436), in that of Giacomo Castaldi (1564), and in the chart engraved on copper by Nicolaus di Nicolay (1560) at Venice. The use of a black triangle for the North is recognized also by various writers. In the *De Ventis* of Fabritius Paduanus (Bononiae, 1601) occur[1] the phrases: 'Nigredo illa Tramontanam denotat', 'Nigredo illa Septentrionem', 'per nigrum radium intelligendo Tramontanam'. A trident occasionally appears instead of a dart, to mark the North, as in the rose on the sailing-chart of the Monastery of Badia di Cava Tirrena (*circa* 1492) (Fig. 3, Plate II), and in the rose of the late fifteenth-century chart, now in Paris, said to have been in the possession of Richelieu; also in the Atlas of Joannes de Oliva, 1613, in the British Museum (Egerton MS., No. 819). Yet one other symbol for the North is found, occasionally, in the use of a human head, as in the strange compass-card (Fig. 12, Plate VI) of Pierre Garcie, the pilot of Rouen, 1584. A head also appears, surmounted by a dart, in the interior of the compass printed in the *De Ventis et Navigatione*, of Michael Angelus Blondus, at Venice, 1546. That mariners regarded the North as the head is emphasized by the fact that in a compass-rose of João de Lisboa, in his *Tratado da Agulha de marear* (1514), the North point, marked with a fleur-de-lis, is inscribed *cabeça* (head), the South point *pee* (foot), while the East and West are respectively inscribed *braço de leste* and *braço daloeste* [sic].

In all modern compasses, practically without exception, the device used to indicate the North is the fleur-de-lis, or as the sailors often call it, the Prince of Wales's feathers. No one has hitherto been able to account for the introduction of this symbol; it is not known to exist[2] on any compass or chart before the sixteenth century, the supposed earliest one being that on the chart in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which is believed to have belonged to Cardinal Richelieu, conjectured to be of date 1493; but its form suggests a trident rather than a lily. Many fallacious inferences having been drawn from the occurrence of the fleur-de-lis, it is important to

[1] Similarly, in the *Isolario* of Benedetto Bordone (Venetia, 1534),

'laltra che è tutta negra è tramontana'.

[2] Father Bertelli says (*Studi storici*, 1894, p. 204) that the earliest known to him is on a Majorcan chart in the Library of Parma (No. 1620), of late fifteenth century; but this does not seem to have been reproduced in any of the published collections of charts.

scrutinize closely the circumstances. The fleur-de-lis has been for centuries a heraldic emblem. It was in use for regal decorations in the East before the time of the Crusades. Adalbert de Beaumont[1] has traced back its use as a decorative emblem to Byzantine times, and has derived it from the lotos ornament of Egypt. In particular it was adopted by the kings of France, by the dukes of Anjou, and by the Bourbon family. It seems to have been appropriated by Philippe Auguste, at whose coronation, at Rheims in 1179, the practice began of strewing with golden fleurs-de-lis on a field of azure all the banners, hangings, and scutcheons used in that ceremony. But earlier than this, Carolus Magnus had given the fleur-de-lis to the city of Florence,[2] not so much as being a lily but rather as emblematic of royalty, with the motto *Florida florenti floreat Florentia flore*. From Louis VII to Henry IV the emblem preserved its primitive form in the royal blazonry of France. Louis IX ordained that the fleur-de-lis should be borne by all the princes of royal blood. Whence then comes the appearance of the fleur-de-lis as the chief device on the modern compass-card? The answer which may hesitatingly be given, after examination of the various treatments of the marking of the North point, is that it is a purely decorative development[3] of the dart, the star, and the T of earlier use. The T of *Tramontana*, with its drooping appendages, or serifs, lent itself to this development, which may be traced through various incomplete stages. Only after the year 1500 does the fully-formed fleur-de-lis appear, and then most frequently in the Portuguese compass-roses. Doubtless when the usage of a fleur-de-lis had once found acceptance, political influences would tend to promote its employment.

[1] *Recherches sur l'origine du blason, et en particulier sur la fleur de lis*, Paris, 1853. On p. 105, quoting a dissertation by Bullet, of 1791, de Beaumont states that the original form was *fleur de li*, or *fleur de roi*; the word *li* in Celtic signifying king. Ducange, in his *Dissertation sur Saint Louis*, confirms this by saying that after the first Crusade, when Christian heraldry began, the heralds adopted as a symbol of sovereignty the emblem which had struck them as having this significance.

[2] It may be remarked that on several of the decorative charts of the fifteenth century—for example, Dulcert's, of 1339, and the still earlier map of Giovanni da Carignano, of Genoa—on which the loxodromic rosettes bear no roses, and in others of the fifteenth century which bear compass-roses devoid of fleurs-de-lis, the fleur-de-lis is found marked on the banners that indicate the political standing of some of the cities. The banner of Paris bears *azure* five fleurs-de-lis *or*, and that of Florence bears *argent* a single lily *gules* of the peculiar Florentine form with two projecting stamens.

[3] Another strange development of the ornament at the North point is the bunch of grapes, which appears on the rose in the chart of Ruiz de Estrada e Peñato, of 1525, reproduced in Nordenskjold's *Periplus*.

It must be borne in mind, however, that there is a distinction to be drawn between the designs of the roses actually used on the 'flie', as Tudor writers called it, of an actual compass and the designs drawn in the roses of the sailing-charts. The former must of necessity present a circular periphery in order to turn freely within the compass box, while in the case of the latter there is nothing to hinder the draughtsman from depicting salient ornaments that project forth beyond the circumference of the rose. On the rose of the Andrea Bianco chart in Venice (1436), the letters T and L are tacked on to the apices of the North and East points respectively. Similarly on a rose of a sailing-chart of Africa, of 1527, at Weimar, a lily and a cross stand out as excrescences outside the circle; while in another chart (sixteenth century) in the Biblioteca Marciana a triangle extends at the North, a Latin cross at the East, and a large P at the West. The celebrated Atlas of John Rotz (1542), in the British Museum, illustrates 'the manner for to knowe the Wyndes of all the points of the Sey compass' with a gorgeously-coloured rose having a golden lily and a golden cross standing outside the periphery. Projecting spear-heads, pyramids, crosses, and lilies, such as abound on the roses of the florid charts of the sixteenth century would be impossible on a real compass-card. So, though the roses of the charts may be in the main pictures of the compass-cards of the day, they must be received with caution. So far as the author is aware there is not preserved in any museum in the world any actual compass or compass-card older than the late sixteenth century. The rude compass (Fig. 12, Plate VI) of Pierre Garcie of Rouen in his treatise *Le Grand Routier, pilotage et encrage de la Mer*, of 1584, is doubtless printed from the very wood-block which was used to print the compass-cards in that port. It is possibly the oldest compass-card in existence. Internal evidence shows that in many cases the sea-charts were revised or improved by later hands, as further discoveries extended the knowledge of the coast-lines; and in many cases the decorative embellishments are of subsequent date, as appears to be the case with the fine compass-rose on the early fifteenth-century chart of Jachobus de Giraldis. The gorgeous fleur-de-lis on the map painted on vellum by the order of Henri II, reproduced in Jomard's *Monuments de la Géographie*, bespeaks the courtier in the artist; while the splendid blue lily depicted in 1529 by Diego Ribera in his map—the famous map on which Pope Julius II drew the line to decide the dispute between Spain and Portugal, as to their respective title to discovered lands—equally proclaims that it is really no inherent part of the compass-rose which it adorns.

As to the arguments which have been founded on the circumstance that a fleur-de-lis is so generally found on compass-cards, one may now see of what value they are. Father Fournier, in his *Hydrographie* (1671), p. 399, argues thus:

> Puis que toutefois les arguments qui se tirent des monuments, comme pierres, marbres, sepulchres, traditions immemoriales, et choses semblables, ont plus de force que ceux que nous pourrions auoir de quelque auteur passionné pour son pays: Je dis que la Fleur de lis, de la pointe de l'aiguille dont toutes les Nations de l'Europe se seruent pour monstrer le Nord, témoigne assez que ce sont les François qui l'ont bastie de la sorte, et que c'est d'eux qu'ils ont appris l'vsage: car à quel propos les Matelots de Noruegue, Danemarc, Angleterre, Italie: bref tous les Europeans auroient-ils mis en ce lieu plustost les armes de France que de leur Nation. Outre qu'il est constant que les mots de Nord, Sud, Est, et Ouest, dont on se sert sur l'Ocean pour monstrer les Runs des vents sont mots Français, desquels on se servoit du temps de Charlemagne.

Venanson, in his work *De l'invention de la boussole nautique*, Naples, 1808, argues that in 1302, the traditional date when the compass was 'invented' by the mythical Flavio di Gioia, the kingdom of Naples, in which Amalfi is situated, was governed by French princes of the house of Anjou, and hence the reason why the fleur-de-lis is marked on the card! This erroneous view appears to have originated with Gassendi.

How little the fleur-de-lis was considered as pertaining to the compass may be judged from the remarkable group of etchings published about the year 1600 under the title of *Nova Reperta*, etched by P. Galle from the drawings of Joannes Stradanus, and dedicated to Aloysio Alamanno, Florentino. They relate to the recent discoveries of America, Lapis Polaris (the Lodestone), Gunpowder, the Printing Press, Clocks, Guaiacum, Distillation, Silk-growing, and Harness, 'prisco operta cuncta saeculo'. In these etchings appear three figures of the mariners' compass. None have fleur-de-lis. The compass on the title-page is a simple eight-point star with an arrow-head at the North point and three stars at the South.

The cross at the East point underwent many variations of form. It appears usually as a Greek or a Maltese cross, sometimes as a Latin cross, often as a cross pattee, rarely as a cross fitchee. In the rose of Cecco d' Ascoli (*see* p. 189) it resembles a cross-handled dagger. Occasionally it takes the form of a St. Andrew's cross attached outside the periphery of the rose, as in the Weimar map of Africa. It sometimes degenerated into an arrangement of intersecting circles, or into a pair of parallel cross-lines. In a compass preserved in the Galilei Museum in Florence, of date supposed to be about 1650, it appears as a pair of dolphins. It continued to be marked, even on English

compasses, down to the eighteenth century. In a fine card in the author's collection, engraved by John Sellers about 1660, the cross has degenerated into a couple of S-shaped marks above and below the East point, a form which survived even to the nineteenth century. Another English card in the author's collection, of date about 1640, has the usual thirty-two English names in initials surrounding a thirty-two point rose, the four cardinal rays of which are marked with the Latin initials S(eptentrio), O(riens), M(eridies), and O(ccidens); while the North point bears a fleur-de-lis, the East a cross, the South an arrow-head, and the West a heart-shaped ornament.

As distinctive marks for the West point one occasionally meets with a P, or a double P (from which possibly the heart-shaped ornament is derived), or sometimes the figure of the setting sun with rays, or sometimes a plain circle. Cleirac in his *Us et Coustumes de la Mer* (1661) states that the West point is marked with an imperial double-headed eagle.

Riccioli in his *Almagestum* (1651), and Gallucci, *Della Fabrica et Uso di diversi Stromenti di Astronomia* (1598), speak of compasses which possess, erected over the centre of the needle, an upright stylus to carry a little flag to indicate the direction of the wind. A picture of a compass so designed is given in Pigafetta's *Premier voyage autour du monde*, 1519–22, on p. 286 of the Paris edition of 1801.

Of singularities in the design of compass-cards a quaint instance is afforded by the woodcut print of Pierre Garcie (Fig. 12, Plate VI) already mentioned. It bears in the centre a crude human figure with the head to the North, and arms spread out from the elbows to the East and West. The East and West names appear to have been reversed in printing. Another strange compass-rose is that printed in the *De Ventis et Navigatione* of Blondus (Venice, 1546). It has twenty-six points marked with the Latin names of twenty-six winds, and is described as 'Pixis vel Buxolus, instrumentum et dux navigantium'. This he regards as a new compass, and speaks of those who formerly sailed 'cum observatione antiqui pyxidis et cultu Ursae minoris'. He alleges reasons for abandoning the old compass with eight or twelve winds, and for preferring this new pyxis with its twenty-six winds. In the middle is an inner circle in which are inscribed the usual eight symbols of the Italian rose, the T of the *Tramontana* being replaced by a javelin-head; and in the centre of this there is drawn a human face with the top of the head towards the North.

Having now reviewed the development of the compass-card and its details, we may attempt some classification of the forms which appear

prior to 1600. Amid the vast variety of treatment we may admit three leading types:

1. *Italian type with eight winds.* In this type a star of eight rays is represented. It is the basis of many more developed forms. The Lucerne chart of late fifteenth century gives an example (Fig. 5, Plate III), the North ray being black, the other seven of gold, and without initials. The rose of Cecco d'Ascoli of 1521 (page 189) is another example. The eight-point rose of Andrea Benincasa, of Ancona, 1476, which has four rays blue and four red, with internal appendages of an arrow, a cross, and a circle for the setting sun, is another. An eight-point rose in the chart of date 1501–2, in the collection of M. Hamy, has a dart added externally at the North. The rose of Nicolaus de Nicolay, 1560, has eight half-winds in addition.

2. *Italian type with thirty-two winds.* The characteristic feature here is the arrangement of three series of coloured triangles, marked with the initials or symbols of the eight principal winds. Typical examples are the Andrea Bianco rose of 1436, with eight winds in gold, eight in green, sixteen in red; the rose of the anonymous chart, of the second half of the fifteenth century, in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (No. F. 260, infra No. 2), with the same colouring, save that the North rhumb is black; and the rose of the chart of Badia di Cava Tirrena (Fig. 3, Plate II), of the same epoch, with eight black, eight green, and sixteen red. To the same type, but with some modifications, belong the roses of Matheus Prunes, 1561, in the possession of Prince Corsini; and the undated rose in the Museo Civico of Venice, reproduced by Kretschmer (Plate XXX of his collection). A design by Cabot (see Jomard, xx. 1), of early sixteenth century, adopts the three ranges of triangles, but uses a different colouring. A fine sixteenth-century rose in the Spanish MSS. of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris (No. 8813) has eight winds blue, eight gold, and sixteen red. The Atlas of John Rotz (1542) has a rose with four of the principal winds gold, the other four blue, the eight half-winds green, and the sixteen quarter-winds red, but with the late addition of a lily in gold. João de Lisboa's rose, of 1514, with four black, four gold, eight green, and sixteen red, decorated with a lily, affords a Portuguese example of this type.

3. *Catalan or Majorcan type.* This is characterized by having the four cardinal winds in blue and the other four winds in red or gold, without any triangles for the half-winds or quarter-winds, and having a broad arrow-head at the North. This type bears no initials. Typical specimens are that (Fig. 4, Plate II) on the chart of Petrus Roselli, of 1465, in the British Museum (Egerton MS., No. 2712), and the

almost identical one, of 1466, by the same hand, in the possession of Prince Corsini. Above the arrow-head for the North, in these examples, is a cluster of seven stars. Closely akin are the roses of the Catalan Atlas in Paris—one of them the oldest known compass-rose—and the rose of the Berlin sea-chart (*circa* 1450), described and figured by Kretschmer. Both these have crosses at the East. The Catalan chart of 1429 (Florence, Bibl. Naz., No. 16); the Minorcan chart of Giacomo Bertran, of 1482 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, No. 7); the chart of M. di Majorca, of 1487 (ibid., No. 8); the chart of Angelus Eufredutius, of 1556, at Mantua; that of Vincenzo de Demetrio Volzio di Ragusa, 1607 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, No. 19), are all close to the type. So are the roses of two fifteenth-century manuscripts in Paris—that in the Arsenale (Italian MSS., No. 42), cited by Bertelli, and that in the Gregorio Dati manuscript of 1420 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A modification of this type, in which the subsidiary winds are added, is exemplified in a form used by Juan de la Cosa (1500), having the eight principal winds in blue and gold, the eight half-winds in red, and the quarter-winds in white.

4. *Black dart type.* Although in some of the roses of the other types a black triangle indicates the North, those of this type are characterized by the presence of a large, narrow, black triangle extending from the centre of the rose to the North point; the other winds being represented by fifteen, or sometimes thirty-one, smaller triangles, usually of equal size, ranged round the periphery. This type occurs chiefly between 1500 and 1600. A typical example is presented by the roses (Fig. 8, Plate IV) of the exquisite little anonymous atlas, of date about 1540, in the British Museum (Egerton MS., No. 2854). Another is the 'bossolo da nauigar moderno' depicted in Bordone's *Isolario* (Venice, 1534). Other examples are found in the roses (Figs. 5 & 6, Plate III) of the Lucerne chart (late sixteenth century); the chart at Upsala; the chart of Agnese Battista at Stockholm; the 'Richard King' chart of 1501–2, in the collection of M. Hamy; the charts of Giacomo Castaldi, of 1561 and 1564; the chart of G. Sideri, of 1562 (Egerton MS., No. 2856); the chart of Jachobus Vesconte de Maiollo, made in Rome in 1562 (Additional MSS., No. 1916); the map of Diego Homen (Egerton MS., No. 2858); also in the sketch of a compass in the Italian manuscript, fol. 43, of uncertain date, at the end of Egerton MS., No. 73. It is of some interest to note that while this type occurs along with the arrow-head (Catalan) type in the charts of Juan de la Cosa, in 1500 and 1520, it reappears surmounted by a fine fleur-de-lis in his chart of 1529.

5. *Messina type.* In the middle are the eight symbols of the Italian winds: dart, cross, O, and P, in black; and G, S, A, and M, in red. Around the outside are sixteen small triangles, sometimes all in white, sometimes in alternating blue and gold, with sixteen smaller rhumbs, usually in red, between them, for the quarter-winds. To this class belong the roses (Fig. 8, Plate V) in the charts of Joannes Martines, of 1567 and of 1578, the latter being Harleian MS., No. 3489; and those of Giacomo Russo, of Messina, 1557, in the collection of M. Hamy.

6. *Portuguese type.* This form, of subsequent date to the preceding, and which occurs also in English compass-cards, is practically the Catalan type, but with a fleur-de-lis replacing the arrow-head. A typical example is the rose of Demetrius Voltius, of 1593, reproduced in Nordenskjöld's *Periplus*. Another is that in the anonymous sixteenth-century chart in Florence (Archivio di Stato, No. 17). An old compass, probably English, of early seventeenth century, in the Galilei Museum in Florence, is of the same type, having four winds (including the lily) in blue and four in red. In the *Arte pratica de navegar* of Luis Sarrão Pimentel (Lisboa, 1681) an almost identical rose is engraved. An actual compass-card by John Sellers (*circa* 1660), in the writer's collection, is also closely akin, but is devoid of colour. It is singular to find in the *De Magnete* of Dr. William Gilbert, of 1600, p. 185, a card of the same pattern used in a dipping-needle.

Besides these types many others appear, of intermediate forms, or with mixed characteristics. Thus in a Portuguese atlas in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, at Paris (*circa* 1520), we find a rose with a black dart, but with other features like those of the Italian roses of thirty-two winds. The roses of the charts preserved in the various museums of Venice present great variety, both in colouring and detail of form, some showing Arabic or Moorish influence. It is not possible to assign definitely any special typical design to any particular port, whether Naples, Genoa, Marseilles, or any other. Nor, though in many cases the identity of the artist is unmistakable, did the designers of these roses always adhere to one type. Indeed, some of them seem to have gloried in inventing new designs from page to page of their atlases. After 1600 nearly every compass bore a fleur-de-lis, and before the seventeenth century was over all coloration and all use of the Italian initials disappeared. Since 1650 the compass-cards of all European nations have presented little variation of any kind.

It is to be hoped that further research will be made as to the existence of actual compass-cards of early times. A compass, presumably English, with a coloured card, exists in the Galilei Museum in Florence; others are said to exist in Munich and in Madrid. Probably others remain unknown in museums or private collections. Possibly in Havre, Rouen, Bruges, Hamburg, Lisbon, Marseilles, Genoa, Naples, Venice or other old maritime centre, there may be found sailing-compasses with roses coloured in the ancient manner. The study of any such will further elucidate the problems of the origin and development here considered.

Note, added February 1914.

At the date when this paper was written the author had not seen the privately-printed work *Der Compass*, issued in 1911 by Herr A Schück of Hamburg, which consists of a series of forty-six magnificent plates in colours, illustrating with a wealth of detail the construction of the compass and the design of the compass-card from the earliest time to the present date, together with a Catalogue describing the hundreds of figures in those plates. Nothing in this remarkable and elaborate repertory runs counter to the main conclusions expressed in the author's paper. But Herr Schück puts forth a new and ingenious conjecture as to the origin of the *fleur-de-lis* mark, the introduction of which on the compass-rose at the end of the fifteenth century is discussed in the author's paper. Herr Schück suggests that this mark is essentially a representation of the form of the primitive floating compass, and that it depicts a lancet-shaped magnetic needle supported between its two wooden floats. While the author does not admit that this hypothesis has been proven by Herr Schück, he agrees that Herr Schück at least has made out a case worthy of consideration. Amongst the compass-roses described by Herr Schück is one in an early sixteenth-century Portuguese atlas in the Riccardi Library in Florence, bearing at its North point the device here copied. The dart is in black; the two side-appendages are gold-coloured. Numerous similar forms, which are strictly not *fleurs-de-lis* in their intention, could be cited from other early examples. If this should hereafter be proved to have been a customary form of the *rainette*, or *calamita*, which preceded the pivoted compass, in the Mediterranean, his contention will be much more than a plausible suggestion.

S. P. T.

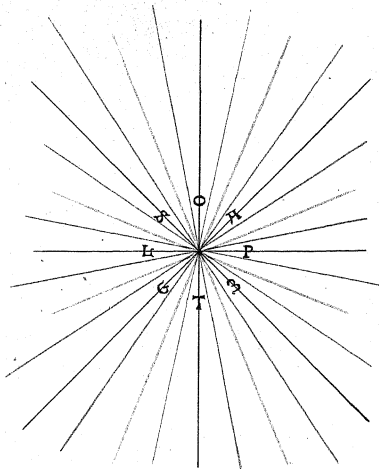



Fig. 1

Loxodromic rosette with initials of Italian names of the winds, from sailing-chart of Andrea Bianco, of 1436.

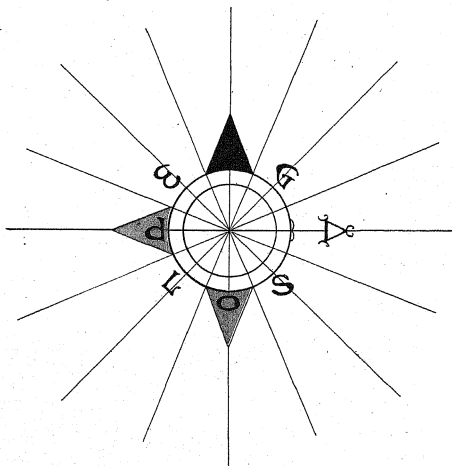
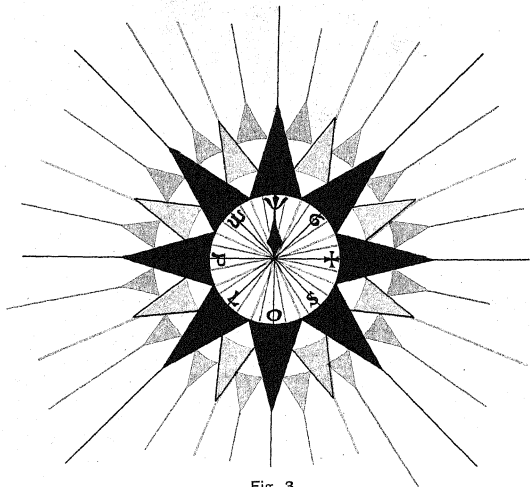



Fig. 3

Rose from the sailing-chart (circa 1492) in the Archivio della Badia di Cava Tirrena. (Italian thirty-two point type.)

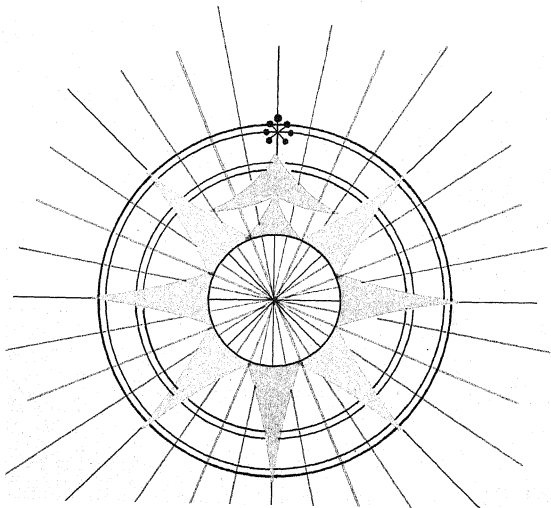
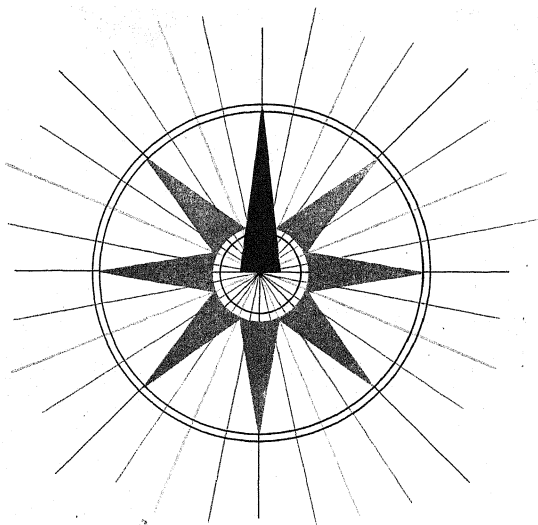



Fig. 5

Rose from sailing-chart in the archives of Lucerne, circa 1500.
(Eight-point type, with black dart.)

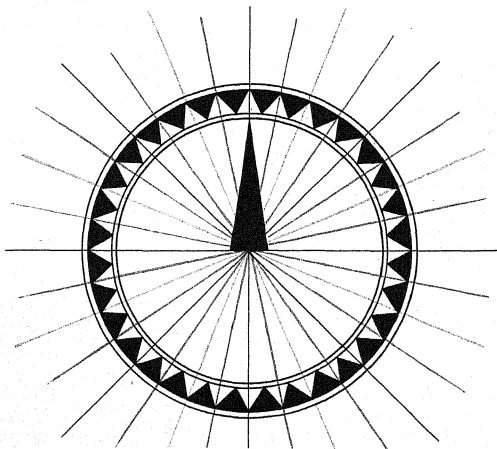
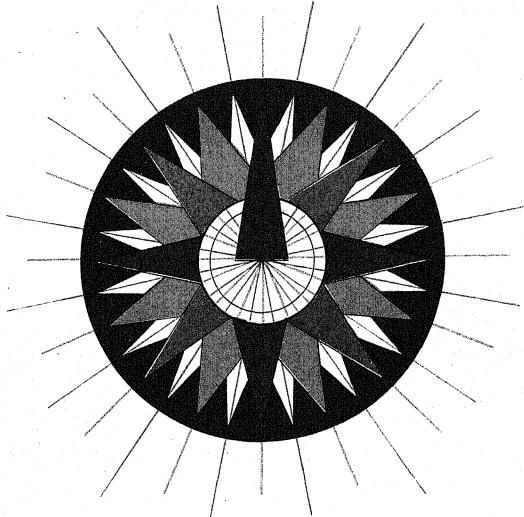



Fig. 7
Rose from sailing-chart of Juan de la Cosa, of 1500.

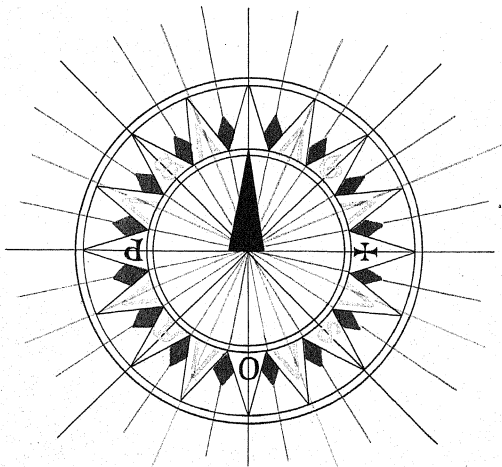
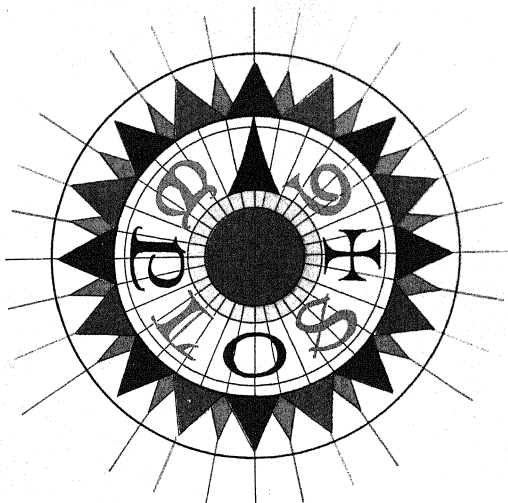



Fig. 9

Rose from sailing-chart of Joannes Martines, 1567.
(Messina type.)

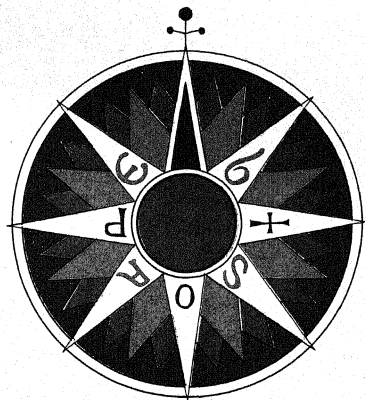



Fig. 10

ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ENGLISH

By HENRY BRADLEY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read at the International Historical Congress, April 7, 1913

MANY of the advocates of spelling reform are in the habit of asserting, as if it were an axiom admitting of no dispute, that the sole function of writing is to represent sounds. It appears to me that this is one of those spurious truisms that are not intelligently believed by any one, but which continue to be repeated because nobody takes the trouble to consider what they really mean. I do not merely deny the truth of the pretended axiom as a description of the relations between speech and writing as they exist at the present day in English and other languages. I assert that, so far as peoples of literary culture are concerned, there never was a time when this formula would have correctly expressed the facts; and that it would still remain false, even if an accurately phonetic spelling had been in universal use for hundreds of years.

In order to understand distinctly the real import of the current statement, it will be well to consider the one case in which it is incontestably correct. A system of musical notation cannot perfectly fulfil its purpose unless it is so constructed that it will enable a competent musician who has mastered the system to know exactly, on looking at a composition written in the notation, what are the sounds which the composer intended his performers to produce. If a piece of written music does not attain this end with a reasonable approximation to correctness, it is useless, and might just as well not exist at all.

Now the assertion that the sole function of writing is to represent sounds amounts to saying that the case of written language is exactly parallel to that of written music. If this be so, it must follow that unless the written form of an unknown word suffices to convey a fairly correct notion of its pronunciation to a fully instructed reader, then

that word might just as well not have been written at all. We shall have to say that a piece of writing is useful in the precise degree in which it is phonetically spelt, and no further. Perhaps no one will venture to say that this statement is in accord with the facts; but unless the current pseudo-axiom means this, I am at a loss to imagine what it *can* mean. The truth is that between written music and written language there is one all-important difference. In written music the representation of sounds is the absolutely ultimate end. In written language it is only a means. We use visible symbols for the sounds of speech because spoken sounds are symbols of meaning. The ultimate end, and for most purposes, though not for all, the only important end of written language is to convey meaning. Now the degree in which a piece of writing or print is capable of conveying its meaning does not at all necessarily depend on the accuracy with which it suggests the sounds that would have been heard if the composition had been spoken instead of being written. Let us consider an extreme case. It is well known that, in the days before the modern improvements in the teaching of the deaf and dumb, many deaf-mutes were successfully taught to read printed books with understanding, and to express their thoughts intelligibly in writing. For these persons a word was simply a group of visible marks, the direct symbol of an idea. For them, of course, the letters of the alphabet could not possibly be associated with any audible sounds, nor even, as they are for their better trained successors, with movements of the organs of speech. In this case alphabetic writing was a total failure so far as its proximate end was concerned, and yet for its ultimate purpose it was a complete success. The middle step had simply been jumped over. Now, as I shall show later on, educated persons, gifted with hearing and speech, do in their mental reading constantly perform this very feat of jumping over the middle step. By long habit, they have formed direct associations between certain familiar groups of letters and the meanings which they represent. Their purpose in reading being to arrive at the meaning, they find a quicker way of doing so than that of translating every written word into its audible equivalent. In this fact we shall find the explanation of much that might otherwise seem unaccountable in the history of written language.

It is universally admitted that writing began by being ideographic. The earliest written characters were pictures, which at first stood for the objects depicted, and afterwards became also symbols of qualities, actions, and relations. It is conceivable that if mankind had been all deaf-mutes, they might have developed on this basis a written language as complete and efficient for its purpose as oral speech. But as the

peoples that invented writing were already in possession of one elaborate system for the expression of thought (namely, a spoken language), it was in the nature of things impossible that they should take the needless trouble of devising a second system co-extensive with the first and independent of it. Hence the written sign gradually ceased to represent merely an idea, and became the symbol of some one of the various spoken words by which that idea could be expressed. The next step was to let the written sign stand for the *sound* of a spoken word irrespective of its meaning. That is to say, the character which had come to be the symbol of a particular spoken word (i. e. of a certain sequence of sounds expressing an idea) was now allowed to denote any other words that were pronounced in the same way. Still later, it was found that polysyllabic words for which no symbol existed could be written by splitting them up into syllables that had already acquired their special signs ; and new characters were invented to express those syllables which were not separately significant. I cannot now attempt to trace in detail the subsequent steps of the process which ended in the formation of a complete alphabet, in which every elementary sound of a language, so far as the inventor's skill in phonetic analysis could go, was represented by a distinct letter. But the penultimate stage in this development has a peculiar interest.

The western Semitic nations, some thirty centuries ago, had got rid of the ideographic principle in their writing. Their script took account of sound only, not of meaning ; moreover, their characters represented not syllables, but simple sound-elements. Their alphabet, however, consisted of consonants only, for the vowels were left unwritten. Even to this day, although vowel-marks have been invented, Arabic is for ordinary purposes nearly always written without them. This implies that the native reader would very often be unable to pronounce a word on the page before him unless he knew its meaning, and that might be determinable only by inference from the after part of the sentence. At first sight, it might appear that reading under these conditions must be a difficult business. But while the ear and mouth, in hearing and pronouncing, can only take the sounds of a word in succession, the eye is capable of surveying a large number of written letters at once. When we ourselves are reading aloud, do we usually look at the several letters of a word in succession, and pronounce them as they come? Not if the word is one that we are acquainted with. The group of letters, seen as a whole, enables us to identify the word intended, and having thus identified it we pronounce it from habit. Even if the word is quite new to us—a proper name, for instance—the syllable, rather than the letter, is the unit present to consciousness.

Hence it is that when a word is misprinted, we often read it as the author intended without being aware of the misprint.[1] Further, those who are in the habit of reading a great deal of some particular kind of technical literature will admit that very often a familiar and unambiguous abbreviation is more quickly read than the word would be if written in full. The reason is that a mere hint is enough to enable us to identify the word intended by the writer, and the single letter requires less effort to apprehend than the group of letters. Many medieval Latin MSS. are written with nearly every word abbreviated. We rightly judge that it must have required an arduous training to enable a man to read rapidly a text written in this fashion, and when writing to hit always on the proper contraction without an instant's hesitation. Nevertheless, I am convinced that in the Middle Ages a man who had mastered the art of reading abbreviated MSS., and seldom saw any others, would find the contractions no hindrance, but a help to rapidity of reading. However this may be, it is certain that to an accomplished reader it does not, except in rare instances, matter a jot whether his native language is phonetically spelt or not; what is important to him is that the group of letters before him shall be that which habit has led him to associate with a certain word. An unphonetic system of spelling, however, is liable to have one fault which may on occasion give trouble to even the most practised reader. This fault, which may be called phonetic ambiguity, consists in the use of one and the same group of letters to represent two words that differ in pronunciation. A system of spelling might be very far from being phonetically accurate without having this particular defect; but our traditional English orthography has it in a very marked degree.[2] That the past tense of the verb *to read* is spelt the same as the present tense, though pronounced differently; that *bow* may be either (bau) or (bōu); that *lead* may be either the verb (līd) or the name of the metal (led)—these anomalies, and many others like them, put us back into the predicament of the Arab, who has to survey the whole sentence before he can pronounce its component words. The grievance is not, perhaps, very severely felt by us, any more than it is by the Arab, because the trained eye and mind have acquired the power of

[1] Many years ago, I saw in a newspaper an announcement of a person's death, with the startling addition, 'Fiends will kindly accept this intimation.' I cut out the paragraph, mounted it on a card, and showed it to a large number of persons, who all read it over several times without detecting anything wrong in it.

[2] This fault has not been altogether avoided in the system proposed by the London Simplified Spelling Society, which writes 'cwiet' for *quiet* and *quite*, and 'loeth' for *loth* and *loathe*.

taking in a whole series of written words at a glance. Nevertheless, the sternest of orthographical conservatives can hardly deny that—apart from all regard to the difficulties of the learner—this particular feature of English spelling ought if possible to be reformed.

The main reason why a system of writing that represents the sounds of the spoken language is better than the primitive ideographic system is that it is so enormously easier to learn. It has no doubt some other advantages also. But sometimes an ideograph is able to convey its meaning far more quickly and effectively than words can. We still use certain ideographs with manifest advantage. If a number extending to millions is expressed in words, we find it helpful to write it down in figures to get a better notion of it. The letters and signs of algebra are ideographs, and the science could not have come into existence at all if words had had to be used instead of them. Now because the need has been felt for a more direct method of symbolizing thought than that which phonetic writing supplies, it has come to pass that the written languages of Europe, which were once purely phonetic, are now to a certain extent ideographic.

This statement may perhaps seem difficult to understand. The following remarks will, I hope, make it clear. When we read mentally for our own information, we do not usually, as children do, go through the process of imagining the sound of each word, and then translating the sound into meaning. In many cases the habit of much reading has established for us a direct association between the aspect of a written word and its meaning. I have sometimes tried, after rapidly reading a page of print, to discover as well as I could what had been in my consciousness during the process. Such introspection is difficult, and one must not be too sure of the truth of its results. However, what I seem to find is something like this. Many of the words have conveyed to my mind simply the notion of their meaning, unaccompanied by any sound-picture at all; others have been distinctly heard by my mental ear; and of many words phonetic fragments have presented themselves, partly in the form of mentally heard sounds, partly in that of imagined movements of the organs of speech. In general, when a word denotes a visual object or an acute physical sensation, the meaning is the thing that I am conscious of first. If I receive a letter beginning 'My *deer* Sir', I have seen a vision of a horned animal before my mental ear has perceived the sound of the word. The experience of other people in these matters may be different to some extent from mine. But I think most practised readers will agree that for them also many written words have become direct symbols of their meanings. Further, I do not suppose that I am alone in finding in the

visible aspect of many words a sort of physiognomic effect, which in my case is sometimes rather annoyingly inappropriate to their meaning. A curious illustration of this point occurs to me. Some years ago, a circular was addressed, in the interests of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, to a large number of persons, asking whether they thought the word *grey* should be spelt with an *a* or an *e*. Many of the replies, especially those from artists, were to the effect that the writers apprehended *grey* and *gray* as different words, denoting different varieties of colour.

In the preceding paragraph I have tried to show that systems of writing that were originally phonetic tend to become ideographic with regard to their *use* or *function*. I wish now to point out further that the cultivated written languages of Europe have all become partly ideographic also with regard to their *structure*. That is, they include features which are phonetically useless—which convey no information relating to sound—but which are valued because they make the meaning clearer. Such are our use of initial capitals to distinguish proper names and the like; quotation marks; the apostrophe used to show that a sound which is part of our notion of a word is omitted in pronunciation; and the apostrophe (indefensible on any other ground than convenience) which is put before the *s* of the possessive singular and after the *s* of the possessive plural. Most people will admit that these devices have their use; but some reformers, faithful to their principle that writing exists only to represent sound, tell us that if they were abolished we should soon learn to do without them. Which may be quite true, but does not prove that we should not be any the worse off.

But this is not all. In English, French, and other languages, there are many pairs of words of differing meaning, which were once pronounced differently and written phonetically, but have come to be alike in sound. Now because to the ordinary person it is more important that a written word should quickly and surely suggest its meaning than that it should express its sound, the old spelling has been allowed to remain unaltered. The difference of spelling, once phonetically significant, has become a mere ideographic device. Thus written English makes a distinction between the like-sounding words which occur in such sentences as these:

Phaethon was the son of the Sun.

The hair of the hare is commonly called fur.

The poor man had hidden the whole of his savings in a hole in his wall.

The knight spent the night in prayer.

Are the roads in Rhodes good?
We rode to the side of the lake and then rowed across.
Send these boots to the cobbler to be soled, and the others to the auctioneer to be sold.

Sentences of this kind might be multiplied indefinitely. It is true that in these particular contexts the spoken words are not ambiguous; I had to devise examples that could be read aloud without explanation. But it quite often happens that words are used in writing without any fear of misunderstanding, though if the passage were read aloud the hearer would misapprehend or be puzzled. A newspaper says that somebody has invented a new sowing-machine; the reader understands at once, but the hearer does not, that it is an agricultural implement. I once heard quoted the statement that Trafalgar Square is the finest sight (or site) in London. Whether the word meant 'spectacle' or 'situation' I cannot guess. The 'rights (or rites) of the Church' and 'matrimonial rights (or rites)' are expressions that are unambiguous in print, but may bear two different meanings when spoken; and I have known them used in contexts which left the choice of interpretation open. In writing or in print, I may safely refer to 'my two ingenious friends', meaning 'my two friends who are ingenious'; if I do so in a speech or in conversation, I may be taken to mean 'my friends who are too ingenious'. In a work on trigonometry I find a sentence containing the word *sine* and also the word *sign* in its mathematical sense; this causes no difficulty to the reader, but in an oral lecture the sentence would be quite unintelligible. If I read that Mr. So-and-so is a flower-merchant, I am in no danger of supposing (as I should if I merely *heard* the statement) that he deals in the material of my daily bread.[1] A distinguished poet has used the expression 'my knightly task'; the silent *k* makes his meaning clear, but when the poem is recited the hearer may be excused if he misunderstands. The compiler of a concise vocabulary of a foreign language can use, without risk of being misunderstood, such brief renderings as 'son', 'sun', 'knight', 'night', 'oar', 'ore', 'hair', 'hare', 'to dye', 'to die', 'to sow', 'to sew', 'to rain', and 'to reign'. If English were written phonetically, he would have to add explanations.

[1] It may be replied that *flour* is a monosyllable and *flower* a disyllable. Some people are careful to make this useful distinction in pronunciation, but it originated as the interpretation of an arbitrary distinction in spelling. The two words are not distinguished in *Johnson's Dictionary* (1755), where 'the finest part of meal' appears as one of the senses of *flower*. Those 'spelling pronunciations', which some philologists treat with such fierce contempt, really have their use sometimes!

Now there can be no reasonable doubt that the graphic differentiation of homophones does, so far as it goes, render written English a better instrument of expression than spoken English. It is not merely that the written language is not liable to those actual misunderstandings that sometimes occur in conversation, and are oftener avoided by awkward shifts. Even when no misunderstanding is possible, it is an advantage not to be disturbed in our mental reading by obscure suggestions of irrelevant meanings. It is because the expression of meaning is felt to be the real purpose of written language that these distinctions still survive, in spite of the disastrous effect that they have had on the phonetic intelligibility of written words.

The pressure of the ideographic need, as we may call it, explains many things that are often thought extraordinary in the history of English spelling. At one time the past tense of *miss* was often spelt phonetically *mist*. The unphonetic spelling *missed* has been re-established. Why? 'Sheer perversity', says the ardent spelling reformer. But mankind do not make changes out of sheer perversity, but because they somehow feel them to be convenient. In this case *miss* is the accustomed symbol for a certain verbal concept, and *ed* for the notion of past tense. When the two symbols are put together unaltered, the combined meaning is more vividly suggested than it is by the phonetic spelling, which moreover is associated with a different word. Perhaps even such pedantic freaks as the etymological spelling of *debt* and *doubt*, or even the pseudo-etymological spelling of *scissors*, may not originally have been without some utilitarian excuse. In an age when educated Englishmen read and wrote more Latin than English, a spelling that suggested a Latin word of cognate meaning may very well have been helpful to rapid apprehension of the import of the written word. It is a recognized defect of English (as compared with Greek or German) that the words that are related in meaning are so often unrelated in form: that, for instance, our only adjectives corresponding to the nouns *house* and *mind* are *domestic* and *mental*, and our only noun corresponding to the verb *to owe* is *debt*. For the educated Englishman of the sixteenth century, this weakness in his native language was partly compensated for through his familiarity with Latin, and he may have found that certain English words gained in expressive force by a spelling that brought them into visible association with their real or supposed originals in the learned language with which he was so much at home. Although, however, we may admit that the 'pedantic' spellings of the sixteenth century once served a useful purpose, it does not follow that we ought to

perpetuate them now that the conditions which gave them their value no longer exist.[1]

We have now shown that, in consequence of our common practice of reading without thoroughgoing translation into sound, written language has to a great extent become an instrument for the direct expression of meaning, co-ordinate with audible language. The result of this has been that the written language has in part been developed on lines of its own, independent of the development of oral speech. It is true that the two are closely correlated: every spoken word, theoretically at least, has its proper spelling, and every written word its proper pronunciation. But in all cultivated nations the literary vocabulary is, for obvious reasons, vastly more extensive than the vocabulary of conversation; it has a great number of words that are used almost exclusively in writing. In German, the majority of these words are compounds or derivatives of popular words, and therefore every German has some notion of at least their *literal* meaning. In English it is far otherwise, owing to the abundance of words taken from Latin and Greek. For centuries, many of our English writers have been classically educated, and have written chiefly for classically educated readers. Hence they have not scrupled, when they wanted a word to express their meaning, to invent one by anglicizing a Greek or Latin word, or by forming a derivative from it, or, again, by making a new Greek or Latin compound, and then anglicizing that; assuming that the reader would at once recognize the intended meaning from the etymology. (Let me here remark that although I am sometimes called an optimist in my views of the excellence of the English language, I do consider that the results of this practice are deplorable.) Now observe that for us moderns a Greek or Latin word is primarily a succession of letters of the alphabet, not a succession of sounds. True, we do pronounce it, after a fashion; but still we feel that the essential thing is the written form, not the spoken one. Hence, the great mass of English derivatives from Greek and Latin have originated in the following curious way. The group of letters constituting a Latin word, or a new-made Latin compound, has been taken into written English, and provided with an English termination; or the group of letters forming a Greek word or new-made Greek compound is transliterated as the Romans would have done it, and then an English

[1] It is certainly absurd that we should go on writing *victual* when we pronounce 'vit'l'. I suspect, however, that the man who first wrote *victual* did not intend it for an improved spelling of *vittal*, but for a new word, which was to supersede, in pronunciation as well as in writing, what he regarded as a vulgar corruption. If so, he succeeded only in half his enterprise.

written word is made out of the result of this operation. When we are reading aloud, we have to pronounce these words somehow, and there are certain broad rules for doing this; but the rules are somewhat vague and uncertain, so that different people pronounce the word differently. This is not felt to matter very much; the fact being that for these words the normal relation between alphabetic writing and speech is simply reversed: the group of letters is the real word, and the pronunciation merely its symbol.[1] When once in a way we hear such a word spoken, our thought flies to its customary spelling, and perhaps from that to some Greek or Latin written word, and then we perceive its meaning.

The number of these primarily graphic words has been enormously increased of late years, and is increasing every day, because of the growth of a scientific terminology derived from Greek. The scientist does not usually concern himself much about the pronunciation of his own coinages. He does not even take care to avoid phonetic identity with some existing term. We thus get such awkward pairs of words as *psychosis* and *sycosis*, which mean very different things, but are commonly pronounced alike. The adjectives *cirrhous* and *scirrhous* describe two different morbid conditions of the liver. It has actually happened that a man of science, when asked by a lexicographer how a word of his own invention should be pronounced, has replied that it was the lexicographer's business to settle that question. It may be remarked that most of these newly-formed terms have international currency: a foreign scientist, reading an English book on his own subject, needs no dictionary for most of the technical words, because they are spelt nearly in the same way as those of his own language. If we were to adopt phonetic spelling for these words, he would often have first to pronounce them, and then render their pronunciation back into its original, the obsolete spelling, before he could understand them.[2]

[1] It would be correct, as far as this class of words is concerned, to say that the written form is the direct symbol of thought, that the pronunciation is the symbol of this symbol, and that the written representation of the pronunciation is a symbol of a symbol of a symbol!

[2] Although I disbelieve in the value of artificial languages for the purposes of literature, I think it not impossible, and certainly much to be desired, that a time may come when all European works of abstruse science will be written in some as yet unborn successor of Esperanto or Ido. At present our English dictionaries are burdened with an enormous and daily increasing mass of scientific terms that are not English at all except in the form of their terminations and in the pronunciations inferred from their spelling. The adoption of an international language for science would bring about the disappearance of these monstrosities of un-English English, and thus remove one of the great obstacles in the way of spelling reform.

It is a curious fact that the formation of English derivatives from proper names familiar to everybody often takes place through the medium of the spelling. The names Canada and Bacon are known even to illiterate people; but the adjectives relating to Canada and Bacon are not derived from these words as spoken; if they were, they would be pronounced *kæ'nədiən* and *bei'kniən.* They are formed by taking the six letters that spell Canada, and the five that spell Bacon, and then tacking on to them the letters *ian.* We pronounce the resulting written words according to rules ultimately originating in our traditional mispronunciation of Latin. Anybody who can read sees at once how the adjectives are formed, and probably thinks the process quite natural. An illiterate person, or one who knew nothing but phonetic spelling, would be utterly unable to see any connexion between the adjectives and the proper names.

But the dependence of the oral on the written language extends to other derivatives than those of proper names. Our etymological dictionaries tell us, for instance, that *criticize* is 'from *critic* + *-ize*'. This information is quite correct, and there is no reason for calling it insufficient. But in a dictionary written in phonetic spelling for the use of students unacquainted with the traditional orthography, the statement that *kritisaiz* is 'from *kritik* + *-aiz*' would be obviously defective. The student would ask why the final *k* of *kritik* should change into *s* when the suffix *-aiz* was appended. The answer would be too voluminous to be given in the article on the verb; there would have to be a reference to the section of the etymological introduction in which all similar cases would be dealt with. And the explanation would be to the effect that this change of *k* into *s* was not due to any phonetic law of the English language; that such words as *kritisaiz* were formed not in speech but in writing (or with a view to their written form), in the days when the English used an alphabet in which the character *c* stood for the sound *k* when final, but for the sound *s* when followed by the character *i*; and that these words could not have been formed at all (in their existing phonetic shape) if English had always been a spoken language merely, or had always been written phonetically. Again, look at the words *rhetorical* and *rhetorician.* Just because we know how to read, we think the relation between them is obvious and simple. Why, they are quite alike except in the last two or three letters. It is difficult to put ourselves 'in the room of the unlearned', whose ear will not tell him that the two words are connected at all. They have in common the consonant-sequence *r-t-r*, but that similarity is obscured by the difference in vowels and in incidence of stress. The conclusion of this whole

matter is that while in ancient Greek (for instance) the processes of derivation are exactly what they would have been if writing had never existed, in modern English these processes cannot be fully accounted for without reference to the history of the written language. This proposition nobody will deny, but many philologists have failed to appreciate its full importance.

I have dwelt much on the fact that in the silent reading that fills up so much of the time of most people nowadays, it matters little for the most part whether we mentally pronounce the words or not. When, however, we are reading poetry, or any kind of prose that depends for its effect on euphony or phonetic expressiveness, our appreciation will be very imperfect unless we either pronounce the words audibly or imagine their sound. We find, accordingly, that many poets have shown some leaning to phonetic improvements in spelling. They have good reason for this. It is true, as I have shown, that an unphonetic spelling does not lead a practised reader to mispronounce; but the half-conscious suggestion of a wrong pronunciation that it calls up may be enough to disturb the clearness of mental hearing. At the same time, poets of literary culture are apt to be very sensitive to the traditional associations and visual symbolism of written forms, and hence their advocacy of phonetic spelling is seldom uncompromisingly thorough. In the line of *The Princess,*

> Nor burnt the grange, nor buss'd the milking-maid,

Tennyson was careful to substitute an apostrophe for the silent *e* of *bussed.* But it is not easy to imagine that he would have consented to write the word as 'bust', or that he would have been delighted with the Simplified Spelling Society's rendering of a line of *In Memoriam* as 'This truuth caim born bi beer and paul'. It would be well, I think, if custom allowed to poets a greater degree of freedom to spell words according to their own taste. I feel sure that some of the poets of the nineteenth century, if they had not been afraid of shocking the prejudices of their readers, would gladly have availed themselves of orthographical licences as a means of adding to their resources of expression, and that the results would often have been very interesting. In this connexion it may be appropriate to remark that the habit of mental reading for meaning only is likely, unless efforts are made to counteract its effect, greatly to impair our capacity for appreciating the beauty of verse and of elevated prose style.

The object of this paper would be seriously misapprehended if it were supposed to be primarily concerned with the question of the reform

of English spelling. My chief aim has been to discover and set forth, to the best of my ability, the nature of the relations that exist between spoken and written language in general, and between spoken and written English in particular. The subject is to me full of interest as a part of the science of language, and that interest would be but little diminished if the spelling-reform controversy did not exist. At the same time, it is almost impossible to lay down any proposition with regard to the relations between written and spoken English that does not obviously involve some inference as to the merits and defects of the traditional orthography, or the magnitude of the difficulties in the way of any attempt to improve it. The general tendency of what I have said with regard to these points is to show that the existing ('partly ideographic') spelling, *for those who are thoroughly familiar with it*, fulfils the chief end of written language better than a purely phonetic system if equally familiar could fulfil it; and that (owing to certain peculiar conditions of the English language) the temporary practical inconveniences attendant on *any* extensive change, and, consequently, the difficulties of procuring acceptance for even beneficial reforms, are far greater than is often supposed.

The preceding discussion, however, has entirely ignored one consideration that is of the utmost importance. There is no doubt that those unphonetic features of our spelling, which have their practical value for the educated adult, do add enormously to the difficulty of learning to read and write. The waste of time in education caused by the want of consistent relation between the written and the spoken word is a serious evil, which urgently calls for a remedy. After all, it is the interest of the learner, not that of the person who has mastered all the difficulties, that has the first claim to consideration.

Now there are many who think that nothing will greatly lessen the difficulties of the learner short of the adoption of a purely phonetic system—not necessarily a system in which each letter would stand for one and only one elementary sound, but at any rate one in which by the help of a few simple rules the spelling of any word could be inferred with approximate correctness from its pronunciation, and *vice versa*. These persons maintain that the gain resulting from such a reform would greatly exceed the loss (which some of them admit to be considerable); and that the difficulty of procuring acceptance for it, although enormous, is not insuperable. If only I were convinced that these views are correct, I should feel bound to range myself on the side of the advocates of radical reform. But I have already indicated that I regard radical reform as impracticable; and I believe, further, that the difficulties of the learner can be greatly relieved by more

moderate measures, which, though they will have to encounter formidable obstacles, might be carried into effect by wisely-directed effort. To argue this last point would carry me too far away from the purpose I have had in view. But it falls strictly within the limits of my subject to inquire what would be the effect on the English language if phonetic spelling were to be adopted. If it be said that on my own principles such a discussion is void of practical interest, I may reply, first, that from the purely scientific point of view it may have its value, as affording further illustration of the relations between speech and writing; and, secondly, that as I do not claim to be infallible, I cannot undertake to say that some unforeseen conjuncture of circumstances may not some day bring about a change which at present seems outside the range of possibility.

I am aware that in speaking of the effect that a phonetic reform would be likely to have on the English language, I am running counter to the common assertion of spelling reformers, that changes in spelling affect only the mode of representation of the language, and have nothing to do with the language itself. This assertion seems to me to rest on an altogether superficial view of the facts. If it be true, as I have shown, that the English language (chiefly, indeed, but not quite exclusively, literary English) is to a considerable extent the creature of its written form, it follows that an extensive change in the written form cannot leave the substance of the language unaltered. The substitution of phonetic spelling for the received system would, I am persuaded, very seriously modify the character of the English vocabulary. It may, perhaps, excite surprise when I add that the ultimate effect of the change, so far as it is capable of being foreseen, would in certain respects be for good. I do not pretend that I should look forward with entire complacency to a change which must hasten the coming of the time when the literature of to-day and of earlier days will be intelligible, untranslated, only to philologists; but I think it likely that if phonetic spelling be adopted, the English language, when it emerges from the period of confusion which the alteration must bring in, will have been freed from some of its most prominent defects.

We have seen that one notable weakness of spoken English is the multitude of words that are pronounced alike but differ in meaning. The partial freedom of the written language from this fault is in itself a good thing; but it tends to perpetuate the evil by rendering it more tolerable. With educated people, the utterance of a word is usually accompanied by some obscure reminiscence of its spelling; their notion of the word is a blend of its audible and its visible form. Hence, when two words of the same sound happen to be distinguished in

spelling, we are often imperfectly conscious of their identity to the ear. From this cause, writers and speakers often fall unawares into, or do not feel it worth while to avoid, equivoques that would have a strange effect if the language were purely oral or phonetically written. For the same reason, the reader seldom observes these ambiguities at all, and even the hearer is ordinarily very tolerant of them; but sometimes they are too ludicrous to escape notice. There are many current stories, authentic and otherwise, that might be quoted in illustration of this point. Probably it is only a fiction that a book of travel was once offered to a publisher, bearing the title, 'Hallowed Spots of Greece'. But it is a well-attested fact that a distinguished orator did, to his own great annoyance, excite the laughter of an Oxford audience by saying, 'We must consider Oxford as a whole; and *what* a whole it is!' Now oral language, when the influence of writing does not interfere, shows a tendency to free itself from such homophones as often cause inconvenience. When *queen* and *quean* came to be pronounced alike, it was inevitable that the latter should become obsolete as a spoken word. It is still now and then used as a literary archaism; but when phonetic spelling is established it will wholly disappear from the language, and if the books that contain it are reprinted in the new orthography it will require a footnote. Very often, where two words of like sound are freely used in literature, it will be found that only one of them survives in speech. And even when both words are colloquially familiar in educated use, the illiterate classes have replaced one of them by some synonym. It is a curious fact that such an apparently indispensable word as *son* has ceased to be vernacular in the dialects of many parts of England, although *daughter* is in everyday use. The speaker of pure dialect understands it as a word belonging to the language of the educated, but to employ it in ordinary talk would be deemed an affectation. In some dialects *son* is, as I learn from Professor Wright's *Dialect Grammar*, § 101, distinguished from *sun* by an abnormal pronunciation based on the spelling. I would not venture to assert that the identity of sound with *sun* is the only cause that has led to the widespread disuse of *son* in dialect speech, but I think it has certainly contributed to the result.

These considerations seem to show that, if phonetic spelling ever comes to be adopted, it will in time have the effect of freeing spoken English from many of its ambiguities. And even from the beginning, it will compel English writers to be more careful than they have been to avoid the use of expressions that would be obscure, or suggestive of ludicrously irrelevant ideas, if read aloud. The punster, it may be remarked in passing, will find his opportunities greatly restricted.

The late William James somewhere speaks of certain tendencies having been 'not only dammed up, but damned up'; and a Roman Catholic newspaper lately headed an article with the words, 'Know Popery'. Under the reign of phonetic spelling such freaks as these would become impossible.

Inasmuch as the chief cause of the production of homophones is phonetic change, and this process is constantly going on, we may expect that many words that are now different in sound will some day be pronounced alike. The influence of the written language, even at present, is some check on the rapidity of change of pronunciation. What are called 'spelling-pronunciations' (the bugbear of pedantic phoneticians) have often come into general use, with the result of restoring valuable distinctions which the language had lost. The beneficial conservative influence of orthography would be greatly increased by a change that would make it possible to appeal to the spelling of a word as the standard of its correct pronunciation.

There is yet another respect in which the reform of English spelling on phonetic principles would have a powerful, and in the end beneficial, effect on the language. One of the gravest faults of English is what Jespersen has aptly called the 'undemocratic' character of a large part of its literary vocabulary. A vast number of the words that are freely used in literature are alien to the speech of the multitude, and fully intelligible only to those who are familiar with the import of the Latin or Greek words from which they are formed. As I have already shown, these 'undemocratic' terms belong primarily to the written language: it is on the resemblance of their customary written form to the written form of Latin or Greek words that their mental effect depends. If their spelling were materially changed, the motive for using them would be gone, and multitudes of them would become obsolete. Undoubtedly much temporary inconvenience would result; where writer and reader are both classically educated, words of this sort are often, by virtue of the literary reminiscences they suggest, far more effective than any substitutes could be. Yet the use of such words, and still more the practice of inventing them freely for occasional needs, is a symptom of disease. A language is not in a healthy condition when a large part of its literary vocabulary can be perfectly understood only by the aid of foreign tongues. The universal adoption of phonetic spelling would do something to free our language from its unnatural bondage to the alien, to compel the development of its native resources, and to revive its decayed powers of composition and derivation.

It has not been commonly urged among the arguments for phonetic spelling that it will bring in its train a reform of the English language.

And, indeed, the argument would be a dangerous one. For the direct operation of the change would consist solely in demolition, which would create needs that would have to be supplied by reconstruction. Perhaps our remote posterity might find cause to crown with flowers the statues of the spelling reformers of to-day; but the lot of the generations between would not in all things be enviable.

It may be that there are tendencies at work that will bring about the supersession of the present literary vocabulary by one that will rest on the sound foundation of the oral vernacular. If so, the time may come when the spelling of English can, with no loss but with abundant gain, be brought into perfect accord with its pronunciation.

In conclusion, I will briefly summarize the chief propositions maintained in this paper.

1. Speech and writing are two organs for the expression of meaning, originally co-ordinate and mutually independent.

2. This dual system involved an intolerable burden on the memory. It was needful that the two organs should be put into mutual relation, so that the spoken and the written symbol of every idea could be inferred each from the other. This ideal could be realized only through phonetic spelling: by making writing the bondslave of speech.

3. But writing, in its primitive freedom, was in some ways a better organ than speech. The eye perceives symbols simultaneously; the ear perceives sounds only in succession. Mental reading was thus a quicker process than hearing. Besides, the ideograph sometimes conveyed its meaning more vividly than the spoken word.

4. Writing, when enslaved to speech, lost these advantages. But even when a language continues to be phonetically written, the practised reader contrives, during the process of silent reading, to loosen the fetters in which the slave is bound. He acquires the habit of forgetting for the moment the phonetic value of the letters, and using the written word as an unanalysed symbol of the spoken word, and sometimes as a pure ideograph. For him, writing tends to revert to its primitive function of directly expressing meaning.[1]

5. Hence, when a language undergoes change of pronunciation, the old spelling, now become phonetically incorrect, is often retained. In the mind of the man accustomed to reading, the written form becomes part of the essence of a word. For him the best spelling of a word is the usual one, because it enables him most quickly to identify the word, and has acquired direct association with its meaning. It does not matter to him that the individual letters do not

[1] One might almost say that writing retains a regretful memory of its earlier days: it hankers after 'the fleshpots of Egypt'.

correspond to the individual sounds of which the words are composed. And when change of pronunciation has made a spoken word ambiguous, the retention of the old unequivocal written form is a great practical convenience. It makes the written language, so far, a better instrument of expression than the spoken language.

6. The great purpose of written language is to convey meaning. Under modern conditions, it does this by two different processes, inextricably combined; by suggesting words of the spoken tongue, and by recalling the associations which habit has attached to the written form of words. As to the former point, it is the spoken word *as a whole* that is significant; and this is suggested more quickly by a familiar written form than by an unfamiliar one, even though phonetically more accurate. If we bear these things in mind, we shall cease to regard the history of English spelling as a story of nothing but blundering and stupid and indolent conservatism.

7. Among peoples in which many persons write and read much more than they speak and hear, the written language tends to develop more or less independently of the spoken language. In English, owing to historical causes, this process has gone farther than in other languages, so that we have the unique phenomenon of a literary vocabulary of which a large part has no connexion with the oral vernacular, but has been developed in writing by the process of transcribing the written forms of words of foreign languages. Many of the words so formed have come into popular oral use, but a vast number of them are hardly ever pronounced except in reading aloud.

8. Owing partly to this strange inversion of the normal relation between speech and alphabetic writing, and partly to the abundance of homophones in the language, English is far more unsuited than other European tongues to be written phonetically.

NOTE ON SPELLING REFORM.

For many persons, the sole interest of the questions discussed in the foregoing paper lies in their possible bearing on the problem of the reform of English spelling. I must therefore expect to meet with adverse criticism on the ground that my own attitude with regard to this problem has not been indicated with sufficient distinctness. It will, indeed, be evident to every reader that I am opposed to any radical change based on purely phonetic principles; and, on the other hand, I have expressed my conviction that our existing system urgently needs improvement. But it may be complained that I have not given any notion of the extent

of the changes that I desire to see introduced, nor pointed out any plan for meeting the enormous difficulties which (as my whole argument has shown) stand in the way of procuring acceptance for any extensive scheme of reform.

Now I must confess that my views as to what may ultimately be possible and desirable in the way of reform are exceedingly vague, and I see no use in attempting to render them more definite. The right policy for reformers is at first to confine the attack to those points of the present system for which there is no defence but custom. They will find it quite hard enough to secure acceptance for unquestionable improvements, without adding to their difficulties by prematurely insisting on reforms that promise merely a balance of gain over loss A permanently satisfactory system of orthography must be a compromise between conflicting needs, and must be a growth rather than an invention. When a real victory is gained in the first stage, lessons will have been learned that will make it easier to see in what direction our subsequent efforts are most likely to be successful.

Much depends on beginning at the right place. If we were to say that the first reforms to be attempted are those which, if accomplished, would give the greatest measure of relief, the consequence would be that we must begin with proper names. The unphonetic spelling of surnames and place-names causes constant trouble and annoyance to all of us, even to those whom the other anomalies of English spelling do not inconvenience at all. But it is just here that reform is most evidently impossible, so evidently, that the London Simplified Spelling Society (whose scheme, though far from being accurately phonetic, aims at subjecting the orthography of every English word to exceptionless rules) has decided to leave the customary spelling of all proper names unaltered. The reason is unmistakable A proper name obviously consists of a particular set of sounds and a particular written form. If the spelling is altered, the identity of the name is (usually) destroyed. To speak only of surnames, Spenser and Spencer, Gray and Grey, Phipps and Fipps, Cholmondeley and Chumley, Wild, Wilde, Wyld, and Wylde, are distinct names, denoting different sets of persons. Although it is in proper names that the practical inconvenience of unphonetic spelling is at its worst, the reformer cannot meddle with them without doing more mischief than good.

For very similar reasons, those literary and scientific words which have no oral currency—which are hardly ever pronounced, though widely known in their written form—ought, in the main, to retain their present spelling unaltered.[1] A few general improvements, such as the dropping

[1] It is, for the most part, not in these words that the greatest difficulties of our spelling consist. The uneducated, no doubt, often blunder over them; but to persons unaccustomed to mental effort, unfamiliar polysyllables would continue to give trouble even if they were spelt phonetically.

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of the misleading silent *e* in the suffix *-ive*, may be adopted with advantage. But for many of our literary and scientific words it is a reform of pronunciation, and not of spelling, that is really needed. Sir James Murray has ventured to recommend that an effort should be made to restore the pronunciation of the *p* in the initial combination *ps*. I believe the counsel to be good, and there are probably other points in which the same principle might be usefully applied.

Spelling reform, therefore, must in the main be confined to the words that are primarily oral; and even with regard to these, the existing distinctions between homophones must be preserved. Subject to this restriction, it is desirable that the spelling of all primarily oral words should represent the pronunciation as correctly as the general structure of the traditional orthography will permit. It must be remembered, however, that the pronunciation of educated speakers is not uniform. A mode of spelling which is correctly phonetic for the Londoner, who makes no difference in sound between *lord* and *laud*, *court* and *caught*, *morning* and *mourning*, will be unphonetic for perhaps nine-tenths of the English-speaking world. A reformed spelling for general use, so far as it attempts to be phonetic, must provide for all traditional distinctions of sound that are still preserved by educated speakers of the language anywhere. Those whose speech confuses sounds that other educated speakers keep apart must submit to the inconvenience of using an orthography which renders one sound by different symbols, which they are not allowed to treat as interchangeable.

The reform that is most imperatively needed is one which will ensure that no two English words that are differently pronounced shall be spelt alike. There can be no sufficient excuse for the retention of the many spellings which are *more* ambiguous than the spoken forms of the words. The task of rectifying these anomalies, and of making the many readjustments which their correction will render necessary, will require great ingenuity and thought. The solution of this problem, in a manner likely to be generally satisfactory, should be the first object to occupy attention.

It is not easy to devise any effective means of inducing the public to accept even the limited scheme of reform which I have outlined. The disturbing effect of unfamiliar spelling on the reader is greater than is often supposed. I myself, though the nature of my work has made me more at home than most people with the orthography of former periods of English, find that when I read a philological work in which reformed spelling is used I am somewhat less quick in apprehending the force of an argument or the import of a statement than if the book were written in the accustomed way. The ordinary reader will certainly be disposed to turn away from a book which is full of words that seem to him to be grotesquely spelt. (He may sometimes find the oddities amusing, but they will divert his attention from the substance of the writing, and will soon cease

to attract.) An author, whether he is one who has something that he wishes to tell the world, or one who lives by his writings, will not willingly limit the circle of his readers by indulging in orthographical eccentricities. It is noteworthy that even Professor Skeat, one of the most impassioned advocates of reformed spelling, seems never, in his published writings, to have ventured to spell any single word otherwise than in the conventional fashion, nor, if I may judge from his many letters to me, did he do so in his correspondence. It would be interesting to know how many of the members of the Simplified Spelling Society make much practical use of the 'simplified spelling' Perhaps, if the advocates of reform would abandon their far-reaching and impracticable schemes, and come to agreement on a few proposals worthy of immediate adoption, they might be able to induce one or two influential newspapers to use the amended orthography. If this could be done, the new forms would soon become familiar to a large number of readers, and the ultimate victory of a valuable first instalment of reform would be assured.

Many persons, whose opinion is entitled to respect, have maintained that as soon as a system of reformed spelling has been framed which commends itself to the judgement of philologists, it should forthwith be taught in schools, without waiting for it to obtain general acceptance or even toleration. Under present conditions, the result of this procedure would be to send out from our schools a multitude of young people who, in the opinion of their elders, would be unable to spell correctly. I cannot but think that the adoption of such a course would be a serious mistake. The introduction of an accurate phonetic notation into school use is a very different matter, and I am inclined to believe that it is in this direction that we must look for the solution of our present difficulties. It will be objected that I am proposing to add a new burden to the already too heavy load which children and teachers have to bear. But some very able teachers have given it as the result of their experience that children who are taught to read by means of a phonetic alphabet actually learn the current spelling more quickly than those who are taught in the old way; and, provided that the teacher has adequate phonetic knowledge, I see no reason why this may not be true. In the teaching of pronunciation —a branch of education hitherto too much neglected—it would obviously be a great advantage to be able to exhibit graphically the difference between what the learner ought to say and what he actually does say. But in order that it may remain efficient, the phonetic alphabet ought to be rigorously confined to its proper function of representing sounds. A serious mistake of method has been committed by many phoneticians, through failure to distinguish between two things that greatly differ— a reformed spelling for general use, and a phonetic notation intended to teach correct pronunciation and the analysis of speech sounds. Those whose aim it is to bring into use a reformed spelling (even one that is

intended to be phonetically accurate) are acting wisely when they employ it in the printing of connected texts that will be intrinsically interesting to the reader, and when they encourage their pupils to use the reformed spelling in their own compositions. The object is to render the pupil so familiar with the new orthography that he may be able to use it freely for the ultimate purposes of reading and writing—the apprehension and expression of *meaning*. When this familiarity is attained, the reader will have come to identify the words before him by their general effect, without troubling much whether he pronounces the successive letters correctly or not; and the writer will use the prescribed spelling, even though it does not agree with his own pronunciation. If he is in the habit of misplacing his aspirates in speech, he must nevertheless put the *h* in its proper place when he writes. There will be no harm in this: an orthography intended for general purposes *must* be more or less conventional. But a phonetic notation of which the representation of sound is the *ultimate* object must be treated quite differently. If it is allowed to be used for 'the apprehension and expression of meaning' its value will be greatly impaired. The learner should never be suffered to write a word in the phonetic script unless he has first pronounced it correctly. If thus restricted to its proper use, a phonetic alphabet will be a valuable aid in the teaching of spoken as distinguished from literary English. Of such teaching there has in general been very little in our schools, and this neglect has done much to strengthen the tendency, already powerful, to regard the spoken tongue as a sort of annex to the written language. It is only by sound phonetic instruction that this fallacy can be corrected. A generation of people who had learned at school to analyse correctly the sounds of speech, and to observe how far, and from what causes, the existing spelling comes short of representing the pronunciation, would certainly consider the question of reform with less of irrational prejudice and greater insight into the conditions of the problem than is at present commonly to be found.

PALISSY, BACON, AND THE REVIVAL OF NATURAL SCIENCE

BY SIR THOMAS CLIFFORD ALLBUTT, K.C.B., F.R.S.

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CHRISTENDOM rose as slowly out of the Middle Ages as out of the Dark Ages. If in the Dark Ages our fathers had to strive against chaos, ruin, and savage violence, the Middle Ages had to emerge from that stage of iron discipline whereby the nations were consolidated, formed into fighting units, and enabled to work out their several survivals in the new Europe. These disciplines and functions were therefore provisional and temporary; unfortunately the machineries of society, as of manufacture, are apt to outlast the conditions of their establishment, and to petrify into a framework so rigid as to stop further growth. Thus it was with the machinery of the Middle Ages—the means of survival in the day of its development; in later stages it became a material thraldom and a spiritual despotism. From the Middle Ages however, as from other periods of history, we derive this tribute to ideas; that ideas are stronger than armours of steel, that, in the long run, they are more powerful to govern, and indeed to enthrall, mankind than material systems; and as it was by the irresistible compulsion of ideas that the men of those Ages were first organized into the rudiments and shapes of nations, so by them in after times were men enslaved, in times when the ideas which had done their work should have been scrapped, but which in their stony decrepitude were almost impregnable to the boldest assailants. If we may admire the power of ideas when they lead us and inspire us, so must we learn also their sinister effects when having served their purpose they oppress us with the dead hand. If we admire them in the air as pillars of fire, so we may fear them though gathered under the earth. If they ride the storm, they drive the volcano. Happily however ideas, these strongest forces of civilisation, are not all on one side; so that by the alliance of some of them we may abate the supremacy of the rest. Still even thus, bloody as the conflict was, the rise of Christendom out of the Middle

Ages was as slow as it was fitful. Jurisprudence, humanism, universities, printing, science—all these conditions made for free thought; but the *Sturmgeister* and their books were burned, and trimmers preferred obscurity to martyrdom. If on the one side Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas displaced the Bible, Melancthon on the other preferred Sacrobusto's *De Sphaera Mundi* to the *De Revolutionibus Orbium celestium.* Copernicus himself nursed his ideas in secret till his death-bed; even then Tycho dare not preach them, and Bruno, who did dare it, was sent to the stake. Meanwhile with imprisoned ideas the ground was shaking; and in Italy where, under Pope and Emperor, some sense of unity had grown up and the need of the iron scaffolding of despotic ideas was felt less than in new and inchoate states of society, attacks on the old by the insurgent ideas were becoming a less perilous warfare—at any rate until the rising of the malignant star of Spain. In Italy for a time nature studies sprang up in some freedom; and in its universities free thought and natural knowledge made no little progress. Medicine, especially on its surgical side, was vindicating the method of progress from facts to facts, as against progressions from words to words. Yet, in all our sympathy with such men as Telesio, Campanella, or Bruno, we cannot but admit that they were rather philosophizers on nature than naturalists; and even in the domain of philosophy were less weighty and powerful than Francis Bacon. Campanella must be regarded rather as the father of modern idealism than as an intellectual comrade of Galileo; his criticism was of phenomena by ideas, not of ideas by facts. But it was not by the methods of Descartes and Kant that the natural sciences were to flourish—not precisely even by the method of Bacon—valuable as these methods were in their own sphere; natural knowledge was to be discovered by humbler devotions, even by digging into the earth, as dug the potter of whom I am to speak to-day.

Like Gilbert and Galileo, Palissy was led to investigate certain problems of Physics, problems which on account of their comparative generality and simplicity had to be solved before the subtler secrets of chemistry and biology could be tackled. Yet, although as an artist his dramatic life is so familiar to us all as in this place to need no more than the briefest sketch, as a scientific pioneer Palissy is almost unknown. He was born in 1519, in Périgord, as was Montaigne in 1533. The Dordogne had then gone back from English to French; and soon after, under Henry IV, became part of the French kingdom. His native district was an important centre of the art of glass painting, and to this craft Palissy was apprenticed.

After the fashion of his time he wandered widely as an apprentice. We know that he tramped industriously over the Pyrenees and the Netherlands, closely observing the natural features of these countries, and the various works of nature, especially earths and minerals. Glass painting however was then in decadence, and while Palissy was striving to make a poor living in a failing art a cup of glazed faience was put into his hands. With the intuition of genius he saw the way to a new craft, could he but penetrate the secret of the pastes and glazes of which the della Robbias, and the craftsmen of Urbino, Faenza, and other *ateliers* tenaciously held the secret. In Palissy's time no pottery was known, at any rate in provincial France, other than the coarse unglazed ware, such as the pipkins, bread-pots and the like, which still existed in the households of the youth of some of us. Now whence came this wonder-working cup? It is said from the East—from China for instance; but we need not make so large a supposition, the source of it was probably much nearer home. The feudal noble of the district of Saintonge was the accomplished Sire de Pons, who married the no less accomplished Anne de Parthenay from the court of Ferrara; and in the very year, 1539, that Palissy saw the 'coupe de terre tournée et esmaillée' the Lord of Pons had returned, with many presents, from Ferrara. It is known that Palissy had already attracted the notice of de Pons, and to him it was that Palissy afterwards dedicated his *Discours admirables*. However, hereupon began Palissy's serious researches in two main directions: into the qualities and mixtures of earths, and into the chemistry of glazes. Of this stormy and dramatic period of his life, of the strife of the prescient and tenacious genius against the chiding of his own household and the ridicule of his neighbours, in the depths of poverty selling the furniture of his cottage, and the very coat from his back, to procure the materials of his research, how thus laboriously he discovered lead and tin glazes, the amalgamation and chemistry of earths, and the arts of baking and of modelling which resulted in art products now worth perhaps their weight in gold, is a story familiar to us all. Happily that was given to Palissy which jealous fortune too often denies to the discoverer—the remuneration of toil, and the recognition of his contemporaries. For the once-despised grubber in clay and potsherds became the servant of princes; and, fervent Huguenot and stubborn naturalist as he was, it was well for him that the Constable Montmorency, and by his mediation the King and Court, took him into their protection; or the little finger of the Church would have proved stronger than the loins of poverty and distress.

By the patronage of his powerful friends Palissy found his way to Paris, which in the sixteenth century was becoming the most hide-bound of European centres of learning; and it is on his work in Paris that I desire to dwell—that is to say, on his scientific work; in his art-work he is known, and even familiar, to us all.

Palissy, ignoramus as after the standards of Paris he was, yet wrote many books; books which we may peruse with deep interest. Now these books, discursive as they are, turn but little on the arts of pottery; nay, the artist may—after the fashion of the times—have deliberately chosen to keep his trade secrets to himself. The books deal chiefly with natural objects in great variety, and reveal his extraordinary personal insight and experience. I have said that his books are discursive; they are indeed unsystematic, and thus are in striking contrast to the *Summae* of the age. Still, they are not without a natural unity of their own, an organic as contrasted with a logical unity, the unity of a simple and unsophisticated genius engaged in direct and intimate converse with nature, unwarped by the categories of the schools. The title of his first large book is 'Recepte véritable, par laquelle tous les hommes de France pourront apprendre à multiplier et à augmenter leurs thresors; composé par maistre Bernard Palissy, ouvrier de terre, et inventeur des rustiques figulines du Roy, et de Monseigneur le duc de Montmorency, pair et connestable de France, demeurant en la ville de Saintes. La Rochelle, de l'imprimerie de Barthélemy Berton, 1563.' The first division of the book is on Agriculture, the practice of which, he says —and he was, I suppose, the first modern to say it—can be understood only by scientific study. He proceeds therefore to investigate the nature and value, I may allow myself even to say, the chemistry, of manures, and especially of marl, as dressing for the land; and gives advice on their proper applications. Forestry then attracts his notice; he sees and regrets the evils of deforestation, pleads for an economic management of woodlands, and girds at the devotion of such sources of wealth only to hunting, and like amusements. Next he brings forth the results of his wanderings over the lands of Europe; he discusses the causes of their outward forms and surfaces, demonstrates the various kinds of earth, the formation of rocks by consolidation from liquid suspension or solution, and the formation of crystals and gems by precipitations and segregations in past ages. He gives a much better definition of a salt than had hitherto been attempted, even by the alchemists. He points out that in a salt two substances combine to form, not a mechanical mixture but a new body; a unity so close that each constituent gives conditions to the

other. He contrasts this regeneration with the phenomena of attraction, phenomena of which again he was no inconsiderable interpreter. Chemical affinity he distinguishes from attraction, as a hidden power of combining to form new substances; attraction, on the other hand, is often between like bodies without the development of new quality; and herewith he proceeds to foreshadow a theory of universal attraction and repulsion. He studies also the results of incineration of plants; and the action of alum as a mordant. With the penetrative insight of genius, he detested the hollowness and unprogressiveness of alchemy; indeed he tells us that he had worked in the *ateliers* of the alchemists, and that for the most part they were humbugs, and the rest of them altogether foolish. In the veins of the earth he found no evidence that, even by the chemistry of the earth herself, metals were susceptible of transmutation. He declares the search after such chimaeras to be a disgraceful example of covetousness, and of covetousness which would defeat itself; for things are as men use them, a saw which he illustrates by an imaginary controversy between the tools of geometry and of other crafts, the compass domineering over the ruler, and so on; whereas none of these is of the slightest use without the hand of the craftsman. Then he persuades us how far is a flower-bud, with all its wondrous life, above gold and silver; and so he passes on to the wonders of the world of plants, and to speculate on the marvellous instincts of animals.

Palissy's books are full of satirical and shrewd humour, as naturally in his moods he drifts from thought to thought in what has been called a '*Mosaik-Arbeit*'; and not the least of his revelations is that of his own fascinating personality.

Before the Bartholomew Jean Goujon was dead, and Palissy, who had thereupon become necessary to royal splendour, was carried off to Sedan; after the massacre, in which Ramus was deliberately slaughtered, Palissy was brought quietly back to Paris; and in 1580 he published his really astonishing *Discours admirables*. The full title is as follows: 'Discours admirables de la nature des eaux et fontaines tant naturelles qu'artificielles, des métaux, des sels et salines, des pierres, des terres, du feu et des émaux. Avec plusieurs autres excellents secrets des choses naturelles; plus Un Traité de la Marne, fort utile et nécessaire pour ceux qui se mellent de l'agriculture, le tout dressé par dialogues Esquels sont introduits la Theorique et la Practique, par Mons. Bernard Palissy Inventeur des rustiques figulines du Roy et de la Royne sa mere. Paris chez Martin le jeune, à l'enseigne du Serpent, devant le Collège de Cambray, 1580.'

Although, in spite of powerful protection, his life was in peril, yet

he continued to lecture in public; and it is upon this part of Palissy's activity that I desire to dwell; for it is during the years 1575–84 that he exercised his great influence upon society in Paris. At that season his eminence and notoriety must have been as great as the neglect, in part deliberate, in part oblivious, to which reactionary influences on the one hand and indifference on the other have since condemned his works and his reputation. For I find it is unknown to men of science and to historians that in this third part of the sixteenth century a great scientific naturalist was lecturing in Paris on *agriculture, chemistry, mineralogy, and geology*; and this not in an abstract or dryasdust style, but vividly, with demonstrations of the natural objects themselves which in his lectures he had before him. For Palissy had formed a considerable museum, by means of which his lectures were illustrated, and whereby he endeavoured to draw forth the observing faculties of his hearers. Every object was labelled with the fullest description he could give of it—both as regards its provenance and its nature. In true humility, but perhaps with some irony, he said that he lectured in public in order that one whose education had been so defective as his own might be enriched with more facts and corrected by criticisms. In 1575-76, and again in 1584—not to mention the work of intervening years—Palissy got up a sort of scientific congress in Paris. Into the faces of the learned of his time he thrust his facts; he urged the might of the verified fact, the tests of practical experience, the demonstrations of the senses; and these in a keen and original way. All the world went to wonder at the knowledge of a man without Latin and Greek!

How great and imposing were the audiences at these strange lectures fortunately we know directly from Palissy himself. He gives a long list of the learned and dignified persons who attended them. Physicians, who then were nearer to nature than other learned men, came in groups, and we have their names. One of them was no less a person than Ambroise Paré, First Surgeon to the King. Two of them, as we might expect, were physicians to the generous Margaret of Navarre. Besides the physicians were many Canons, Jurists, Humanists, Dukes, and others too many to quote. The Museum was always open, and the curator, who now had charge of the royal gardens as Maître Bernard des Tuileries, seems to have been always ready to demonstrate his collections. For, says Palissy, proudly, all these persons came to me, and I have challenged them to put me to the test, but I have found none to gainsay me. In the dedication of the *Discours admirables* to the Sire Anthoine de Ponts, Palissy says: 'J'ai dressé un cabinet auquel j'ai mis

plusieurs choses admirables et monstrueuses, que j'ai tirées de la matrice de la terre, lesquelles rendent tesmoignages certains de ce que je dis, et ne se trouvera homme qui ne soit contraint confesser iceux veritables, apres qu'il aura vu les choses que j'ai preparées en mon cabinet, pour rendre certains tous ceux qui ne voudraient autrement adjuster foi a mes escrits . . . je prouve en plusieurs endroits la theorique de plusieurs philosophes fausse, meme des plus renommez et plus anciens, comme chacun pourra voir et entendre en moins de deux heures, moyennant qu'il veuille prendre la peine de venir voir mon cabinet, auquel l'on verra des choses merveileuses qui sont mises pour tesmoignage et prouve de mes escrits, attachez par ordre ou par estages avec certains escriteaux audessouz, afin qu'un chacun se puisse instruire soi-meme: te pouvant assurer (lecteur) qu'en bien peu d'heures, voire dans la premiere journée, tu apprendras plus de philosophie naturelle sur les faits des choses contenues en ce liure, que tu ne saurais apprendre en cinquante ans, en lisant les theoriques et opinions des philosophes anciens.'

I cannot undertake to delay you by any attempt to distinguish what may be erroneous from the true teachings of Palissy; for my principal aim is to impress upon you rather his method than his results. The point is not merely that Palissy declaimed against the schoolmen, but that he built upon another foundation. Nor will I attempt even to make a catalogue of all the subjects on which this industrious and enlightened man discoursed. I will however select a few of these subjects, those which best lend themselves to an illustration of his methods; of such are his researches on water-springs—in which, by the way, I find nothing about the *baguette*—and his interpretation of the origin of rocks and fossils. In the chapters on Springs and Fountains he illustrates the origin of springs by an artificial hydrostatical machine, or schema, and points out that these waters must come from a height; and if it be not from a neighbouring hill then from some more distant elevation. By observation and experiment he combated the prevailing notion that springs originated in the percolation of sea-water into the earth, disproving it by the positive method of comparing the substances in solution. He declared, on the contrary, that underground waters accumulate by the permeation of rain through the strata of the earth; that so long as the strata which receive it are permeable the rain sinks, and sinks until it meets with an impermeable stratum; then it is arrested, and will be deflected towards a place where the strata crop out. None since Vitruvius had perceived this truth, and Gassendi probably got it from Palissy; who had shown further how

by passing through certain strata water takes up saline and other soluble substances, some of which may have medicinal qualities. The heat of certain springs he attributed to the central heat of the earth. While speaking of rain, Palissy explained that the rainbow is visible when the sun's rays striking upon water-drops are reflected to the observer. Concerning rocks he teaches that many at least of these are formed by deposit of finer or coarser particles from suspension in water, and during long periods of time become gradually consolidated. Da Vinci had made the same observation. Palissy collected fossils widely, and denounced the absurdity of attributing their origin to Noah's flood or to a freak of Nature; because he had convinced himself, and was prepared to demonstrate to others, that these could have arisen only from the building up of plants and animals; and that if mollusks are found on hills, why those hills were once plains and covered with water; and if the fossils are remains of marine mollusks, then the area which now contains them was once a sea, an open sea or some inlet of the sea. He then pointed out the contortion of strata, and tried to explain the contours of the earth's surface by the mutations of rock structure. That with the materials at his service it was then impossible to master so vast a subject, and that his opinions were often crude and even erroneous, is little or no detraction from the merit of his method and extraordinary insight. He taught that there were two kinds of water, that which is free from a stony quality and that which congeals; he names them exhalative and congelative waters respectively, and out of this comparison he is led to a conception of a fifth element, in terms which remind us of the theory of phlogiston. For all early chemists a will-o'-the-wisp inhabited the atmosphere, which in the eighteenth century was caught, examined, and named oxygen. To illustrate the action of 'congelative water' he collected a great number of stalactites; and for similar demonstrations he collected petrifactions.

Concerning earthquakes, he says that he had learned more of their nature from a kettle than all the professors could find in the books of the ancients; namely, that they consist in an imprisonment of water which is heated to ebullition in the bowels of the earth. This was the opinion of two no less wonderful men, his predecessors, of whom Palissy had probably never heard; namely, Da Vinci and, before him, Anthemius of Tralles, the architect of S. Sophia, who is said to have tried to prove his hypothesis by imprisoning steam under his neighbour's house. Palissy taught that every art, if widely and profoundly studied, has a fullness of science enclosed in it; a truth

I have ventured to emphasize on more than one occasion against intemperate rebukes of 'specialism'. 'I am', he says, 'neither Greek nor Jew, neither poet nor rhetorician; only a simple, humble-minded, ill-educated handicraftsman; but I read in the book of the heavens and the earth more than all the books of the philosophers could tell me.' Honesty obliges me not to conceal that at the physicians of his day he deals some shrewd blows; especially condemning their polypharmacy, which he says must be wrong; for none can calculate the effects of commingled ingredients, each of which must modify the action of the rest indefinitely.

But while this Calvinist preacher, this sapper of the Mosaic cosmogony, this scoffer at schools and faculties was making sermons of his insurgent stones, where were the agents of the League? Why, the League was wide awake; not even Catherine—remembering her Florentine love of beauty—and Henry could shield their favourite artist for ever. Other protectors were dead or palsied, so at the age of eighty the old man was thrown into the Bastille; and we have then the not unfamiliar but perhaps apocryphal story of the visit of the King to his old retainer. Henry, generous as in some aspects of thought and character he may have been, was, as we know but too well of him and of many other potentates, unfit to rise to the height of the needs of the times. These were the words which are said to have fallen from the royal mouth, words at any rate worthy of that monarch: 'Mon bonhomme, il y a quarante-cinq ans que vous êtes au service de la Reine ma Mère et de moi; nous avons enduré que vous ayez vecu en votre Religion parmi les feux et les massacres: maintenant je suis tellement pressé par ceux de Guise et mon peuple, qu'il m'a fallu malgré moi mettre en prison ces deux pauvres femmes et vous; elles sont brulées demain et vous aussi, si vous ne vous convertissez.' Bernard is said to have answered thus: 'Sire, le Comte de Maulevrier vint hier de votre part pour promettre la vie à ces deux sœurs si elles voulaient vous donner chacune une nuit. Elles ont repondu qu'encore elles seraient martyres de leur honneur comme de celui de Dieu. Vous m'avez dit plusieurs fois que vous aviez pitié de moi, mais moi j'ai pitié de vous, qui avez prononcé ces mots. "J'y suis contraint", ce n'est parler en Roy. Ces filles et moi qui avons part au Royaume des Cieux, nous nous apprendrons ces mots royaux, ce langage royal, que les Guisarts, tout votre peuple, ni vous, ne sauriez contraindre un potier à fléchir les genoux devant des Statues.' He is said to have added that to compel him was impossible, for he knew how to die; but it is not unlikely that at any rate these words of Seneca, 'Qui mori scit, cogi nescit,' were

added to him by later tradition. In the following year Henry fled to Navarre, soon after to meet the retribution his recreancy and debauchery deserved; and Palissy died a natural death in prison, but a death probably accelerated by enmity, hardship, and neglect.

The enmity of the League, the triumph of reaction after Henry the Fourth, and the jealousy of the University and the Sorbonne took good care that Palissy's methods should be thrust into oblivion. That this was so we learn indirectly from the fate of a work by one Étienne de Claves, Doctor of Medicine, entitled *Paradoxes ou Traités Philosophiques des Pierres et Pierreries, contre l'opinion vulgaire*, Paris, 1635, a book based on the teaching of Palissy; de Claves was harassed by persecution, and his book publicly destroyed. Thus it has happened that, in spite of some justice done to Palissy as an art craftsman by later French writers, his reputation as a pioneer in natural science lies still in eclipse. Palissy moreover had offended, not the priests and the philosophers only, but also the astrologers and alchemists; and these charlatans did not fail to take their revenge. And there is the less dishonourable cause for the neglect of this great side of his life that Palissy's works as an artist were more popular and attractive than his persistent and original devotion to natural science, which, even in our day, the public might be disposed to set down to the cranks of a curious genius. In 1674 Perrault cursorily noted Palissy's theory of springs; but from that time forward, as a naturalist, Palissy was forgotten till Fontenelle, Jussieu, Buffon, and Cuvier endeavoured to vindicate his due place in history. De Jussieu, in 1718, pointed out that, 150 years before, Palissy, of his own unaided wit and observation, had taught that Sicily and England, containing fossils, must at one time have been covered with water. And Buffon said, 'a simple potter of the end of the sixteenth century was the first to dare to tell Paris and the Doctors that marine fossils were true animal remains, were deposited in a sea in the place where they now are found, and were born of their respective animal parents. This he defied the Aristotelians to deny.' Réamur offered the same testimony. Yet even to-day these historical facts are almost unknown. In a recent address on the history of geology one of the most distinguished and accomplished living geologists did not even allude to Palissy, the founder of that branch of science. Another very eminent geological professor told me he had never heard of Palissy, except as a potter. It was by the needs of his art that Palissy was obliged to work in earths and minerals, and, endowed with a mind far more powerful than that of

ordinary practical men, he brought the vivid insight and the simplicity of genius to the interpretation of their phenomena. Cuvier says of Palissy's observations, 'C'est là, comme on voit, le commencement, l'embryon de la géologie moderne . . . la question générale, de savoir comment se sont superposées ces immenses croûtes qui constituent aujourd'hui les parties solides du continent, n'avait pas encore été agitée.' Cuvier goes on to say that only by a study of fossils could this problem be solved; and then he proceeds: 'Des hommes prétendaient, dans le quinzième et le seizième siècle, que c'était un résultat des jeux de la nature, un produit de ses forces naturelles, des aberrations de sa puissance vivifiante; Palissy expulsa ces erreurs du domaine de la science.' Yet, a few months ago, on entering the University Library, I picked up a volume entitled *Karl Ernst Adolf von Hoff, der Bahnbrecher moderner Geologie, von Otto Reich*, 1905. The author begins, of course, as a good German should, with the Chaldeans; runs through Greeks and Alexandrians, attacks the Church as the tyrannical suppressor of all science, and then takes us down to Linnaeus and Buffon as the originators of geology. Descartes is mentioned· Steno is mentioned. His hero, von Hoff, was born in the classical shades of Gotha in 1778, and thus he descends the historical stream to Werner and Hutton; but the name of Palissy is not to be found in the book. Well might Buffon say that Bernard Palissy was a natural investigator so great as Nature only fashions once; yet his teaching had slept for a hundred years. However, strangely enough, the ancients had read some of these signs; and a very interesting comparison might be made between some of his conceptions and those of Da Vinci —who lived a hundred years before him. The ancients, not locked up in the Mosaic cosmogony, had a freer outlook, and were not forbidden to believe their own eyes: but even their ideas were perhaps entirely caprices of fancy to which we, by importing into them our own interpretations, have given factitious values; as, for example, to the well-known passage of Ovid, in the *Metamorphoses*, where the poet describes a vision of once solid earth become ocean, of lands made into seas, and of marshes turned into sandy desert. Also of shells found upon mountain tops, to which list of fossils however he adds an ancient anchor.

As to Palissy's style, modern readers, besides their surprise at the novelty and variety of his observations, have compared its personal quality even with Montaigne. Cynic however Palissy is not, nor even a sceptic; he is throughout a constructive spirit; but he has the vivid picturesqueness of Montaigne,[1] the same shrewd wit, the same spontaneous, free, and humorous apprehensions. His style is seen at

[1] As best seen in the Journal of his Travels.

its best in his book on pottery, where he describes his strifes with difficulties, and his failures.

Of Palissy's minor writings I may, as illustrations of his grip of facts and lucid intelligence, mention his tracts in denunciation of mithridatics and theriacs; remedies which, gross and foolish as they seem to us, in the sixteenth century had enormous vogue, and even up to the end of the eighteenth were administered by routine in certain hospitals; for instance in Montpellier. It may be that even Paré was much influenced by Palissy; if not initiated into his repudiation of unicorn as an antidote to poison by Palissy, who also exposed its futility, he was supported in it. Palissy also wrote a severe indictment of my own profession, entitled *Les Abus des Médecins*[1]; in which I will not seek for naughty words concerning these estimable men; but I will quote from it another remarkable anticipation of modern scientific theory. He says: 'If you were a good philosopher you would know that the elements cannot destroy each other; they can only predominate one over the other according to the conditions of the moment. Water may drive fire away, or fire water; but neither can destroy the other, or consume it; the elements cannot be diminished or augmented. If it were otherwise—that the one could consume the other—we should for long enough have been deprived of the due measure of certain elements;' and so on.

It is now time for me to enter upon a most interesting historical problem, namely, of the probable intellectual relation of Palissy to Francis Bacon. I have said that in the years 1575–84 Palissy, having amassed a large collection of objects of natural history, of rocks and minerals, of fossils, and of various earths, and having attached to every specimen a label and description, gave formal lectures with practical demonstrations on these objects, and interpreted them with an acumen and a truth of observation and argument which at that period was without parallel or compare. These lectures, as we have seen, became the fashion, and being delivered by no obscure potter but by a well-known person about the court—namely, Master Bernard of the Tuileries—were attended by large audiences of the first men of the day in Paris. Now we know that in the year 1576 Francis Bacon left Cambridge, disgusted, so the story goes, with the dialectic of the schools, and ready to welcome some new and fruitful method of learning. It is not probable at this time of his youth—Commorant in the University, says Dr. Rawley, at sixteen years of age—that he had conceived what this new and fruitful method should

[1] It seems in the light of later researches that the tract entitled *Les déclarations des abus et ignorances des médecins* is spurious.

be; but he was yearning for something better than the stereotyped routine of the schoolmen. Now in this year 1576 it happened that Bacon went to Paris with Sir Amyas Paulet, and there resided for three years, during the first two of which he was attached to the English Embassy, whither all news would find its way. And in his keenness for new sources of knowledge Bacon must have heard of these notorious lectures, delivered by a royal officer who was also a Huguenot and reformer, who was challenging all comers to gainsay him, and was loudly proclaiming precisely such a new method as we presume Bacon to have been then in search of. At that date Master Bernard's Museum was the first collection of the kind in modern Europe, and the scheme of its arrangement and labelling was as enlightened as that of the most recent museums of our own day; and far superior to that of fifty years ago—as many of us can personally testify. That Bacon, being in this mind, was not attracted to these curiosities, and to these provocative lectures and demonstrations seems inconceivable. Science or no science, whithersoever the great men of the day went we may be pretty sure that Bacon went also. But, it may be objected, Bacon has said nothing of Palissy or his lectures. Well, directly perhaps not: indirectly perhaps he did. What we do know is [1] that, on the morrow of his return to England, Bacon published a tract entitled *Temporis partus maximus*, a tract unhappily now lost, and from which unluckily we have no definite excerpts. Of its contents we know so little that but for the allusion to it by Bacon himself in his letter to Fulgenzio it would have been forgotten. In 1625 Bacon stated that he had published this tract about forty years before. Now forty years before 1625 was 1585; Bacon, as we have seen, returned to England in 1589, and it was about this date that the tract was published. Bacon himself calls it a 'juvenile work which with great confidence and a magnificent title I named *The Greatest Birth of Time*'. It seems then to have been a crude and rather turgid—in other words, a youthful—production in which the author, with fresh ardour, proclaimed a new method of attaining knowledge; and this, as we are justified in assuming, was by the collection, observation, interpretation, and proof of natural phenomena and processes. Now, short of demonstration, can any probability be stronger than this—that Bacon, hungering for a more fruitful method

[1] I had independently arrived at the facts and opinions set forth in this paper up to this point. For the reference to the *Temporis partus maximus* I am indebted to Hanschmann's *Essay on Bernard Palissy*, Leipzig, 1903. My paper was read to the Eranus Club at Cambridge before Hanschmann's work was published.

than the droning of the schools, during his residence in Paris went to the lectures and inspected the Museum of Palissy, Palissy who was defying the schoolmen as fervently as Bacon himself could have desired, and who was moreover constructing the new method of direct investigation of nature by facts; that Bacon was fired by this revolutionary teaching, and in the heat of his illumination wrote the immature and vaunting proclamation of the new gospel, which afterwards he redigested and developed into the magnificent structure of the Instauration? What is certain is that Palissy was then teaching practically the methods which a few years afterwards Bacon propounded at length; and, not only so, but was teaching them, if with a far inferior literary capacity, yet with a sounder grasp of their methods. For is it too paradoxical to say that as Palissy was among the first of the men of science, Bacon was one of the last of the schoolmen? He was still a schoolman in his encyclopaedic conceptions, in the philosophizing habit of his mind, in his crude apprehension of methods of natural observation and experiment, and in his incapacity for appreciation of genuine natural research in those of his contemporaries who were not compiling new instaurations but building up the foundation of natural knowledge—such men, for instance, as Harvey and Kepler whom he ignored; Copernicus whom, with his disciple Bruno who on Bacon's return was actually in London, he shirked; Gilbert whom he classed with the alchemists; Galileo whom he attacked. Unfortunately, as Kuno Fischer admits, Bacon was no mathematician; now natural science found its first solid foundation in physics, and physics in mathematics.

But, it may be said, surely if Bacon had been so inspired by Palissy he would have mentioned him, and held him in honour. Now it is unnecessary to ask ourselves how far Bacon's intellectual character, so far as we can read it, was that of a man who was likely to pay a generous tribute to any forerunner; or how far his moral character would dispose him to declare himself a disciple of a reformer notoriously under the suspicion of the ruling classes in Paris, and preserved from instant peril only by the personal intervention of Montmorency and the King. Such generosity the history of Bacon's life scarcely suggests to us. But it is unnecessary to press these painful questions; it is sufficient to remember that even so late as the sixteenth century plagiarism was unknown as a sin, and, according to the code then prevailing, literary debts were not even debts of honour. Even the honest and gentle Paré himself did not hesitate to borrow freely from the works of his contemporaries; and when in a particular instance Paré was reminded that he had drawn freely upon the work of his

contemporary De Héry, Paré calmly replied that a candle must always be lit at another candle. Bacon makes no mention of Ramus, to whom Professor Jackson thinks he was deeply indebted; that he expresses no debt to Palissy is therefore of little weight in our inquiry into those obligations to forerunners and contemporaries of which not the greatest of men have been independent. To learn what Palissy was actually teaching in Paris during Bacon's residence there, it is necessary only to turn to the full title of the *Discours admirables*, which I have already cited at length. It would be misleading, no doubt, to compare a contemplative reformer of philosophic methods with a working naturalist like Palissy; and it would be untimely to enter upon a criticism of the validity of Bacon's positions taken as a whole; yet it may be permitted to me to say that however imposing his philosophic system, however impressive in turning men from stereotyped scholastic dogma, yet Palissy—like his contemporary Gilbert, and like Galileo who came very soon after him—was one of the chief engineers of the new paths of knowledge, and was in France the chief engineer. Indeed, astronomy and mathematics apart, he with Dodoens and Gesner were the first in Europe since Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny, to pursue modern scientific methods in the worlds of geology, botany, and zoology, and to work and teach from and with the natural objects themselves.

THIRD ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE

SHAKESPEARE AND GERMANY

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With sentiments of profound reverence and gratitude I would say as the prologue to my discourse, and I feel sure that millions of my countrymen would say it with me, that the greatest boon which has ever come from England to Germany is the supreme and permeating influence of William Shakespeare.

Several English writers have benefited our folk. Dickens gave us the novel of charity, Walter Scott the novel of history, Thackeray the novel of reality; Byron became an inspiration to Goethe and Heine; Carlyle still proves a valuable educator of our nation; but Shakespeare has swayed and turned the whole current of our literature.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the old imperial race of Middle Europe knew only two sources of poetical art from abroad: the ancients, and France. Latin and Greek authors were introduced by our clergy and our schools, French authors by our nobility and better-class citizens. There were wars between French and German rulers on the right and on the left banks of the Rhine, but they could not prevent, could not even interrupt, this fraternity of minds; the culture of Germany had for centuries developed principally through intercourse and through rivalry with her western neighbour. England for many centuries had nothing to say. Neither Chaucer nor Spenser had attracted the attention of German writers. Elizabethan plays, no doubt, were acted in German towns and courts by English comedians; but only their subjects made an impression, their acting and staging were admired; the word of Shakespeare was not heard, nor was his personality felt. Milton, the strongest man among English poets, stirred the German republicans of the North and the South, the Hamburgers and the Swiss; he was the first English writer who touched the German soul; but he could never become popular; he soared too high in the sphere of abstraction; he was only a prophet, a forerunner of the master. The *Spectator* did become

popular, *Robinson* and *Gulliver* were read even in our villages; but what they had to offer was only poetry of the foot—to use a happy expression of Professor Herford—not poetry of the wing; they proved suggestive and amusing, but did not contain any revelations. The tide did not turn until, a short time before the French Revolution, Shakespeare conquered Germany with his word and his thought: then England, for the first time, had a voice on the Rhine and by the Danube, and became a force in the growth of German culture.

The man who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about this change was Lessing. Many educated Germans felt about Shakespeare as he felt, and some of our literary men were working in the same direction in which he worked; but Lessing produced the strongest argument. He started from the opinion of Voltaire, whose critique and imitations of Shakespeare had done most towards calling the attention of German readers to the English dramatist. The great Voltaire had learned in England that Shakespeare had a large soul, and was a genius by nature; but he found him a sinner against the rules of Aristotle as deduced by the classicists. No, said Lessing; Shakespeare does not sin against the rules of Aristotle, if you but understand them properly; Shakespeare agrees with him in all essential things much better than Voltaire himself. As an example, Lessing compared the appearance of the ghost in Voltaire's *Sémiramis*, in broad daylight, at the council-assembly, announced only by a clap of thunder, with the ghost in *Hamlet*, which appears at midnight, on the ramparts of Elsinore, seen first by the lonely sentries, through whose observations we are well prepared for what it has to tell Hamlet. A clearer and more convincing comparison could not be given, and Shakespeare at once took his place on the throne vacated by Voltaire. Evidently, Lessing pitted one of the two literary authorities recognized in his country at the time against the other, the ancients against the French—more perhaps than was strictly legitimate. He thus succeeded in calling in a third authority, the English; and by multiplying our authorities he gave us greater confidence to think independently.

This discussion might have remained a transitory literary controversy: but circumstances raised it to the position of a starting-point for great deeds.

Germany wanted dramas. Many of the princes and princelings who ruled it maintained theatres in their residences: this was perhaps the only noteworthy service done to old Germany by the 'Kleinstaaterei'. The wealthier towns followed suit, and built theatres of their own. The people, tired of sermons, and unable to

take an interest in politics or sports, sometimes even forbidden to travel, flocked to the performances. A successful play could make its author famous, and his work influential in the highest degree. But in order to be successful a play had to be poetical, had to contain a body of thought, and had to be clothed in fine rhetoric; for the average German, though a poor politician, had by his good schools become an intelligent person, had a satchelful of solid knowledge on his back, and would not be satisfied with superficial farces and operettas; he wanted to be amused intelligently, and this demand for a literary drama at the time of Lessing was exactly met by Shakespeare.

A negative circumstance must not be forgotten: in Germany no strong tradition of home-made dramas stood in the way of Shakespeare, as was the case in France, where the respect for Corneille, Racine, Molière, and their schools was a bar against the Elizabethan. The very poverty of the German native drama before Goethe and Schiller was Shakespeare's ally. 'So our virtues lie in the interpretation of the time.'

Translators assisted Lessing in making Shakespeare known and understood, but imitators planted him in German soil. It was his good luck again that his first imitators were our classics, who moulded the entire taste of the following generations. Lessing himself led the way, and borrowed his blank verse. Young Goethe took over the free and almost lawless structure of the Histories, and, in addition, he borrowed a number of details which we find scattered throughout his works.

In the first part of his *Faust*, for example, the appearance of the 'Erdgeist' was suggested by that of the spirit of Julius Caesar in Brutus's tent; the meeting of Faust with the brawling students by the scene where Prince Hal turns up in the midst of the Falstaff company; Margaret's low-minded widow-companion, Frau Schwertlein, by the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*; the fatal duel of Valentine by that of Tybalt; the insanity of Margaret by that of Ophelia. Nor was Schiller less indebted to Shakespeare than Goethe. How much he learned from Shakespeare is best seen by comparing the two brothers in his *Robbers* with the sons of Gloucester in *King Lear*, or the conspiracy of Tell with that in *Julius Caesar*. Goethe and Schiller were never slavish imitators, but their drama is, in essence, a plant from the seed of Shakespeare. There is also an original drama of Germany, of an absolutely different type: it is the musical *Bühnenfestspiel* of Richard Wagner.

From the time that Shakespeare was thus naturalized in Germany, the literary drama has become a most important factor in German life.

It has attracted our best poets, so much so that the most characteristic portion of our literature must not merely be read, like modern English literature, which can be enjoyed on the banks of the Nile or on an ostrich farm in South Africa almost as well as in London; but if you mean to do justice to the best modern German literature, you must go to the theatre and hear it. Consequently, a good theatre is a necessary part of the equipment of every German town of any dimensions; any place without it is looked down upon as philistine, is avoided by well-to-do people, and is considered a mere *Nest*, because it does not enable its inhabitants to enjoy the most interesting part of national literature. It is astonishing to remark what sacrifices a middle-sized German town of, say, 20,000 people will make to procure a theatre. Societies and individuals will make contributions for years together till they have collected enough to begin building. On a fair site the fair building rears its head; flower-beds are laid out in front of it; the most modern appliances are sought out for the stage; there is a foyer provided where the audience may saunter in the intervals, to wish each other good evening and doubtless to exchange brief comments on the play: a feeling of festivity, 'Festlichkeit', reigns everywhere. Instead of demanding rent, the municipality often makes a special allowance to enable the manager to engage a good cast. Above all, the people themselves go to the theatre regularly; they often subscribe for a certain number of seats a week, and thus compel the manager to keep a variety of plays in stock, a repertory. They take good and indifferent plays as they come, and are enabled in this way to compare, to comprehend, to relish poetical life and beauty, and to despise mere sensation. A literary atmosphere pervades the society of such a town, animates its meetings, and brightens the hearts. The blessings of this repertory theatre, which is an essential feature of the modern German 'Gartenstadt', we owe principally to Shakespeare. He has given us the plays which at the outset drew the largest audiences, which trained the best actors and critics, and which were taken as models by the more gifted play-writers. No doubt his name would be the best with which to inaugurate also an English repertory theatre, and to induce English people to return to their pre-Cromwellian habits of going to the theatre regularly.

Even nowadays the theatre is the stronghold of the Shakespeare cult in Germany. There are some 180 German companies, and they maintain in their repertory about twenty-five plays of Shakespeare. On looking up the statistics published every year in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* with regard to the frequency of performances, one finds at the

head of the list such serious plays as *Hamlet, Othello, Romeo and Juliet,* and *The Merchant of Venice*. On an average, throughout the Fatherland, three or four plays of Shakespeare are performed every evening. In Berlin, the theatrical capital, it sometimes happens that on five or six successive evenings as many different plays of his are to be seen. Whenever the supply of modern plays fails for a time, Shakespeare is called in, and is sure to save the financial situation.

A poet who is so frequently heard in the theatre is much stronger than a poet who is merely read in books: this explains the miraculous popularity which Shakespeare enjoys in Germany. If one wishes to gauge the significance of Shakespeare for the mass of German people, one need only open Büchmann's Collection of 'Winged Words'; there one sees with astonishment how intensely the German lives in Shakespeare and speaks his words. The expressions 'something is rotten in the state of Denmark', or 'caviare to the general' come as readily to the lips of the German as of the Englishman. Thousands speak with Hamlet of 'To be or not to be', and with Prince Henry of 'a world in arms'. From *Midsummer Night's Dream* was borrowed the burlesque phrase 'Well roared, lion', from *Measure for Measure* the 'tooth of time', from *Lear* 'the learned Thebans', and 'every inch a king', as well as the inevitable 'last not least', which is even more often employed by Germans than by the English themselves. All the other British authors together have not yielded as many winged words as Shakespeare alone; no other foreign author, not even Homer, approaches him in such a degree of popularity; and one has to turn to the Bible to find a more influential work of foreign origin: only this book of books soars even above Shakespeare.

Remarkable as such adoption of metaphorical or witty phrases may be, still more significant is the fact that a series of common words have through him become part and parcel of daily usage. Professor Kluge, in a paper read to the German Shakespeare Society in 1893, had some remarkable communications to make with regard to the augmentation of the German dictionary by Shakespeare. If Germans mean to greet each other with a typically German expression, *urdeutsch*, they say *Heil*—without dreaming that it is borrowed from the cry of the witches in *Macbeth*, 'Hail to thee'. The substantive *Heim*, equivalent to the 'home' of the English language, is due to the translators of Shakespeare; formerly it was used in German only adverbially, in words like *heimkehren*, 'return home'. *Halle*, as corresponding to English 'hall', had died out in German shortly after Luther, it is not found in literary use for centuries; but in Klopstock, a notable admirer of Shakespeare, the word reappears, and

bears the same exalted signification, 'hall of a castle', as it does in Shakespeare, and not that of 'entrance hall', as in everyday English. Even the use of the word *Sect* for champagne arose in connexion with Shakespeare. In the eighteenth century *Sect* was employed by the German only for heavy wines such as were made from dried berries in Spain and in the Canary Islands; in this sense the word is employed by Shakespeare too, when he makes Falstaff such a lover of 'sack'. But when the Falstaff actor Ludwig Devrient in Berlin came weary and thirsty from the theatre to the tavern of Luther and Wegener in the Charlottenstrasse, and wanted champagne, he continued in the tenor of his Falstaff-part to call for 'Sect'—an expression that landlord, guests, and waiters quickly adopted and successfully transmitted to the world of Shakespearians outside. This is real popularity. In short, when the German laughs or drinks or philosophizes, when he enters a castle or returns to his home, the spirit of Shakespeare is ever at his side, thinks for him and jokes with him, like a right good friend.

Politicians and statesmen have not failed to make use of this power of Shakespeare over the German people. 'Hamlet is Germany' impatiently exclaimed Freiligrath, the friend of liberty, to his hesitating countrymen a short time before 1848. In opposition to him, Bismarck compared Hamlet to Napoleon III. Altogether Bismarck, in his student days in Göttingen and associating freely with Englishmen and Americans, had not only acquired a deep reading knowledge of Shakespeare, but had also to some extent lived many a Falstaff scene on his own account. Prince Harry, who to all appearance had wasted his youth with tippling beer-swillers, but who, by this means, obtained a deep knowledge of men and things, and later, becoming serious, surprises every one by the sudden ripeness he shows, was one of Bismarck's favourite characters all his life long. He also knew how to find support in Shakespeare when he enthusiastically called out the masses against the parties. He was sure that if he clothed his thoughts in Shakespeare's words they would best appeal to the hearts of his countrymen.

In the world of art and science, too, many a scholar, as is but natural, has taken a deep interest in Shakespeare. In philosophy, Schopenhauer, the famous pessimist, may be mentioned; few objects escaped his iconoclasm; one of these few was Shakespeare. Recently the psychologist Dilthey, in his well-known book on *Inward Experience and the Poet*, chooses some of his best illustrations from the great English dramatist. He compares Shakespeare, the 'biographer of a thousand souls', with Goethe, who

is constantly autobiographical. He ascribes Shakespeare's wonderful gift of incarnating characters to his power of observation, to his piercing eye ever directed on the world outside, to his true English empiricism, and to the influence of an age the environment of which was extremely favourable to his genius. In jurisprudence Shakespeare has been cited before the court. Jhering, the author of *Kampf ums Recht*, has discussed Shylock's bond from the standpoint of Roman law. Kohler has scrutinized his tragic heroes as closely as if they were criminals. The question whether his knowledge of law gives ground for believing that he himself in his youth was employed in a court of justice has had no less interest for the German than for the English jurist. Medical men have examined his poisons, and such of his characters as are tainted by insanity. Astronomers have proved his allegiance to the Ptolemaic system. Everywhere he attracts the far-seeing minds among the learned, and sets them riddles to solve, though he himself was but a dealer in the things of imagination, and, as far as we can see, not superior in knowledge to the average well-bred Londoner of his time.

If we turn to philology we find that the study of English in German universities has to a great extent simply grown out of the endeavour to increase by courses of lectures the pleasure which professor and student alike were taking in Shakespeare. In Bonn, in Tubingen, in Marburg, peaceful little university towns, where poetry-loving souls were wont to foregather, were heard the first scholarly lectures on English literature, and for the most part they centred round Shakespeare. The love for him has helped to promote also those Early English studies which, like nothing else, impress the student with the original identity of English and German language, poetry, folklore, custom, and law. In order to fathom the depths of Shakespeare the first German society for literary research was founded, the *Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, forty-nine years ago, long before a *Goethe-Gesellschaft* was thought of. The list of its members is headed by His Majesty the German Emperor, who is well known as a warm admirer especially of Shakespeare's *Histories*.

Again, our secondary schools have made the great Elizabethan the centre of English studies. German lads in the higher classes of the *Gymnasium*, especially in the North where the dialects bear a closer resemblance to English, find it easy, with the help of the improved modern language teaching which has of late been developed, to acquire his language sufficiently within a year, so that in the second year they can read with their teachers one or two of his plays, and enjoy them. He is always the favourite author, he brings out the best qualities of the

professor, conveys to the students a keen interest in English institutions and history, and provides both with sound moral and political lessons.

For the future, the well-wisher of the German people can but wish and hope that this love for Shakespeare will last and ever increase. We all feel that no one can enter into the enjoyment of his characters without becoming himself freer and greater; a nation that takes him for its leader cannot be other than a manly nation. And it is not the least of his merits that he is a friendly exponent of England in Germany. He has surrounded Westminster and Windsor, London Bridge and the Mermaid Tavern with a bright halo, and many a king of Old England, about whom no one on the Continent would have cared, has won through Shakespeare respect and fame. It makes a very considerable difference whether we come to know a nation only through the newspapers, or through poetry, especially through such a poet. Watching a nation through the press is like observing a neighbour through his office windows, where he is busy with his daily pursuits. But if you study a nation through its poetry, you as it were watch your neighbour through his oriel window sitting at ease in the midst of culture. Shakespeare is a permanent ambassador of England in Germany; a most excellent ambassador, for he is accredited not only to the court, but to the whole German people; and his language, though always impressive, is never provocative. He stands before our eyes as a friend found and tested in days of need, an unwavering benefactor, and as a moral world power in very deed; therefore his mediation is sure to be of solid and lasting effect.

This unique position which Shakespeare has attained in Germany, and which he promises to hold for a long time to come, is all the more striking as Shakespeare has paid no special attention to our people, seldom thought of them, and has by no means treated them with particular consideration. He makes fun of German clothing—of the broad hose, from the waist downwards all slops; of German customs—fair Portia's ducal suitor from Saxony is described as 'very vilely in the morning, when he is sober, and most vilely in the afternoon, when he is drunk'; of German watches—always being repaired, and never in order; of the German temper, which, of course, is called hasty. Once, indeed, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, we come upon a friendly assertion: 'Germans are honest men'; but on looking closer one discovers that it is only the landlady of an inn who says so, and then only in order to clear a distinguished German traveller of the suspicion of horse-stealing. He has heard of Wittenberg, and makes Hamlet study there, but for the spiritual achievements of Wittenberg he has never a word. He makes Vienna

the scene of *Measure for Measure*, but it is to him a town full of gross looseness and amours. He mentions the Switzers, but only as the mercenary life-guards of Hamlet's miserable uncle. From the national point of view, there is not the slightest reason why a German should feel enthusiastic about Shakespeare. After all, the cosmopolitan vein in the German character has been strong enough to ignore such compliments.

Still, independence and spontaneity of action on the German side has not been altogether wanting. The impression which a poet produces always rests upon two factors: first, the quality of his work, and secondly, the predisposition of the reader. One and the same poem is apprehended differently, let me say, by a scholar who is well read in the classics, and by a countryman who is only versed in popular songs. Shakespeare was regarded differently by his own countrymen in the seventeenth century and in the nineteenth century: at the time of Dryden, boisterous Falstaff was considered his happiest character, Hamlet was represented as a very dignified and courtly person with a majestic periwig, and the weird sisters in *Macbeth*, instead of appearing in supernatural awe, had to perform a burlesque dance. But Charles Lamb and many of his contemporaries worshipped Shakespeare as a mystical philosopher, and, according to their opinion, to represent his plays on the stage amounted almost to profanation. There is no less difference of opinion about Shakespeare at present between his English and his German admirers.

Strange as it may sound, it is a fact that there exist two Shakespeares, one on this, one on the other side of the North Sea, both fully developed, both felt as strong realities in life, literature, and the theatre.

Allow me, for a moment, to describe the principal qualities of the German Shakespeare.

First of all he is modern, because he is read and acted in translations. The obsolete words and the quaint meanings of words which often puzzle his English reader, and sometimes even demand comment, are replaced by current phrases. His Elizabethan ruggedness is almost too much smoothed over. In our classical translation by Schlegel-Tieck the meaning is put forth so clearly that, when I had to reprint it in a popular edition, there was sometimes not even one passage to be explained in a whole play—so perfectly had the Tudor words been recast in lucid and up-to-date German. In consequence, a German reader and spectator feels himself in a way drawn closer to Shakespeare than a Londoner, who has no other choice than to take him in the original. It is easier in Germany than in his own country to apply his sentences to the programme of a brand-new party of writers or

artists; he lends himself with more freedom to questions of the day in Berlin or Munich than in London or Manchester.

Another feature of the German Shakespeare results from the difference in national customs. In Germany reserve is not so strictly demanded as in England; a loud laugh is considered less objectionable, even in cultivated society, and gestures are not so readily called extravagant. Imagine, therefore, how different a Falstaff scene, a meeting between lovers, an agitated discussion, must appear in a German theatre! In this respect the German may even claim to be more faithful to the historical Shakespeare, who makes Romeo and Othello, when in excitement, roll on the floor, and Hamlet leap into Ophelia's grave to wrestle with her brother. German manners have remained a little more old-fashioned. Thus it comes that our Shakespeare, though he sounds more modern in words, looks more like the sixteenth century in manners.

A third peculiarity of the German Shakespeare is one for which our classic writers are answerable, who so vigorously transformed him into new life. Margaret in Goethe's *Faust* has so much in common with the bride of Romeo, that an audience who sees them often finds it difficult to keep them quite separate. Even the actress who impersonates Margaret one evening, will next evening, while acting the part of Juliet, unconsciously embody essential traits of the modest, patient German citizen girl in her representation of the self-possessed and strong-minded daughter of Lord Capulet. Such blending of Shakespearian characters with those of favourite German plays happened very often in our good old *Hoftheaters*.

In addition, there was the influence of our older critics, with Goethe once more at the head. Hamlet e.g. was described by him as a delicate soul on whose shoulders too heavy a task had been laid; no wonder, then, that German actors often played the part in too sentimental a fashion. At the present, without doubt, a strong reaction has set in; the reformers of our stage, Max Reinhardt and others, have discovered wonderful ways of showing Shakespeare in the broad daylight of realism and of the *Jugendstil*. But still English actors, when touring in Germany, though their performances of Shakespeare are often excellent, find it very difficult to please German spectators; they put forth their London Shakespeare, but the *Berliner* sticks to his beloved German Shakespeare who is endeared to him through Goethe and through the translations of Goethe's clever disciple Schlegel.

In the fourth place we have to consider the general expectations with which a nation will approach literature. If my students are

brought into contact with Englishmen of their own age and conditions, they are always astonished at the English students' habit of asking: What benefit shall I derive from this or that new author? Can he inspire me with a brighter outlook on life, or infuse into me greater strength of soul? Is he a noble educator like Wordsworth? Is he a delightful teacher like the ideal poet whom Sir Philip Sidney has painted in his famous *Apology*?

Young Germans look at literature in a more disinterested way. They want to be shown life, as intense life as possible, which will enable them to pass, while reading, through all the experiences of the persons described, as if they were experiences of their own. They want, in following the dreams of the poet, to explore the heights and the depths of human nature—not to alter human nature. To them didactic verse savours neither of poetry, nor wit, nor invention: psychological truth in poetry is their heart's desire. It is natural that Shakespeare will fare very differently at their hands. Englishmen lay more emphasis on his wisdom, Germans on his passion. To the Englishman—with the exception of Mr. Bernard Shaw, of course—Shakespeare is the national hero, with hardly any human weakness; to the German the earlier and weaker attempts of Shakespeare are not only facts, but most interesting facts, from which to regard the wonderful heights he reached later.

In consequence, English critics, as a rule, discard such rude plays of his juvenile period as *Titus Andronicus* or *Henry VI*, although the strongest external evidence speaks for their genuineness; they would feel ashamed if their Shakespeare had really indulged in the 'Gothic' horrors by which the cannibal revenge of Titus is provoked, and if he had really represented the brave heroine Joan of Arc as a profligate wench. To German students, in spite of their sincere respect for the 'Jungfrau von Orleans', it does not matter if young Shakespeare, during his period of storm and stress, following Holinshed and other chroniclers, should have slightly overstepped the bounds of humanity. If his beginnings were crude, the brilliancy of his later works appears to them all the more striking.

I do not wish to express an opinion concerning these two Shakespeares. To many an Englishman the German Shakespeare is sure to appear nationalized to such an extent as almost to wear the garb of a foreign poet. On the other hand, the German will argue that genius, the rarest gift which nature can bestow on a nation, never belongs to that nation exclusively, but to the whole of mankind; and that there is no divine or human law which forbids foreigners to penetrate into the genius of such a man, to amalgamate themselves with

him, until he becomes to them, by their sympathetic work, almost one of their own. But one thing is proved beyond doubt by the existence of these two Shakespeares; that the Shakespearian spirit is alive and active in both countries. Only the most popular writers are objects of strife; as soon as an author is left in peace, it shows that he is dying—historians and philologists may bury him in their libraries. And there is no fear that the two Shakespearian parties will do any harm to each other. Let an opportunity arise for showing gratitude and love to Shakespeare, and both nations, yea, all civilized peoples, will stand up like one man, and hail him with one voice, as the greatest creator in literature.

Such an opportunity will present itself in a short time, when we shall celebrate the 300th anniversary of his death—his first three centuries of immortality. If, on April 23, 1916, the world's homage to the poet of Hamlet and Lear will be rendered, as is hoped, here, in the capital of his country, the scene of his literary activity, it will be an assertion of the harmonizing power of poetry over distinctions of race, it will demonstrate the empire of Shakespeare of which Carlyle perhaps spoke even in too modest terms, and it will help us to realize that, after all, humanity is larger than nationality.

Au revoir till Shakespeare Day, in 1916!

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

IV

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH POETRY UPON THE ROMANTIC REVIVAL ON THE CONTINENT

By PROFESSOR C. VAUGHAN

Delivered October 29, 1913

The subject of my lecture is the influence of English poetry upon the earlier stages of the romantic revival on the Continent: that is, roughly speaking, during the thirty years from 1750 to 1780. And I must ask your permission at once to extend and to limit the scope of what you might naturally understand to be included in my theme. I shall extend it by using the term 'poetry', as the Germans do, to include all forms of imaginative writing, whether verse or prose. I shall limit it by confining myself almost entirely to the two chief literatures of western Europe: to those of France and Germany; and, for reasons that you will easily divine, to the former still more than the latter.

For the first of these liberties I can hardly bring myself to make an apology. And, if one be needed, I trust the shade of Thomas Warton will forgive me. The second, I must say, I take with deep compunction. It means that I shall do scant justice to the influence of England during this period. It means that I shall blind your eyes to its almost unlimited extent. But I could only save myself from this injustice at the cost of wrecking the whole lecture. And all I can do is to ask you to bear in mind that France and Germany are, in this matter, typical of all Europe; that the influence of England, during this period, was at work from the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries upon the north to Italy on the south, from Spain and Portugal upon the west to Russia in the east.

Consider the significance of this in the history of letters. Contrast it with what has commonly been the case. In all other periods, England—so far as she has stood in any relation to continental literature, so far as she has not been altogether isolated—has been content to receive. It was so in the Middle Ages; it was so in the Eliza-

bethan age; it was so in the Restoration period; it was so, though to a less extent, even in the Augustan age. For, though Pope was the most consummate, the most finished master of all that we mean by the Augustan temper, yet his ideals, his style, his inspiration, were all, in the last resort, drawn from France. In this period, and in this alone, England did not receive, but give. It was in England that the movement started which, under different forms in each country, gave fresh life to the literature of Europe. It was in England the seed was sown, the harvest of which was reaped during the next half century by all the nations of Europe, and the last fruits of which have even yet perhaps not been fully gathered in.

The burning points in this strange period of ferment are to be found in the three creations most characteristic of the time: in Poetry (lyric, descriptive, and ballad), in the Novel, and in Tragedy. I propose to take each of these, and offer one or two illustrations of my opening assertion. I propose also, as I have said already, to draw my examples principally from France.

I. Poetry.

Here we are mainly concerned with the influence of Ossian and Percy. But the influence of Gray, and the poets who may be grouped with Gray, must in no wise be neglected.

Think first of the magic effects which followed the publication of Macpherson's *Ossian* (1760–1763). Think how the questionable translation spread like wild-fire over the face of Europe. It was translated into French by no less a man than Turgot; at a later time by Baour-Lormian, and others. It left the deepest mark upon the rhetoric of the revolutionary orators and Napoleon. Its influence may be traced at least as late as the early novels of George Sand. A curious instance of it—not indeed in France, but in Germany—survives in the name of Bismarck's sister, who was born as late as 1827. What could have an odder effect than to find that grim brother, least sentimental of men, writing lively letters to *theuerste Malvine*, or going out fox-shooting with a dog christened *Fingal* to match (1844)? Was the future Chancellor godfather to the latter?

In Italy the book was translated by one of the foremost poets and critics of the period, Cesarotti; and it was through Cesarotti that it first became known to Napoleon. So we might go on through every literature of Europe; ending with things so remote from us as the tragedies of Ozerov in Russia. But perhaps the greatest of Macpherson's triumphs was the capture of Goethe—a capture proclaimed to all the world in the close of *Werther's Leiden*. It is true that the

poet, at a later time, made a jesting renouncement of his allegiance: 'You must observe that I made my hero quote Ossian when he was mad, but Homer when he was in his right mind.' But this repudiation must not be taken too much to heart. It is a proof rather of the ready wit of the author than of his serious intention.

The influence of Percy was less disputable in character, making as it did not for exuberance but simplicity. In France it counted for little or nothing; though it is perhaps worth while to note that the Willow-song of Desdemona, in Letourneur's translation, was among the last things that Rousseau, always alive to the voice of popular poetry, set to music. In Germany, on the other hand, the *Reliques* were a fruitful source of poetic inspiration. Within a few years of publication they had given birth to Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (1773–1774), one of the crucial works of early German Romanticism, and the first jet of a vein from which the author was to draw all that was most fruitful in his wayward, but strangely suggestive genius. This, however, was the least of Percy's achievements. Far more important was his influence upon original creation. The *Reliques*, as Bürger himself tells us, were 'the matins and the evensong' which inspired *Lenore* and *Der wilde Jager*. To them also, in the last resort, we owe *Der Taucher* of Schiller, and *Erlkonig* and *Der König in Thule* of Goethe. A distant echo of them is to be heard even in poems in many ways so remote from them as the *West-ostlicher Divan* of Goethe's old age or the *Lorelei* of Heine.

Of Gray, and the poets we naturally associate with Gray, there is less to tell in this connexion. But I may remind you that the *Elegy* was translated, though at a slightly later period, by Marie-Joseph Chénier, the notable brother of the far greater André: and that *The Bard* supplies both the framework and many incidental touches to the most elaborate poem of that Protean figure, the Italian poet Monti. The most curious tribute, however, to the influence of this group of poets is to be found in Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*; in the passage where, describing the ferment of sadness which preceded and gave birth to *Werther's Leiden*, he mentions Gray as the finished type of this phase of feeling, and quotes—not indeed from Gray, but from one of his brother poets—the lines which to him summed up the whole mood and temper of the day:

> To griefs congenial prone,
> More wounds than nature gave he knew;
> And Misery's form his fancy drew
> In dark, ideal hues and horrors not her own.[1]

[1] *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Buch xiii.

Taken together, the work of all the English poets I have mentioned may be said to have done this for the literature of Europe: It restored the charm of the 'old, unhappy, far-off things', which had long been neglected and even flouted. It awakened the sense of the sublime, which had slumbered since Milton. It reopened all eyes to the spell of outward nature. It gave voice to the sadness which lies at the core of all that is deepest in thought and feeling, which was more poignant and more genuine at that period than in most others, and which, for near a century past, had found little or no utterance in poetry.

II. The Novel.

With the Novel there may be more difficulty in making up our minds. Indeed, as so often happens, there is likely to be a succession of changes in the estimate that we form. Our first thoughts will perhaps be that, in the history of the French and German Novel during this period, English influence is everything. Our second thoughts will tell us that it counts for little, or nothing. But our third thoughts, I cannot but think, will bring us back to a point far nearer our first thoughts than our second.

For practical purposes, the English novelists whose influence we have to consider may be reduced to two—Richardson and Sterne. For Fielding, large though he looms, and I trust will always loom, in this country, had too much of the open air—he brought, I think we must add, too strong a whiff of the English farm-yard—to be quite palatable to polite readers in Germany and France. Goethe, for instance, has much to say of Richardson and Sterne. On Fielding, so far as I remember, he never opens his mouth.

What, then, was the influence of these two men? In some moods, we may be disposed to say that it is all to be summed up in the one word, 'sentiment'. And if we are careful to guard against misconstruction, I do not think we need raise much objection. With this precaution, the much-abused word will perhaps serve as well as any other. In this connexion, 'sentiment' must on no account be limited to its first and obvious signification. In addition to that, it must be taken to mean three things which, in the story of the growth of the Novel, are of the first importance. It meant, firstly, a firmer grasp of plot and situation; a set purpose of giving, to all that constitutes them both, a higher value, a heavier stress, than they had ever received before. Contrast Sterne or Richardson with Defoe, in their handling of these matters—Sterne for situation, Richardson both for it and plot—and you will see at once what I have in mind. And, though the *Princesse*

de Clèves had forestalled much of their achievement in this matter by nearly a century, that was an isolated instance; and, with all its genius, I do not think it had much influence upon the novels which followed. It meant, secondly, a deeper sense of the springs of character and passion. It meant, lastly, the introduction of an entirely new element into the being of the Novel: the personality of the author. I need hardly say that the first two of these changes were, in the main, due to Richardson; the last, on the other hand, was the unchallenged discovery of Sterne.

Let me now take one or two examples from the literature of Germany and France. I begin with Sterne, as manifestly, for our purposes, the lesser light. In France—to a less extent, in Germany also—the influence of Sterne was, on the whole, an influence of sentiment, in the most obvious meaning of the word. And it is abundantly clear that the *Sentimental Journey* bulked far more largely in the mind both of authors and readers than its far greater forerunner. The former was translated into French as early as 1769; the latter not until six years later.[1] The humour of Sterne flowed off his foreign admirers without leaving much impression. For his sentiment they sat gaping with open mouths. And all the anecdotes related by Garat, in his *Memoirs of Suard*, go to strengthen this conclusion. Still, to this general rule there are happy exceptions. One of these is Frénais' translation of *Tristram*, the very looseness of which is a signal proof of the degree to which he had steeped his mind in the whims of his author's humour. Again and again he thrusts aside the authentic text, to replace it by the freest improvisations of his own: improvisations which often hardly fall short of the original. As a translator he may stand condemned. But nothing could bear stronger witness to the magnetic, compelling genius of Sterne. Another instance is furnished by the later creations of Diderot: by *Jacques le Fataliste* and possibly by his one unstumbling masterpiece, *Le Neveu de Rameau*. Diderot had nearly always a dash of the impostor. And it must be confessed that, in *Jacques le Fataliste*, his imitations of Sterne are hardly to be distinguished from bare-faced thefts. Of *Le Neveu de Rameau* I do not think it possible to speak with certainty. It has been suggested that the whole method of portraiture —and, in particular, the vivid use of gesture to drive home the character of his disreputable hero—was an inspiration from Sterne.

[1] Both were by Frénais; but his translation of *Tristram* ended with the fourth volume. There were two rival completions: by de Bonnay and Griffet de la Baume; both appeared in 1785. See an interesting study on *Laurence Sterne en France*, by Dr. F. B. Barton (Paris, 1911), to which I am much indebted.

And it is conceivable that it was so.[1] I cannot but think, however, that the inspiration is more likely to have come from the original of the portrait. For portrait it is, however masterful the idealization. It would be pleasant to think that Sterne guided the brush of the painter. But I should like to feel more certain than I do.[2]

Germany has no such masterpiece to bring forward in illustration of the influence wielded—or possibly wielded—by Sterne. All I can offer on the point is a reminder that the most pregnant estimate of Sterne ever written is that to be found in the *Spruche* of Goethe; and a suggestion, not over-confident, that much of the portraiture in the early parts of *Wilhelm Meister*—that of the Players and other strolling figures—owes not a little of its bold tolerance to lessons first learned in the school of 'the liberator'. And it may not be altogether without significance that *Le Neveu de Rameau* was first made known to the world in Goethe's translation (1805); the original, which had got lost in the interval, was not published till half a generation later (1823), and, even then, in a garbled shape.

The influence of Richardson is less impalpable and more easy to trace. From Prévost onwards it was the ruling force in France. I might appeal to the dithyrambs of Diderot: 'Divine Richardson! If I have to sell all my books, I will keep thee and place thee on the same shelf as Moses, Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides'—a sufficiently varied company of the blest. I appeal with still more confidence to the testimony of Rousseau: 'of all romances, there is not one which equals *Clarissa*, or even distantly approaches it'.[3] It is true that, after the appearance of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, this fine rapture was somewhat abated.[4] But that was in the nature of things. What

[1] There is a little difficulty about the dates. For it is sometimes assumed that *Le Neveu* was written immediately after the appearance of Palissot's *Les Philosophes* (May, 1760). Even this would not necessarily bar out the influence of *Tristram*, which was published early in that year. But the truth is that there is no evidence for supposing that *Le Neveu* was begun so early. All we can say is that it cannot well have been begun earlier. And there is abundant evidence to show that Diderot was still at work at it so late as 1774-1775. The editor of the original manuscript, long lost but at last discovered on a Paris bookstall, dates the handwriting in the years 1774-1777. See Elzevir ed. by Monval and Thoinan (Paris, 1891).

[2] The most zealous of Sterne's disciples was Jean-Claude Gorgy, who published a *Nouveau Voyage sentimental* in 1784, and *Ann' Quin Bredouille, ou le Petit Cousin de Tristram Shandy*, a novel with a political purpose, in 1791-1792. See Barton, pp. 43-63.

[3] *Lettre à d'Alembert*.

[4] See his letter to Panckoucke of May 25, 1764. Panckoucke had proposed that he should abridge Richardson. He replies: 'Je me fais bien du scrupule de toucher aux ouvrages de Richardson, surtout pour les abréger: car je

author was ever able to view his own children as critically as the rest of the world? And there is nothing to show that his zeal for *Clarissa* ever seriously cooled. On the contrary, his visit to England only strengthened his faith in Richardson's fidelity to life.[1]

It may well be that the men of that day saw more in Richardson than it is possible for later eyes to discover. It is certain that what they took from him was altered out of all knowledge in the taking; that they added much—a wider social outlook, the lyric cry, the setting of outward nature—of which the rival of Moses and Homer had never dreamed. But that, again, is in the nature of things; and, after all, it is the best proof of the fruitfulness of the vein which Richardson had struck. It was something to have produced a crop of imitators. It was far more to have inspired men of larger scope, of greater genius, than his own. And this is the pride which nothing can take from him. When all is said, it remains true that Rousseau and others built upon the foundations which he had laid; that the Novel of the next fifty years owed more to his, than to any other single inspiration.

Of his influence on Germany I will content myself with a solitary instance. But it is, I think, a striking one; and it is one which I do not remember to have seen anywhere noticed. When Goethe lost his sister Cornelia, he tells us he was much concerned to leave some imaginative record of 'so notable a character'. He cast about for the best way of carrying out his purpose; and at once came to the conclusion that the only possible form was that of 'the Richardsonian romance'.[2] Other interests drove him from his resolve. But he always deeply regretted this. And I, for one, must share most heartily in his regrets. What could have been more exciting than to watch Goethe at work upon matter so unfamiliar, and under the guidance of a genius so different, in many ways so alien, from his own?

III. Tragedy.

France was the stronghold of 'classical' Tragedy. And at the beginning of our period the supremacy of the classical model was virtually unchallenged. Forty years later large breaches had been made in the walls of the fortress. Another forty years, and it had been practically blown up. Thus it was during the thirty years of

n'aimerais guère être abrégé, moi-même, bien que je sente le besoin qu'en auraient plusieurs de mes écrits: ceux de Richardson en ont besoin incontestablement.'

[1] See his letter to Mirabeau of April 8, 1767.

[2] *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Buch vi.

our period that the sovereignty of the classical dramatists was first definitely sapped. And it was from England that the weapons of assault were avowedly drawn. In all literary movements, it is well, when we can, to seek the evidence of contemporaries. In this case, a first-rate document lies ready to our hand. This is the manifesto against classical Tragedy drawn up by Sébastien Mercier, one of the quickest wits of the time, I should say, in all ways; certainly one of the leading spirits among the band of rebels.[1] This indictment, it is curious to note, tallies point by point with that launched exactly half a century later by Victor Hugo, in his famous Preface to *Cromwell* (1828). It marks the first stage of the assault upon classical Tragedy, as the other is the blare of trumpets which heralded its triumphant conclusion.

What, then, are the main heads of Mercier's accusation? They amount to a declaration of war upon both the form and the spirit of the classical tradition; and—apart from an attack upon the Unities, which speaks for itself—they may be reduced to three. According to him, classical Tragedy fails, because it is mechanical; because it is monotonous; because it sacrifices everything to elegance, particularly elegance of style. Let us hear what he has to say upon each of these in turn.

1. Classical Tragedy is mechanical. 'Our tragedies are mechanical. The hand of the mechanist makes itself felt at every turn. He is always at work, tying Gordian knots, which he then ingeniously undoes . . . Our heroes are all fantastic beings, the mere creatures of the poet. They always stand bolt upright, without shifting their pose. They are obedient servants of the rhyme; they give themselves up to a ceaseless flow of chatter; they are always repeating a long row of empty maxims. He drags them by main force upon the stage, and kicks them off when he has done with them. They are puppets who move in obedience to the wires which drive them, like marionettes, into an action which has been deliberately entangled and, just for that reason, is infinitely false.'[2]

2. It is monotonous. 'Almost all our tragedies, like the novels of La Calprenède, are a triumph of absurdity. Or, rather, we have but one single tragedy. All are cast in the same mould, all sing the same tune, all follow the same road. . . . There is the tyrant with arched eyebrows; the confidant always submissive and always assumed to be discreet; the Princess always in love and always standing on

[1] Mercier, *De la littérature et des littérateurs* (1778). Much the same doctrine had already been put forward in his *Essai sur l'art dramatique* (1773).

[2] *De la littérature*, pp. 25, 93.

her dignity ; the young Prince always unhappy, and always beloved. All they do is to change their place, as at a gambling-table. They were on the left; the poet, by a miraculous stroke of genius, sets them on the right. They did wear a helmet; he gives them a turban. They drew their breath at Rome; he transports them to Persia'—all this rather an unkind cut at Voltaire—'and, with the help of the foot-lights and the prompter, this solemn caricature is allowed to pass as though it were not supremely ridiculous.'

Again—and you will at once see the significance of this—'A curse on the lips which said that there are few characters really distinct from others! In fact, each individual lives his life to himself; and the man who could advance so gross an error was hopelessly blind. Read Richardson, read Shakespeare; and you will see all that lies in the heart of a single man; you will judge whether there are any two men who have exactly the same voice and the same way of standing.'[1]

3. Finally, it sacrifices everything to elegance. 'The tyrant kills himself, or else he is killed. But it is always done in such a way as no one in the whole world has ever seen. The dying man, like a Roman gladiator, expires with such grace that you would think he was falling asleep. It is not enough to let himself he assassinated. Before so polite an audience he must also be perfectly polished and decorous, even to his last breath. No convulsions, if you please. In France, the poison of the murderer's cup is always opium. . . . Our dramatists succeed in being elegant. They succeed also in being perfectly absurd. . . . The characters being so ill chosen, it was inevitable that their eloquence should be rather that of the poet than of a human being. A conventional language has taken the place of nature. But these sonorous verses, these happy touches, are nothing more than gold spangles fastened on a stuff which has no substance. The embroidery is superb; the ground-work is not worth it. . . . Imagine the prose of Rousseau spoken on the French stage; and you will see how all these fine verses turn pale.'[2]

At last, gathering up all his charges into one sweeping blow, he breaks out: 'We are blind enough to desert living nature where all the muscles stand out, swelling, full of life and meaning. And we steal off to draw a Greek or Roman carcass, to paint its livid cheeks, to drape its cold limbs, to set it up upon its tottering feet, to impose upon that glazed eye, that icy tongue, those stiff arms, the glance, the language, and the gesture which are accepted as the proper thing upon the boards of the French stage.'[3]

[1] Ib., pp. 119, 101, 105. [2] Ib., pp. 101, 95, 100, 111. [3] Ib., p. 135.

From this gloomy bulletin it is easy to see that, in Mercier's opinion, French Tragedy lay upon her death-bed. What are the remedies which he and others attempted or prescribed? They are two; and both of them, to the scandal of all good patriots, were made in England.

The first was to substitute prose—the prose of passion and of Rousseau—for the stilted Alexandrine. On that part of the subject I am unable to touch. The second was to send the Princes and Princesses into banishment, and to fill their places with plain men and women. Hence that form of tragedy so dear to the heart of the eighteenth century, and known among most nations as *bourgeois tragedy*, or in France by the less tell-tale name of *le drame*.[1] This was a revolution in the whole conception of Tragedy. And the model for it was avowedly supplied by two plays produced in London, the one long before the middle of the century, the other nearly twenty years later—*George Barnwell*, by Lillo (1735), and *The Gamester*, by Moore (1753). For the next generation this was the most popular form of Tragedy both in France and Germany; and it spread over the greater part of western Europe. Indeed, with infinite refinements, it remains the only vital form of Tragedy at the present day.

As for its triumph in Germany, a mere glance must suffice. Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755) is a bourgeois tragedy of the purest water. Even *Emilia Galotti* (1778), though it ultimately broke through the mould intended for it, was first conceived as a bourgeois tragedy, and nothing more. More typical than either of these, perhaps, is the play which gave its name to the whole period of ferment, that crudest of gasconades, the *Sturm und Drang* of Klinger (1775). Think again of such plays as Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue*, the immortal *Stranger* of Miss Costigan, a little later (1789); think of the early plays of Schiller, *Kabale und Liebe* (1784), and even, though it refuses to toe the line exactly, the far more memorable *Räuber* (1781); remember finally that Goethe himself, in *Clavigo* and his own cherished *Stella*—particularly in her later and more chastened form—surrendered to the fashion; and you will see how irresistible that fashion must have been.

Still more surprising is the vogue of bourgeois tragedy, *le drame*, in France. For there the prejudice against any kind of innovation was far more deeply rooted; and Voltaire, in particular, though he

[1] It is often extremely hard to draw the line between the 'sentimental comedy', the 'bourgeois tragedy', and the 'romantic tragedy' of this period. Fortunately, for our purpose there is little need to do so.

had occasional fits of repentance, was loud in condemnation. Yet, in the face of all these obstacles, it increased and multiplied exceedingly. And the list of those who tried their hand at it would be a formidable matter. Among the first to do so was Diderot in those curious hybrids, *Le Fils naturel* and *Le Père de famille* (1757–8). And after him a whole host of followers rushed into the breach. Sedaine, Saurin, Beaumarchais, despite his essentially comic genius, Marie-Joseph Chénier, who has been reckoned—not very wisely, as I must think—a disciple of Voltaire: these were among the most conspicuous figures in the fray. Even La Harpe, who to later days has passed for a type of classical obduracy and who was certainly a nurseling of Voltaire, was among the prophets. So, it is hardly necessary to say, was Mercier, who by his zeal in the cause earned himself the name of *dramomane*. So, in a more distinctly tragic vein, were Du Belloy and Lemierre.

It may be noted that many of these, much to the disgust of Voltaire, wrote their plays in prose: an innovation which rested here, as in Germany, upon the highly questionable assumption that prose was the more natural vehicle of passion, but which had at least the merit of affronting the respectabilities of the 'Greeks'. Indeed, on one occasion (1775) Buffon—though this was on a question of matter rather than of form—took the classicists to task, in full Academy, for their 'servile' devotion to the ancients. And Mercier, immensely delighted to have picked up so powerful an ally, records how 'all the Greek faces of the Academy turned pale' with horror and surprise.[1]

There is no time, amusing though it might be, to attempt any account of these plays in detail. I must content myself with a brief reference to three. The first of these is Sedaine's *Maillard, ou Paris sauvé*, a drama founded on the history of Étienne Marcel. In this play a cradle, with a baby crooning and wailing inside it, appears, at the crisis of the action, unabashed upon the stage. And such was the dismay caused by this insult to the 'convenances'—coupled with the deadly offence given by the author's prose—that the drama, rejected with contumely by the Théâtre français, was kicked across the whole breadth of Europe, unable to find harbourage till it was taken in by Catherine of Russia (1781).[2]

[1] Buffon's assault belongs to 1775. It is printed in the *Panthéon littéraire.* Mercier's reference to it occurs in *De la littérature et des littérateurs*, p. 135.

[2] See Sedaine's dedication of the play to Catherine. It was written in 1771, but its first performance in Paris was in 1788. It may be mentioned that Catherine herself adapted *The Merry Wives of Windsor* for her private theatre; an act which charity may set off against her misdeeds in other departments.

The two other plays are both by Lemierre: *Guillaume Tell* and *La Veuve de Malabar* (1766–86, 1770–80). The history of both throws a curious light upon the prejudices of the orthodox and the slowly gathering courage of the heretics. In the original version of *Tell*, the shooting of the apple was decorously related in a messenger's speech. It was not until twenty years later, when the Revolution was knocking at the door, that the author—and actor—had the courage to risk the shot actually upon the stage. Much the same is the story of *La Veuve de Malabar*. When it first came out, the funeral pile was decently hidden in a deep trench. Only the crest of the flames was visible from the pit. But, as years went on, Lemierre took heart of grace and nerved himself to bring the suttee, large as life, bodily upon the scene. Imagine the feelings of the audience, as a 'herculean but handsome' actor (Larive) leapt into the burning fiery furnace before the very eyes of the audience, and rescued the widow unsinged, in her coat, her hosen, and her hat.

For all these plays, as I have said, *The Gamester* and *George Barnwell* were the ultimate models; a strong dose of romantic wine in the classical water was the ultimate result. It is a curious thought that Moore and Lillo should have triumphed, where Calderon, and even Shakespeare, had been powerless to help. One more instance, if one were needed, of the old maxim: 'habent sua fata libelli'—books too have their chances.

This brings us straight to the last remedy prescribed for the rejuvenation of Tragedy: 'Follow in the steps of Shakespeare.' Is it altogether true that the voice of Shakespeare, at this turning-point, was ingloriously mute? Or had it more influence than his jealous countrymen are apt to suppose? I leave you to judge.

Of Germany time forbids me to say anything at all. I will only remind you that Goethe speaks of him, during these years of 'storm and stress', as 'the father and master of us all'.[1] Whether the father would have found it altogether easy to recognize his offspring is another matter. Fortunately, he had infinite humour and no false sense of shame.

He could not have done without either quality in judging the claims of his eager 'children' in France. It was in this generation, it must be remembered, that he first became widely known across the Channel. And the acquaintance, as might have been expected, called forth the extremes of admiration and disgust. As crucial instances of the former, I take the adaptations of Ducis

[1] *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Buch xiii; compare B. xi.

and the translation of Letourneur. The latter will be sufficiently illustrated in the course of my account.

Ducis was not the only man bold enough to refashion Shakespeare to the taste of the French stage. Here again, the ubiquitous Mercier was on the war-path: with *Les Tombeaux de Vérone* (1782) and *Timon of Athens* (1795). But the work of Ducis is far more typical of the movement; it was more sweeping in its methods; it had a greater vogue; and it was first upon the scene. His earliest effort, as any critic might have foretold, was *Hamlet*, in 1769. His last was *Othello*, in 1792. After that he had no heart to go further. Tragedies enough, he tells us pathetically, were being enacted at his door. *Macbeth* and *Othello* will furnish ample examples of his method.

The former opens under a murky sky, 'in the most sinister region of an ancient forest'—*un site épouvantable*. Duncan, years before, has entrusted his only son, Malcolm, to Sévar, a virtuous Highlander, to be reared far from the poisonous air of Courts. He now comes to learn from Sévar how his young charge has profited by the education of nature: whether he is base and grasping, or just, and therefore worthy to be king. The play, I may remind you, was written during the first year of the Revolution. The answer is all that could be desired. But, as Duncan breaks out into fervent thanksgivings, a deep groan—*un gémissement douloureux*—is heard; and the Witches either do, or do not, appear, according to the taste of the stage-manager, or his calculations of what the audience will put up with. It is manifest that Ducis, like Schiller afterwards, was highly nervous on the point. If they do appear, they are staged to figure not as Witches, but as a blend of Fates and Furies: the first armed with a sceptre, the second with a dagger, the third with a serpent (to signify Revenge), and, like an Elizabethan Ghost of Revenge, with a threefold cry for blood—*Du sang, du sang, du sang!* No wonder that Sévar remarks, 'What a hateful landscape we have here!'

After this opening, the play proceeds much as in Shakespeare, save that the murders of Duncan and Banquo are rolled into one, and that it is the Ghost not of Banquo, but of Duncan, who appears, when the crown is offered to Macbeth. From this point again, the French play diverges from the English. Immediately after the Coronation, the virtuous Highlander presents himself unbidden, bringing Malcolm to the Court. Macbeth, pursued by Duncan's Ghost and smitten with remorse, presses the Crown upon the youth, who, with a thousand regrets for the state of nature he must now abandon, reluctantly consents. Frédégonde—that is, Lady Macbeth—gets wind of this, and determines to prevent it. Having set assassins for Malcolm, she wiles

away the interval by walking in her sleep. With Sévar and Malcolm for witnesses, she enters bearing a dagger in her right hand and a torch in her left. She sinks into a chair, sheathing the one and laying the other on the table. Then her soul unburdens itself, as she alternately makes plunges to right and left with an air-drawn dagger into a visionary Malcolm, or clasps an imaginary infant, her own son, to her bosom. At length she passes out and, still walking in her sleep, drives the dagger into her own sleeping child, whom she mistakes for Malcolm. She is forthwith seized by the Guards for a manifest murderess; and Macbeth kills himself in horror. But, always ready to oblige, Ducis kindly provides a variant in which the assassins, set by Frédégonde for Malcolm, slay Macbeth by mistake; upon which the Queen stabs herself in despair.

It would be unfair not to add that some of the speeches, especially those which are clearly suggested by the original, are full of a gloomy eloquence which, in spite of the current verdict that his style was 'barbarous', it is impossible not to admire.[1] It must be admitted, however, that the tragedy is shifted from the heart to the outward trappings; and that the horrors of Shakespeare, which have commonly been reckoned the chief obstacle to his acceptance on the French stage, turn pale before those of Ducis.

Much the same is true of his *Othello*. And the changes in the plot of this—I do not propose to trouble you with them—are still more sweeping than in *Macbeth*. The two things that seem to have troubled him most sorely were the villainy of Iago and the colour of Othello. 'As for the latter,' he tells us, 'I have thought it within my rights to dispense myself from giving him a black face. I have made up my mind that a yellow, copper hue would suffice. For an African, this is suitable enough. And it has the further advantage of not revolting the public, and in particular the ladies. Besides, it will allow the spectators to enjoy to the full the greatest delight the theatre can offer: I mean, the varied charms that the play of passion gives to the eager, changeful countenance of a young actor'—the compliment is to Talma—'boiling over with fiery feeling, and intoxicated by jealousy and love.'

The character of the villain of the piece was an obstacle yet harder to surmount. Had Pézaro, the transfigured Iago, shown his true mettle at the start, he would, Ducis was assured, have been hissed off the stage in the first scene. Accordingly, during the first four acts he

[1] La Harpe is recorded to have said: 'It is well that Ducis's style is what it is. Otherwise, he would have crushed us all.' Compare Grimm's *Correspondance*, Feb. 1778.

appears as the virtuous friend of both parties. It is only in the fifth, and behind the scene, that his true nature is unmasked. This may have been a convenient subterfuge for Ducis. The only objection is that it makes shipwreck of the whole play. Remove Iago's cunning, and Othello's jealousy falls to the ground. All that is left to the unhappy author is to devise a tissue of absurd acts on the part of Desdemona, to take the villain's place.

Even with these mitigations, the audience rose in open revolt when it came to the murder of the heroine. 'Never was there an effect more full of terror. The whole theatre rose, uttering one cry. Several women fainted. One would have said that the dagger with which Othello had just struck his bride'—the pillow was manifestly impossible—'had pierced every heart. But with the applause there gradually mingled reproaches, protests, finally a kind of general revolt.[1] For a moment I thought that the curtain would have to be rung down. Do I deceive myself in supposing that this indignation sprang from the very admiration I had excited for my heroine. an admiration which, finding itself betrayed at the last moment, was turned into despair and vented its grief upon the author of the disappointment?'

Still, there were twelve performances of the offending tragedy. 'However, I had taken the hint; and, profiting by the construction of my piece, which made alteration an easy matter'—what a confession! —'I substituted a happy ending for that which had inflicted so deep a wound.' This was achieved by the simple device of causing Iago's villainy to be detected at the last moment, so that all ends in smiles and contentment. 'I must confess, however, that the original ending still seems to me much the more appropriate and the more moral.'

Such were the woes of those who strove to make Shakespeare palatable to an eighteenth-century audience in France. Always halting between two opinions, they had the courage of neither. They stood condemned to miss both the elegance of the classical model and the ruthless force of Shakespeare's.

Altogether, the criticism of Grimm—or rather Meister—is not quite beside the mark. 'The theatre of Shakespeare may be an excellent thing for the English; but it is only that of Corneille and Racine which can be any good to us. When the English attempt to imitate the regularity of our Drama'—think of *Cato* or *Irene*—'they have shown themselves cold and feeble. And when, in our turn, we have risked taking them for guides, we have only succeeded in

[1] One of the audience called out: 'Non! un pareil spectacle n'est pas fait pour des Français.' See *Répertoire du Théâtre français* (Petitot), t. xxiv, p. 53.

producing atrocities and extravagances, refining upon the faults of our models without their energy and originality.' [1]

The other great move in the Anglomaniac game was the prose translation of Shakespeare by Letourneur. This appeared, with a high flourish of trumpets, from 1776 to 1782. It was dedicated to the King, and among the subscribers to it were most of the notable names of France.

On the whole, it must be hailed as a very creditable performance. Occasionally the neophytes — there were others at work besides Letourneur—betray some bewilderment. 'Excellent wretch!' for instance, appears as 'Interesting orphan! simple child! admirable creature!' [2]—which, I fancy, is hardly the same thing. But in general they are commendably faithful to the original; more so, I think, for the most part, than their German rivals, Wieland and Eschenburg. And this demanded courage. So did the bold tribute of the Preface to Shakespeare, 'the God of the theatre'.

All that concerns us here, however, is to insist that it was intended to be, and was, the rudest possible challenge to the classical tradition; and to remind you how more than rudely that challenge was taken up. There was one Frenchman, at any rate, who refused to bow the knee to the new Baal; one French voice which was loudly raised in repudiation of the strange god and all his works. This, I need hardly say, was Voltaire. Well over eighty when the first volumes appeared, the old warrior sprang at once to arms. And, as his eye ran over the list of subscribers, his fury knew no bounds. The King and Queen headed the list. Then came three magnates—Choiseul, Turgot, and Necker—who were successively chief Ministers of France. Then such men as Malesherbes and Mirabeau, Diderot and d'Holbach; and, as you will at once have foreseen, the irrepressible Mercier and Ducis. What was yet more alarming was that the chief publishers were down for large orders, one of them for more than a hundred copies; so that the venom was sure to be distilled throughout the land. But worse remained behind. There also were d'Argental, 'beneath the shadow of whose wings' Voltaire was always praying 'to take refuge'; and—most unkindest cut of all—Catherine, Autocrat of all the Russias. Saint Catherine, Minerva, Semiramis, Star of the North, and Heaven knows how many other endearing nicknames.

This was more than the patriarch could stand. All his artillery, light and heavy, was at once wheeled into action. And the piece of resistance, the reading of a solemn protest on the Day of St. Louis, the

[1] *Correspondance de Grimm*, April, 1774.

[2] It is fair to say that there is a note of apology.

gala-day of the French Academy, was immediately secured. Voltaire composed the manifesto. His henchman, d'Alembert, perpetual Secretary of the Academy, was proud to read it. Two things only vexed the soul of the Commander of the Faithful. One was that he himself, in his hot youth, had been the first to introduce the insidious poison to his countrymen. This was disposed of by the jesting admission that he had indeed soiled his hands by 'picking up a few pearls from the dung-hill of this drunken savage'—might heaven have mercy upon his sins! The other was harder to contend against. 'It is clear', he writes in the bitterness of his heart, 'that the full extent of the infamy could be revealed only by a literal translation of the coarse words of the *delicate* Shakespeare. And how profane the polite ears of the ladies by such atrocities as . . . ?' But M. d'Alembert is not wanting in malice. 'Cannot he pause at these sacramental words? Cannot he, in the very act of suppressing the exact phrase, let the public understand that he has not the courage to translate the *decent* Shakespeare, in all his glory? I cannot but think that this reticence and this modesty will charm the Assembly; that they will understand far more evil than they actually hear.'[1]

The great day at length arrived. The Academy assembled in full force. The just gathered in their hundreds to witness the triumph of the good cause and the rout of the alien. Mrs. Montagu, the lady of the peacock-hangings, was there, to be dragged at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror. The faithful d'Alembert exactly followed the precepts of his astute master. And before the meeting was half over, the two culprits, Shakespeare and Letourneur—'that clown Shakespeare and that Merry-Andrew Letourneur' were rolled over and over in the mud showered upon them by their terrible assailant. Only one of the audience had the courage to throw himself athwart the torrent of derision. It was an English boy of twelve, who had been brought there by his mother. In the middle of one of the bursts of applause, he was heard piping out: 'Give me a hooter! I want to hiss that Voltaire'. 'But hissing is not allowed, my little man.' 'How's that, then? I hear plenty of cheering.'[2] I have cast the horoscope of that young man, and find that, when the battle of Waterloo was fought, he was just of an age to be Colonel or perhaps General. I have no doubt that he used his chance, to wipe off old scores—the unacknowledged victor of Napoleon.

[1] Letter to La Harpe of Aug 15, 1776. Compare the letter to d'Alembert of Aug. 10.

[2] The anecdote is told by La Harpe, *Correspondance avec le Grand-Duc Paul*, t. i, pp. 417-18.

Voltaire's triumph was complete. But the old man was always haunted with misgivings. He could never persuade himself that the victory would not one day be followed by a hideous reaction. And when he died, two years later, his forebodings came too true. The man elected by the Academy to fill his seat, of all men in the world, was Ducis. The Patriarch was succeeded by the Arch-heretic. The abomination of desolation was seated in the Temple of the Lord.

May heaven preserve the British Academy from any such signal desecration!

THE BASIS OF REALISM

By S. ALEXANDER

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read January 28, 1914

CONTENTS

I

1. *The spirit of Realism.*[1] The temper of Realism is to de-anthropomorphize: to order man and mind to their proper place among the world of finite things; on the one hand to divest physical things of the colouring which they have received from the vanity or arrogance of mind; and on the other to assign them along with minds their due measure of self-existence. But so deeply ingrained and so natural is the self-flattering habit of supposing that mind, in its distinctive character of mind, is in some special sense the superior of physical things, so that in the absence of mind there would be no physical existence at all, that Realism in questioning its prerogatives appears to some to degrade mind and rob it of its riches and value.

But this apprehensive mood is the creature of mistake. Realism strips mind of its pretensions but not of its value or greatness. On

[1] When I speak in this paper of Realism I mean contemporary realism, and for the most part my own form of it.

the contrary, in leaving to other things their rights mind comes into its own. It is as in a democracy where all men are equal, but where to speak theoretically and disregard the limitations of custom or tradition or poverty, each man is free to rise to the height of his native powers, equality in principle leading to difference in eminence. Realism is the democratic spirit in metaphysics, and if it dethrones the mind, it recognizes mind as chief in the world it knows. This prejudice against realism reposes in fact upon a confusion between the different ideas of reality and perfection. Physical things are as real as the mind but not as perfect. We may illustrate from the similar distinction in morals between goodness and perfection. The good Greek was no less good than the good Christian; but if progress has any meaning, or time has any driving power, the Christian is the more perfect man, richer and fuller and more comprehensive in sentiment and conduct. When, accordingly, we speak of degrees of reality, we must be careful to ask whether we do not mean degrees of perfection. The inconvenience of suggesting this necessary distinction is that it raises so many fundamental questions, which cannot fully be discussed in this place, but to which I may revert in the end. But I will observe here, that perfection itself may be understood in two senses or may arise from two different causes. There is, in the first place, the perfection which comes of greater development, from the fact that the world exhibits existences on different levels. Such is the difference of minds from physical things, which I have been thinking of hitherto. But on any level the more perfect may mean the more complete. Thus a triangle is incomplete because it is only a fragment of the space with which it is continuous. It cannot exist by itself entirely; and it does not pretend to do so, for it is but the limit between two surfaces and is understood as such. So also a society is more complete than the individual member of it.

Now in the first sense of perfection, that of higher development, it seems clear that the higher degree of perfection may leave the lower as real as before. Take the case of the human person. When certain processes occur in certain places in the central nervous system and are of appropriate kind and complexity we have the emergence of the distinctive property of consciousness. But the reality of consciousness though more perfect does not interfere with the reality of the material constituents on which it is built. The water which is so large a constituent of the body remains and does its work as water. But when—to take the second sense of perfection—we consider the relation of the triangle to space or of the individual to society, it may be thought that the constituent is transformed in the complete whole to which

it belongs. But in order to justify this conclusion we should need to prove that its absorption into the whole alters the characters which it possesses as a part. According as the answer to this question falls out, we have the two opposed systems of absolutism, for which only the complete is real, and of pluralism, which allows to the parts a relative but independent reality. It is possible (though not certain) that the two distinctions, that between the perfect and the real and that between the more complete and the real, may turn out to be identical in the end. Both of them will occupy us, but especially the first. And at any rate it is important to recognize that, prima facie, degrees in development are different from degrees of completeness, and raise a different issue; and that the first are compatible accordingly with quite divergent metaphysical views of ultimate things.

2. *Occasion of this paper.* These remarks have been suggested by a lecture of Prof. Bosanquet's on *The Distinction of Mind and its Objects*, delivered by him last February at Manchester, as the Adamson Lecture and published by the University, which contains a statement of his attitude towards Realism. Mr. Bosanquet has done me the honour to take as his text the particular form of Realism expounded in various papers by me, and, independently of me and with much help and suggestion for me in personal intercourse, by Prof. T.P. Nunn.[1] To say that the criticism is generous and sympathetic is to say that it is Mr. Bosanquet's. But it is finally adverse and even sharply so; and I am as grateful for the strictures as for the appreciation. But it seems to me that in part the opposition depends on the belief that in asserting the reality of the object, independent of mind though in relation to it, I am destroying the reality of mind, or at least am robbing it of that which gives it preciousness in knowledge and in life. Not only do I deny this consequence, but I continue to deny it even though I say, as I am prepared to say, that so far are objects from being dependent on mind that we must rather say, if we speak of dependence at all, that it is mind which is dependent on objects.[2]

[1] Mr. Nunn's papers are to be found in :—*Proceedings Aristotelian Society*, N.S., vols. vi, 1905-6: 'The aims and achievements of Scientific Method', vii. 'Causal explanation', viii. 'Concept of epistemological levels', x. 'Are secondary qualities independent of perception?' His book, *Aim and Achievements of Scientific Method* (1907), is now out of print.

My own papers are in *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, vols. viii. to xi. (1907-11), *Mind*, N.S., vols. 21, 22 (1912-3); *Brit. Journ. of Psych.*, iv, 1911. Two less technical papers are in *Hibbert Journal*, viii, 1909 (in which there is an incidental blunder about Kant, corrected recently by Prof. Norman Smith in *Mind*, vol. 22); and in *Journal of Education*, March and April, 1909 ('The conduct of understanding').

[2] See later, section 9.

But the most serious ground of opposition arises from the fundamental principle of my critic's idealism. For Mr. Bosanquet, Idealism means not so much a belief that mind and things are inseparable, except by an abstraction, as rather that the truth is the whole. Only the whole is self-existent and this whole has the character of mind. This is the reason why I have called attention to that other sense of the conception of reality, according to which the real means not the highest but the most complete. Accordingly, Mr. Bosanquet complains that my realism neglects the fundamental fact that there is no discontinuity in kind between mind and its object; and that the very object itself, when you take it as it really is in our experience, owes its reality to characters which are mental, lives in a medium of mind; and therefore the attempt to sever the object from mind defeats itself. It often happens, I believe, in philosophical and other discussion that an opponent will urge against the doctrine he is criticizing a principle which, verbally at least, that doctrine accepts and insists upon. This is my case. For I have pleaded that the fundamental features of things are also to be found in mind, and have implied therefore that mind and things are continuous in kind. From such a situation two conclusions may be drawn. The first is that there may be some deep-going difference which it is of interest to discover, and if possible to remove. The second is that if this and other misconceptions of realism are possible to a critic so receptive and just, the fault is not likely to lie wholly with the critic and may be due to some failure of clearness on my part. And without answering my critic in detail, which might be less interesting to others than to him and me, I propose, therefore, to restate the principle of realism with special regard to the issues which have been thus raised, as well as to certain other misapprehensions entertained in different quarters.

3. *Starting-point of Realism.* The empirical characters of various kinds of existences and their empirical laws are the subject-matter of the special sciences. Of Metaphysics the business is to describe the fundamental or *a priori* characters of things if there are such, and the relations that subsist between them. I mean by these relations not such empirical relations as subsist, say, between animals and plants or between monkeys and men, which are for the biologist; but such relations, if there are any, as are implied in the very existence of varieties of being: as if for instance it were possible to show that variety of existences depended on difference of grouping in certain fundamental elements: and again, the mere relation of participation in one universe. Minds and physical things are two great classes of existences (I do not say the only two), and the relation between them

in virtue of which mind knows things, which is commonly described as belonging to theory of knowledge, is but one chapter of the whole science of metaphysics.

Now the experience of this relation of knower to known declares that mind and its object are two separate existences connected together by the relation of togetherness or compresence, where the word compresence is not taken to imply co-existence in the same moment of time, but only the fact of belonging to one experienced world. The mental partner is the act of mind which apprehends the object, an act continuous with the whole tissue of mental processes which, considered as a whole, is the mind.[1] The object is what it declares itself to be,[2] square, table, colour, or the like—also, to anticipate a later observation, with feelers which it throws out towards a wider whole of which it forms a part. This statement does not mean the mere distinction of the act of mind from its object or so-called content; and those who have supposed the object in this proposition to be the mere formal object have missed its point. The obvious distinction of the mental act from what it is about would obtain if the object were merely a mental content or presentation; and it is implied by Berkeley himself when he declares that mountains and trees exist in the mind not by way of mode but of idea. What the statement means is, that the object of the mental act is a distinct existence (or subsistence) from the mental act. We realists are compelled to harp upon the distinction with a reiteration as wearisome to ourselves as it is to others, because the independent existence of the object is neglected by so many who assert the distinction but do not take it seriously.

But the intent of the proposition is not merely to assert the independent existence of the object, which is therefore non-mental, but even more to assert that the mind is also a thing existent side by side with it, itself one of the things which make up the universe, and one of a number. This is the harder part of the principle to realize, and perhaps the more important. It is best realized by contrast with the familiar doctrine that the mind apprehends itself and things alike, being as it were spectator both of the me and the not-me. When the phraseology of ideas was current in philosophy, the mind was spectator both of ideas of reflection and ideas of sensation. It may be doubted whether this doctrine or that of representative ideas has worked the greater havoc. Now experience tell us that the mind does

[1] See later, section 7.

[2] The question of illusion and error does not yet arise. See later, section 4, p. 285.

not experience itself as an object, but lives through its own self. It does not experience itself in the same way as it experiences objects. Common speech says, indeed, the mind is aware of itself as well as of objects. But while the objects of which it is aware are distinct from its awareness, the self of which it is aware consists in its awareness. Berkeley said that you have only to open your eyes, and you will see that to be is to be perceived. Bury yourself, we say, in the fact of experiencing an object like a table, feel yourself into the whole situation, and you will realize that this situation is the compresence of two things of which one, the act of mind, enjoys itself and, in that act of enjoying itself, contemplates the other. To be aware of a thing is to be caught in the common web of the universe, to be an existence alongside the other existences; peculiar in so far as this empirical character of awareness is distinctive of a certain order of existence, but otherwise not peculiar, at least for metaphysics. But it is this very peculiarity of mind, that it enjoys and does not contemplate itself, which conceals from us if we do not keep careful guard against prepossessions, the experienced fact that a common world unites us both—the one, the thing contemplated; the other, the thing enjoyed. We still imagine a mind which contemplates both and may be thought to be the source not merely of its own knowing of things, but even of their existence. Whereas, if we would but 'recover' by means of philosophy 'the innocence' of the mind which knows no philosophy (and how difficult that is to do!), we should know that we have gone down into the *mêlée* of the world, that physical things are there distinct from us for us to contemplate, and we distinct from them, and that the apparent limitation, that we do not contemplate ourselves as we contemplate them, is to the mind when it again grows reflective the indication that our existence is, not indeed more real, but more perfect than theirs.

But this last is to anticipate. Two things, however, are implied in the analysis which are evident at once. The first, is that there is in ourselves no other mind than that which we know in enjoyment, whether as enjoyment immediately at the moment, or as supplemented by remembered and expected enjoyment; or mediately as supplemented by inferred enjoyment; or by reflective synthesis of all these data. Such knowledge by enjoyment may, however, be helped out by whatever else we may learn *about* the mind from its connexion with its own body or other things.

Secondly, our compresence with physical things, in virtue of which we are conscious of them, is a situation of the same sort as the compresence of two physical things with one another. To recognize that

my consciousness of a physical object is only a particular case of the universal compresence of finites is in fact the best way to realize the analysis which has been given. Of two compresent things *A* and *B*, let *A* be a mind, and suppose both to be contemplated by a being higher than mind. For such a superior being (say God) they would be separate things, and if *A* is perceiving *B*, he would see in this nothing but a state of things in which *B* stirs *A* to a conscious action and *A* becomes conscious of *B*, but *B* does not owe its character as *B* to its being perceived by *A*. Now consider *A* himself. He would be for himself only an enjoyer, and *B* would be contemplated. But the fact is unaltered. It is still the fact that *B* is compresent with *A*, *B* is experienc*ed* because *A* is an experienc*ing*. But that does not make *B* any the less a distinct existence from *A*.

Hence it follows that the distinction of enjoyment and objects contemplated is more fundamental than that of act of mind and its object (of experiencing and experienced). For it is only in the light of the first that the second, which is in truth and for realism identical with it, receives its fit interpretation. That 'enjoyment' is a well-chosen word I should not maintain, and will gladly accept a happier name for the same thing, if it be offered. The late Mr. Shadworth Hodgson reproached me for requiring that we should speak of enjoying a toothache; and it is true that while I only contemplate a toothache (which is an affection of my body) I must speak of enjoying the sensing and the pain of it. I am therefore all the more glad that I can fall back upon the authority of Miss Austen, who tells us of Elizabeth Bennet, that the behaviour of Mr. Bingley's sisters towards Jane Bennet 'restored her to the enjoyment of her original dislike'. I am contented, provisionally, with what satisfies Elizabeth Bennet and Miss Austen.[1]

4. *'Naive' and artful Realism.* This proposition, that experience itself assures us of the existence of a mind, an object, and a relation of compresence between them, is or claims to be, like any other fundamental proposition from which a philosophy sets out, an intuition. Not in the sense that it is given us by some unexplained faculty, nor assuredly, if the above be true, that it is reached without effort, but in the sense that it describes a fact which we are brought face to face with and accept, as we accept a colour or a sound, or the fact that the sun is perpendicular at noon. Nor is it meant that such a fact carries

[1] Possibly, as I am reminded by a friend, Miss Austen meant slily to sugges that Elizabeth wilfully and with pleasure encouraged her dislike. In that case my authority fails me. But I give myself the benefit of the doubt, and allow the text to stand. The passage quoted is in ch. viii of *Pride and Prejudice*.

its own self-evidence with it in a way in which other propositions do not. On the contrary, the proposition may be erroneous; the fact may be seen imperfectly, like the alleged fact which Berkeley saw that to be was to be perceived. Whether the fact is truly seen depends on its agreement with all relevant data. What is meant is, that the fact cannot be proved by argument. The use of argument is, like the use of a microscope, to put us in a position for seeing.[1]

It is, I imagine, this directness of the principle, which is in the minds of those who designate this form of realism 'naive' realism. In what precise sense the epithet is understood by them is not quite clear, except that it appears to imply some degree of crudeness in the doctrine to which it is applied. If it means that the independent existence of physical things is postulated or assumed, the criticism may or may not touch Reid, but certainly not the principle here maintained. For postulation of the independent objectivity of things is the evasion of a problem, by way of escape from the belief that all we know is ideas. But our principle is the mere transliteration of the very experience of objects. If it is asked on what evidence we know that an independent object can exist, the answer is that in the experience of it the independent object is revealed as entering into relation with the apprehending mental act. The problem is not evaded but shown to be gratuitous. But it is replaced by a different problem, of high importance to state: namely, how amongst the objects of which we are aware as distinct from ourselves, there comes to arise the distinction of the real and the illusory. For to the innocent vision there is no such distinction. The image is as real as the percept. And to the last the image remains as independent of the mind as the percept. But we discover that certain images are not verified by perception, do not cohere with the forceful and compelling parts of our experienced world. Hence we are faced with the fact that not all objects which claim to be real can establish their claim, and indeed that every image without exception contains elements introduced by the personality of the experiencer. Our realism is therefore not naïve if that epithet implies the crudeness of assumption without evidence.

What the particular crudeness may be which this name, certainly not one of eulogy, suggests, is not so easy to see. Mere artlessness if it existed (and it does not here) is not irreconcilable with truth. It is as

[1] There are some similar remarks of Mr. Russell (*Principles of Mathematics*, § 124, pp. 129–30). I do not inquire whether what is said here of philosophy does not apply, directly or indirectly, to science as well.

if you were to show a person a white square and asked him what it was and received the answer a white square. That would be artless but true. We must suppose that the naïveness of the principle consists in its inadequacy or relative unimportance.[1] Its importance must be left to speak for itself. But as stated so far, though it seems to me of fundamental importance, it *is* inadequate, and I proceed to repair its defects.

Our statement is the barest knowledge that we have of the fundamental fact of relation between mind and things as we know the fact by acquaintance and not by description. I borrow the language used by Mr. Russell for the distinction described by Prof. Ward and W. James as the difference between knowing a thing and knowing about it. But even as a statement of acquaintance with the fact, it is incomplete. A closer study of my bare experience of things reveals that not only do I enjoy myself in compresence with the object, but that I, as enjoyer, (and not merely my body which is only another object), am in a relation to it of space and time; and that in respect of sensory experience I am related to the object as effect to cause, am passive and aware of my passivity in respect to it, as Locke and Berkeley and many another philosopher have urged. For the more precise exposition of these matters I must needs refer elsewhere.[2]

But not only do I enjoy in myself more than mere compresence with the object; I learn from other sources *about* my mind, that is by description of my mind, that my mind depends for its action, or uses as the vehicle of its action, a body and in particular a nervous system. I discover that my mind responds to external things through bodily organs, and that my enjoyments are initiated by my sense-organs. I come to know that my mind is located in my body and that its events are in temporal relation with events of my brain. In this way, by knowledge which is not enjoyment but consists of contemplated objects and therefore is not knowledge by acquaintance with mind, I come to discover that consciousness is a character which attaches to brain-processes of a certain sort in certain places of my brain.[3] The mind

[1] Once on an evening when the sun had lighted the line of snow above the Roseg glacier near Pontresina, a friend of mine and I called the attention of a newly arrived traveller to the spectacle. After observing it through his field-glasses, a pair of the best Zeiss binoculars, he exclaimed to us 'It is snow'. That was naive, because though true it was incomplete and perhaps not important.

[2] *Mind*, N.S., vol. 21, 1912. 'On Relations and in particular the cognitive relation.' Section 4 ff.

[3] For this see *Mind*, N.S., vol. 21, 1912. 'The Method of Metaphysics and the Categories.' Section 5.

ceases then to be what it was for simple acquaintance, a mere non-physical thing existing beside the physical objects which it knows. There is now a body united with a mind. Nor is there the least difficulty in justifying this union of an enjoyed mind with a contemplated body in a single whole. For our original fact has taught us that physical things which we contemplate and our mind which we enjoy are co-equal existences; and, secondly, our body is also a direct object of contemplation to us and our brain is something which we can contemplate, if not in perception yet in imagination and in thought. All we have learnt about ourselves by this synthesis of enjoyed and contemplated experience is that mind is not merely a thing by itself, floating as a continuum of activities in space and time, but is really, though distinct from its object, not independent of the body to which it belongs.

Next, there is this more to be said about the fundamental relation of mind and its object, that, as we have seen, it is found not simply in the relation between these two groups but between any two existences in the world whatever. There is nothing peculiar in the relation itself between mind and its objects; what is peculiar in the situation is the character of one of the terms, its being mind or conscious. The relation is one of compresence. But there is compresence between two physical things. The relation of mind and object is comparable to that between table and floor, and the cognitive relation—if you abstract, as you may, from the distinctive character of the mental term—is merely the simplest and most universal relation between finite things in the Universe. To realize this is but to take the view of a being higher than mind, for to such a being minds would be open to contemplation equally with physical things, and the cognitive relation would be seen to be one example only of universal compresence, with such other predicates as we can assert about such compresence.

Finally, the distinction of the enjoyer and the contemplated which marks off the mind's experience of itself from that which is experienced by it—a distinction as we saw more vital than that of act and object—is seen to obtain not merely as between mind and things, but wherever a new character of existence emerges as compared with the things of lower level of existence. Mind enjoys itself and contemplates life (whether in other beings or itself) and physical things. The living being, the tree, enjoys itself and contemplates the air it breathes (I am venturing to use different language from Wordsworth). The distinction may be carried further down, were it not for the difficulty of the detail; and it may be carried up to the

angel who enjoys his own angelic character and contemplates minds and all things below.

Thus, when we add to the initial fact all we can discover in it and about it, it turns out to be a particular instance of a wider principle, that the universe consists of distinct real existences of different order, compresent with each other and 'knowing' each other in such measure as is possible to them at their various stages of development. The intuitional fact of enjoyment and compresent object contemplated leads up to an equally intuitional principle of compresent reals constituting a universe. This principle is corroborated by all fact, for all knowledge is in detail the statement of various coherences of things or characters of things. The compresence of reals means the existence as a fact in the real world of the principle which is used by all sciences in their different departments; it is the metaphysical or ontological truth of the logical principle of coherence.

5. *Mind a specific empirical quality or existence.* Of the consequences of this conception I single out two, not in order to criticize other writers but in order to give sharpness of definition to the conception, even at the risk of giving it excessive sharpness.

In the first place, mind or consciousness is a new quality of existence, and that which has mind is a new creature, existing at a higher level than physical or even living things. I do not inquire whether we can properly speak of unconsciousness as included in mind. For it is clear that if this is so, there is no difference of kind but only of grade between consciousness, subconsciousness, and unconsciousness, and that therefore unconsciousness is a form of consciousness. But I do mean that consciousness is a distinctive quality which belongs to organic being at a certain stage, and that it is as much a specific quality as blue or life. Thus I am compelled to dissent from the statement of Prof. E. B. Holt, though he is a fellow realist, that 'consciousness, whenever localized at all (as it by no means always is) in space, is *not* in the skull, but is "out there" precisely wherever it appears to be'.[1] The complex of experiencings is, as the preceding section implies, always localized in the skull. And when James declares [2] that 'there is no aboriginal stuff or quality of being, contrasted with that of which material objects are made, out of which our thoughts of them are

[1] *New Realism*, New York, p. 353. Mr. Holt's doctrine is now more fully expounded in his book, *The Concept of Consciousness*, London, 1914. What he calls consciousness I should call the objects of consciousness. But we are both trying to describe what consciousness is, and our difference is not merely one of language.

[2] *Radical Empiricism*, London, 1912, i, p. 3.

made, but there is a function in experience which thoughts perform and for the performance of which this quality of being is invoked', I confess the fascination of this whole way of thinking, which it lies beyond me here to discuss, but I am compelled to dissent. Granted that our thoughts and material objects are identical; whereas Berkeley repelled the Lockeian separation of ideas and things by declaring material things to be ideas, our realism declares that such ideas are material things. But we are not concerned with thoughts but with the thinking of them. And it follows from our analysis that the thinking of things is the prerogative quality of a special kind of thing, which on its material side is a brain, or at least a nervous system. In one sense it is true that consciousness, the system of -ings, introduces no fresh stuff of existence. For I have the conviction, which I cannot here defend, that there is only one matrix from which all qualities arise. And in the same sense as on a lower level the secondary qualities arise out of this matrix, perhaps by some grouping of elements within it; or, upon a higher level, life; in that same sense we have on the highest level known to us the emergence of a new quality, of mind. Lest the notion of the emergence of a new quality be thought obscure, I add that I mean by it nothing more than what happens when in descent from a certain organic type a new type is produced; as when descent from an ape leads to a form which though ape-like is no longer ape but man; or better still, when in time descent from an invertebrate leads to a vertebrate type. Or, to take an example from a quite different field, I mean what Browning's Abt Vogler means when he says of the musician, 'that out of three sounds he frames not a fourth sound, but a star'. The new quality of mind may be called a functional quality. For when we consider consciousness as we know it only by direct acquaintance, it is itself a specific thing, a complex of conscious processes (though even this account involves terms like 'process' which are of a descriptive character). But we learn that the processes which are conscious are specific processes taking place in a material thing, and mentality is the specific quality of such processes.[1]

That conscious process should be process with a new quality and yet be entirely expressible without residue in physiological terms is indeed a debatable conception. But if facts compel us to it, why should we seek to evade the facts? The one error we have to avoid is that which vitiates epiphenomenalism: the error of supposing that physiological

[1] On the justification of speaking of mind sometimes as a 'thing' and sometimes as a 'quality' or 'character', see further *Supplementary Note*, at the end of the paper.

processes which are conscious would be the same, *even as physiological processes*, if they were without consciousness. 'The fertile point of view', says Mr. Bosanquet, 'lies in taking some neuroses—not all—as only complete in themselves by passing into a degree of psychosis.'[1] I lay the emphasis on the words 'not all'. The neurosis must be in such place and time and of such complexity as to carry with it the conscious character. But if we avoid the error thus exposed, this fact that vital process of a certain order may be mental, difficult and mysterious as it may sound, is our first-hand experience of what may prove to be something fundamental to the universe of things, and may in particular be applicable on the border-line between life and its physico-chemical basis, another instance of the contrast between the enjoyed and contemplated. I have no intention to enter upon the question of vitalism; but I refer for confirmation of what has here been said to the sane and balanced treatment of the whole subject by Prof. Lloyd Morgan.[2]

But as I am writing in order to provoke discussion and not as one who claims finality, I will add for clearness' sake a further illustration of my meaning, which may turn out to be rash. Psychologists have rejected on good grounds the supposed sense of innervation, the *sensation* of nervous discharge. But if we do not confine innervation to the outgoing discharge, and refuse to separate from one another afferent central and efferent process, assigning to the process as a whole the unity which belongs to the neurone, then what the older psychologists mistakenly called the sense of innervation is in fact consciousness itself or in general. The physiological transition along

[1] *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, Gifford Lectures for 1912, p. 3 (London, 1912)

[2] See his *Instinct and Experience*, London, 1912, and his lecture, *Spencer's Philosophy of Science*, Oxford, 1913. I do not, however, see the necessity of the notion which he appears to accept, without much enthusiasm, of a 'guidance' due to cognition or 'cognitive relatedness' which need not change the amount of energy. (*Lecture*, pp. 45, 52.) Guidance, in the sense intended, is I suppose guidance by purpose. But surely purpose is itself a mental and brain process, and does affect the total of energy. I should like to discuss Prof. Hobhouse's treatment of purpose (*Development and Purpose*, London, 1913, pt. ii, ch. ii), but it would carry me too far. Dr J S. Haldane's *Mechanism, Life and Personality* (London, 1913), contains an excellently moderate statement of the case for 'neo-vitalism'; but I do not like the philosophy of it.

I am well aware how dogmatic the above view of the relation of the mental to the brain process may seem, without consideration of different conceptions. But I must be brief. I am not unmindful of the difficulties presented by the facts of binocular fusion and flicker referred to by Mr. MacDougall (*Mind and Body*, London, 1911, ch. xxi). The above view is not of course peculiar to me, but is one of a type.

the neural chain is in its new quality the transition which is consciousness.

Consciousness being thus a real existence, whether we call it thing or function or quality, it is clear that it cannot be a relation. This remark is made only because the contrary has been supposed. In the experience, the perception of a table, the terms of the relation are the table and the perceiving consciousness. The relation involved, the cognitive relation, corresponds to the word *of*, and it is neither the table nor the consciousness but their togetherness. Table is not togetherness, nor is the perceiving act togetherness, though it is true of the latter at least that from the nature of the case there would be no perceiving except in the togetherness. Whether the same is true of the table is a point to raise at a later stage.

6. *Objects and Things; or 'sensory contents' and 'objects of thought'.* A second implication of the fundamental analysis is that the object is known for what it is, not necessarily as it is in its real nature, for there may be illusion, but at its face value, as blue or square or table or the number 2 or the law of gravitation. Like other living things the mind is selective, and according to the act into which it is thrown will be the object revealed to it, which enters into it, as Mr. Bosanquet so happily says, through the open door, or is seen by it through a window with glass of different degrees of transparence. To the mental acts of sensing, perceiving, imagining, thinking, correspond in the object, sensa (sense-data), percepts, images, concepts; all independent of the mind though related to it in togetherness, owing to it their *percipi* but not their *esse*.[1] These objects (assumed for simplicity not to be illusory) are selections from a completer object which is discovered by the synthesis of many experiences. When I have the visual objects 'brown' 'square' before me, I do not see the table, but only when by repeated experience I have connected these objects into a unity with 'solidity' and 'wooden' and the rest; so that when I now perceive the table, that object is revealed to me in perceiving as the total of its constituents. In common speech, a thing means at least the continuum of its qualities; and until we know what a quality ultimately is, we cannot say more. We can thus distinguish the partial 'object' from the complete 'thing'.[2] But when we describe the partial object in terms of the complete thing, we are not saying

[1] See later, section 9.

[2] This distinction of terms is used in much the same way by Mr. H. Barker. *Proc. Arist. Society*, N.S., vol. xiii, 1912-13, p. 258.

As will be made clear in the next section (7) I am speaking in the above of definite objects, and I do not imply that 'brown' or 'square' can ever be apprehended by themselves without a fringe.

what it is to acquaintance but speaking about it. The most incomplete objects are the objects of sensing.

We may, if we please, distinguish the partial element of the whole from the whole as content from object; and the only objection to this would be the introduction of a useless and misleading terminology. But those who distinguish the sensory content from the object of thought mean something different; they mean that the real thing or object is meant or intended or referred to by thought, and that sensations and images are but directing guides to the nature of this object. Now I have two objections to this. The first is to some extent a matter of language, though not entirely so. The content of a mental process should strictly or usefully mean those features which can be detected in the process as such, process characters. By process characters I mean such elements as speed, direction, configuration or pattern of a process. For example, if I am walking and diverge to look at a rose, the change in the process is described by the angle made by my new movement with the old. To call it a movement towards the rose is not a description of it in terms of the walking process itself. What the distinctive features of mental process are it may be difficult to say, but there is no reason why they should not be discovered.[1] But no one pretends that a mental process as such is coloured or fragrant, and it is, I submit, an inconvenience to use a term which suggests that such characters are contained in mind. But if the term 'content' is not thus used, but to mean that which the mental act is about, then I submit the object thought about is as much the content of the thought as the sensum is of the sensation or sensing.

But the second objection is a more serious one. To distinguish the sensory content as psychical from the object of thought is to consider the sensum not at its face-value but with the knowledge *about* it which we have in the knowledge of the thing to which it belongs. Because we know that there is a thing of which the sensational contents are but a fragment, we depreciate the sensory object into something less than and of a different order from the thing. But only extra-sensational apprehension tells us about the thing, and for sensing itself the sensum is as much a non-mental object as ever is the thing. We dare not use our greater knowledge to forgo our philosophical innocence. Accordingly, to those who maintain the existence of sensory contents in distinction from objects of thought, we must

[1] So, for instance, towards an account of intensity attempts have been made by F. Brentano in his extraordinarily suggestive *Untersuchungen zur Sinnespsychologie*, Leipzig, 1907, Essay 2, pp 53 ff., and later from a physiological point of view by C. S. Myers, *British Journal of Psychology*, vol. vi (Oct. 1913), pp 137 ff. Also Holt, *New Realism* (on quality); Munsterberg, *Grundz. d. Psych.*, 1900, III.

reply as follows: Either the sensory content is a part of the thought-object or content; or it is not. If it is a part of the thought-content, for each party sense and thought would at any rate be on the same footing. This is not the meaning of those from whom I differ. But if the thing which is the object of thought and not a psychical content is on a different footing from the sensory content which is only a guide to it, what, it may be asked, is the warrant for this object? Either it is experienced or it is not. If it is not, it is merely assumed or postulated. If it is experienced, it is correlative to some mental act of thought or meaning, of which it is as much the content as the sensum is the content of the act of sensing. The same thing is true if the act of meaning is an element only in a mental act of sensing or perceiving; if, for instance, it stands merely for the synthetic unity of mind which corresponds to the unity of the object. And accordingly the so-called object of thought is psychical. For us, both the sensum and the object of thought are equally objects, non-psychical; they are equally objects meant, though they are not equally important.[1]

Doubtless it is difficult enough, with our natural and philosophical prepossessions, to treat the sensum as an object independent of the mind, for which the mind with its sense organ, through its act of sensing, is the mere vehicle of reception. Partly this arises from our theoretical ignorance of what exactly in the object the sensum is as compared with the percept. To call the sensum blue, as I have done, using a Leibnizian metaphor, a fulguration of the quality blueness is admittedly but a metaphor. And I am not yet prepared to supply the defect in theory. The sensum is so fragmentary and elementary. But at least we can say that whatever it may be, it is that which

[1] The word 'thought' appears to be used very loosely. Sometimes it means thinking proper (judging, conceiving, inferring), and this it ought to mean. Sometimes it is used for any (cognitive) act of mind. Here it is used for that in the mind which means or refers to an object, which is not a content. But what is this something in the mind? 'Meaning' again is used loosely. Strictly, one part of a complex means another part or the whole. The fox means his cunning. When I say the protestant religion I may mean the religion of the Church of England. But, above, meaning is equivalent to objective reference. This is a different sense. And in this sense a sensing act means its sense-object, and a thinking act its thought-object, and the word signifies nothing more than the compresence of the object with the mind.

On this whole subject, in which I have in view the teaching of Mr. Stout, see his important paper on 'Some fundamental points in the theory of knowledge' (St. Andrews Quincentenary Papers on Philosophy and Divinity, Glasgow, 1911); also *Mind*, N.S., vol. 20, 1911, 'Reply to Mr. Joseph'; and the new (3rd) edition of his *Manual of Psychology*, 1913, Introd., ch. vi, and bk. i, ch. i.

exists in the thing at the moment and place to which it is referred, and that it is equally and identically apprehensible by me and another person who should put himself into the same situation of place and time as I, and who is supposed for simplicity to be equally normal with me, and to be suffering from no special subjective condition different from mine which might differently affect his susceptibility to the sensory object.

The difficulty is aggravated from two sources. One is the varying character of visual objects as compared with touch, and generally of secondary qualities as compared with primary. The other is found in certain familiar illusions. Both kinds of evidence seem at first sight to compel the conclusion that sensory objects are psychical contents, though objective in their reference. But this conclusion is dispelled by examination.

Take illusion first, and, as I must be brief,[1] take the doubling of vision produced by pressing one eye to the side. Two objects to sight but only one to touch. But shut the undisturbed eye, and provided you look at your finger you see the displaced object in the same place as you touch it. There is only subjectivity in the case of the two eyes open because we have then two different co-ordinations of vision and touch which are contradictory. For then there are two visual images of object and adjacent finger, but only one touch impression, and the object appears to be touched in two seen places. Thus the two seen images are the real look of the object when the normal co-operation of the eyes is suspended.

Thisleads to the wider case of variations in vision and other secondary qualities though touch (itself also subject to variation under certain circumstances) remains unaltered. I see the table in different perspective according to my position. But this does not prove the visual object psychical—a mere content, but only that the object looks different from various angles. Substitute for the eye a purely physical object, say a soft mass of putty; and let it be pressed against a hard square object. The corner of the square will affect the soft mass differently from the side; the corner will reveal its real angularity to the putty and the side its smoothness. Now for the angle contemplating, our mind is related to the table in vision as the putty is related to the square. In both cases the appearances are real characters of

[1] For a further and fuller discussion of sensory illusions, as well as for the objectivity of images (a question I have not raised in this paper), see the paper in *Aristotelian Proceedings*, vol. x, 1909–10, 'On Sensations and Images.' Mr. Stout's paper, to which this is an answer, is contained in the previous volume.

the thing. And so when the stick is seen bent in water, its visual character is bent because of the refraction of the light; the illuminated outline is bent. But of course the touched stick is not bent.

These facts and many like them do not justify the distinction of sensory contents as against thought-objects. They rather point to the superior value of touch-experience and the greater importance of primary qualities, as in the first place apprehended by touch, over the secondary ones. For by touch we are in immediate relation with the spatial characters of things, while the other senses require not the thing alone but the additional presence of some other *physical* object, 'ether' or air or some other so-called medium. Great as is the light thrown by Mr. Stout's discussion upon this fundamental matter,[1] the topic is irrelevant for our immediate purpose. For the primary qualities are in precisely the same position with regard to our *minds* as the secondary ones. Either both of them are mental or neither. Berkeley (and apparently Mr. Stout) has chosen the first alternative. Realism maintains the second.

7. '*Mind always a world, its objects always fragments.*' So much for the fundamental thesis, the analysis of experience of an object into the mental act on one side, and the object on the other, and their compresence. But now comes my critic and declares the analysis to be a misdescription, and not a fundamental truth but a fundamental error. 'Speaking of fact as I find it,' says Mr. Bosanquet,[2] 'I should compare my consciousness to an atmosphere, not to a thing at all. Its nature is to include. The nature of its objects is to be included. When I came into this hall out of the smaller room in which we met, the circumference of my mind seemed to expand.' Yes! because his mind came into compresence with a larger range of distinct objects. What fascination such ideas as the likeness of consciousness to an atmosphere possess for me, I have admitted in a similar case, and explained how realism resists the fascination. The epigram at the head of this section sums up the writer's view. 'Mind is always a world; its objects are always fragments.'[3] My inclination is to meet it with the precise negative. Mind is never a world; its objects are never fragments. But as this would be as misleading (though not as untrue) as the original, let us say rather: Mind and its objects are both alike and in the same sense worlds or fragments. So far as the object is a fragment, mind is a fragment too. So far as mind is a world, its

[1] *Manual of Psychology*, 3rd ed., 1913, bk. iii, pt. ii, ch. ii.
[2] *Adamson Lecture*, Manchester, 1913 (cited hereafter as *A. L.*), p. 27.
[3] *A. L.*, p. 38.

object is a world as well. This issue enables me to make good an incompleteness in the explicit statement of the analysis.

In the perception of a tree, there is on one side the act of perceiving and on the other the percept tree. But the perceiving act is never enjoyed in isolation but in continuity with something else, which further experiencing shows to be also acts of mind continuous with the one mentioned and with others. The act of mind (already a complex in this case at least) throws out feelers towards its continuum, and the perceiving is but the salient feature in the enjoyment, to which the rest is a dimly enjoyed fringe. It is because of this that we must still accept the Cartesian *cogito* as valid. I think; therefore my thinking exists. But my thinking is experienced with its fringe. It is still *my* thinking. Therefore I exist; though only as the continuum of my acts, and not (so far as the *cogito* supplies evidence) as anything single and distinct from them. But the same thing is true of the object. The object tree is only the salient and interesting part of a larger whole with which it is continuous. At the least it is continuous with all surrounding space and time. As the mental act throws out feelers towards the rest of the mind, so does the sensed blue or the perceived tree, or the thought universal, throw out feelers towards its fringe. Included in this fringe is the spatial and temporal basis of the other qualities of the thing to which so simple an object as blue belongs; and because of this the synthesis of qualities which is revealed in the thing by repeated and diverse experiences is no artificial combination, but already contained in the thing, and merely discovered by increasing knowledge, not invented by it.

And now we can combine these statements of the mental act and its object. The object is given as a fragment of a larger whole. The mental act is given as a fragment of the mind. But the experience itself is the continuity of mind with its object (at least in space and time) and with the whole of which that object is a fragment, including other minds; and similarly it is the continuity of the object with its apprehending mind. How much is given of the fringe in the case either of the mental act or the special object, and with what distinctness of definition of elements within them, will depend of course upon circumstances. But the initial and fundamental fragmentariness of both mind and object is the fact, which when we realize it no longer vaguely as an adumbration but explicitly in a philosophic thought, we describe by declaring both mind and things to be fragments not merely of something larger than their own salient momentary existences but of an infinite whole; when we say, for instance, with Malebranche, that we see all things in God.

But if mind is as much a fragment as its object and in the same sense, the object, no matter how simple, is as much a world as mind. This is indeed but to repeat the same truth as is asserted in the fragmentariness of each. The mind is in relation with, is compresent with, all the things it knows, and in that sense is their atmosphere, or envelops them ; and in the end, with thinking brought to the aid of sense, it knows the whole, although not in all that whole's richness of qualities, but only to such extent as its powers reach. But the external object is equally in relation according to its measure with the whole. The table envelops the whole universe, and is its atmosphere, so far as a table can; if only that it is part of the same space and time to which they all belong. So true is Leibniz's conception that each monad represents the universe from its own point of view. Provide the monads with windows, which Leibniz denied them. Only the appetitions of the monads remain to characterize the monads themselves. Their presentations are the real objects with which they are in intercourse. But each remains in this sense a world.

But perhaps it is not wise to call things what they are not. Both mind and its object are metaphorically a world in themselves, and each of them stands in relation with more than itself and in the end with the whole world. But each of them is finite and more properly a fragment than a world. And each of them has its own self-existence, such as it is. It is both clearer and truer to say that each is a distinct and independent portion of the world, which reaches out beyond itself into the whole, but does not forfeit its self-existence or individuality thereby, if only because this reaching-out beyond itself is part of its individuality. But this is a topic which belongs to a later section, as well as the question whether in any sense not 'minds' but 'mind' is a world, and whether there is any such thing as mind in general.

8. *The riches of mind; and tertiary qualities.* But though minds are no less fragments and no more a world than their physical objects, they are more perfect fragments and their world is more perfect. We have seen how mind is built on a substructure of physical and vital existence, and is more perfect than those physical or vital things which are without mind. But the same difference of perfection may be stated in a different way, from the point of view of what each level of existence 'knows'. The windows of things are variously glazed.[1]

[1] Or in Mr. Bosanquet's phrase (*A. L.*, p. 18) have 'degrees of transparence'. As a friend reminds me, 'the windows which Leibniz denies to monads are not properly windows to see through but openings or holes 'through which anything could come in or go out'. It is convenient for me to retain the word in

Though each thing is in active relation with the whole universe, it only sees the universe in those characters of things which it is able to see, which its glass transmits. For the table, the whole world may be, let us say at a venture, accelerations under the law of gravitation, which let us suppose, again at a venture, to be universal. To a mind these same things are revealed with their colours or, if they are living things, with their life. And as one level of existence differs from another in what it is for itself, so within the range of minds there are various riches of endowment. To one mind the universe may be revealed as nothing more than something-or-other vaster than any single object, which makes itself oppressively or joyously felt. Another rises in thought to its explicit infinitude. One is tone-deaf, another colour-blind. A richly endowed intellect (I am confining myself to the more difficult case of intellectual riches) is like a person of fine manners who responds with subtle differences of behaviour to each varying subtlety in the human surroundings of his intercourse. Just so the finer mind is responsive to a greater wealth of objective fact, is more subtly discriminative in the differences of things, and in virtue of its past experience and hoarded wealth of mental suggestion and coherent and unified activity, or of some happy gift of divination which sends it in reasonable quest of fresh combinations in the objective world or even fresh objects, which perhaps it finds; in virtue of all this sees with wider range and more deeply and delicately into things. A simple illustration is found in the difference between the good and bad observer of the same object. Both receive the same sensory impression; but in the one the sensory activities are supplemented by other (ideal) activities to which the corresponding objects compresent with those activities are those which are really present in the thing and are verifiable; while in the other the supplementary activities mislead. The psychologist describes the machinery of mental activities or rather the functioning of them, for it is precisely these processes which are his peculiar subject-matter and not primarily their objects. None but a psychological pedant would indeed deny himself the liberty of describing a process, when he is not specially concerned with the analysis of its process-characters, in terms of the object to which it is relevant. He may still speak of the perception of a table when it is not his purpose to analyse the act of perception, but, for example, to show how the perception of the table in my room calls up the image of a

both senses, as openings by which external things can exercise causality on any thing (I do not of course suppose that things 'come in or go out' through them), and as windows by which they are revealed to that thing.

table upon which in a council of war the map of the field of campaign is laid out. No single feature of our mental life which the psychologist has to explain is affected by the realistic theory which declares that all these features are characters of process and not of contents or objects. As Berkeley's idealism did not deny material things, but only gave them a new interpretation or rather orientation; so our realism, in insisting that mind with all its wealth is in and for itself a complex of activities, makes no change in psychology but gives a different metaphysical orientation to its subject-matter.

Thus the real thing which is mind is no less precious to realism than to its rival. But amongst the precious things which give value to the world are the tertiary qualities, and in particular beauty. Now it may be said, 'You have put secondary qualities on the same footing as primary ones and declared both to be physical. But some things are charming or lovely as well as red or round. But delight belongs to mind, and if all reality is physical the aesthetic object seems to be robbed of its most vital reality.' Nay, but the mind is, we have now seen, as real as physical objects and more perfect, and that objection disappears. But it is true that beauty is no easy thing to explain. We have to recognize in the aesthetic object a blending of two reals, physical and mental, in which mind and body join, much in the same way as they are synthesized in the human person, and in which the mental element informs the physical thing, making it the embodiment of something real and complete, and (if I may avoid the doubtful word 'expressive') individual and effective. For the aesthetic object as physical is not aesthetic. It needs qualities which are imputed to it by the mind and are *not* in itself; whereas when we perceive correctly the qualities imputed to the object actually *are* there. The picture is itself flat, but if it is beautiful it looks solid. Take as an illustration the comparison made by Mr. Berenson (and for all I know by others) between the Cimabue and the Giotto Madonnas that stand side by side in the Academy at Florence. The Cimabue picture is flat and looks flat; the more beautiful Giotto looks three-dimensional and individual and effective: it has greater aesthetic value. The Florentines of the Renaissance, according to this luminous critic, excelled in depicting form to look real solid form, or (e. g. Botticelli) in depicting real motion. The Umbrian painters (e. g. Perugino) excelled in 'space-composition', in rendering the 'sweep of space'. But the imputed elements are not in the painted mass. Or the marble Apollo may have solid form but it is not alive, and its life is the contribution made to the whole by the mind. Sometimes the imputed qualities are the human expression which is not at all in the physical object,

but is the mind's work.[1] This co-operation of mind and object in the aesthetic thing is what gives to beauty at once its character of fiction and of value. As our bodies are organic to our minds, are at once the substructure without which they would not be, and the medium in which they are expressed; so the aesthetic object, neither wholly physical, nor wholly mental, is a form of existence in which both these kinds are blended, and beauty is the real tertiary quality which is its distinctive character.

Of the other tertiary qualities, goodness, which is a character of persons, and truth, which is a character of all real existence alike, I need not speak, but may refer to the fuller treatment of them and beauty elsewhere.[2]

II

9. *Independence of objects.* If the foregoing analysis of experience be true, experience itself declares that in apprehension an object is revealed to the mind which is non-mental and independent of it. It even declares that in sensory experience the mental act is the effect of the object, that the mind is passive in respect of the sensory object. Now no one doubts that the object is indispensable for the mental act; the mind, as Lotze said, cannot grind without grist. But it is often

[1] Compare the words of Shelley in the sonnet 'Ozymandias' (the italics are mine):—

> Near them, on the sand,
> Half-sunk, a shattered image lies, whose frown,
> And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
> Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
> Which yet survive, *stamped on these lifeless things,*
> The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed.

[2] See two articles in *Mind*, N.S., vol. 22, 1913, on 'Collective willing and truth'. Beauty is discussed, very slightly I confess, but less slightly than here, in the second of these two articles, which had not appeared when Mr. Bosanquet wrote. The passage on beauty (section 12) was written like the rest of the paper before I had read Mr. Berenson's four books on the Italian Painters of the Renaissance, or I should have written somewhat differently. I speak there too much as if the expressive element in a picture were always some human feature of character imported from the spectator; and I have now learnt (especially from the book on the Florentines) that it is not always so. I do not know if Mr. Berenson, in insisting so strongly on the 'tactile values' of a great representation of form, that it makes you feel the objects represented as real and tangible, may not be describing what is a specially personal experience of his own, which need not perhaps be universal. For even if it is denied that we can directly see solid form as well as touch it, at any rate in the indirect vision of solidity, not all of us need to realize vividly the tactual solid character.

maintained that the converse is equally true and that the mind is indispensable for the object, at least for the sensory object, if not for the object of thought. For completeness' sake, as well as in view of what follows, I will endeavour briefly to remove this prejudice.

It arises in part from a confusion between the notion of independence and that of absence of relation. It is clear that in the experience both object and subject enter into a relation, that of being known on the one hand and of knowing on the other. But dependence is a specific kind of relation. When *A* is dependent on *B*, we mean at least that without *B*, *A* would not have the qualities for which it is said to be dependent on *B*. Thus when we speak of a very dependent person, we mean that he can do nothing without the help of some one else. To be independent in any respect is for *A* to have these qualities in the absence of *B*. Now the object is clearly dependent on the mind for being known. But it is, as the mind itself declares in the experience, not dependent upon the mind for the qualities which make it what it is. The mind is indispensable to blue in so far as it is sensed, but not for its blueness. The case may be illustrated from the commonest experience. The shilling which is in my possession depends on me for being possessed but not for being a piece of silver, a white metal with a certain atomic equivalent.[1]

The prejudice arises, next, from the selectiveness of the mind, which it shares with organic things in general and with things at a lower level. The mind apprehends only what it is interested in; that is, what affects it in any way. But selection, while it creates the limitation of the mind to what is selected, does not or need not alter the object selected. When sulphuric acid is poured upon salt, the sulphuric acid selects the sodium from the salt, but the sodium which enters into the sulphate of sodium is precisely the sodium which was contained in the salt, though it owes its presence in the sulphate to selection by the acid. When an animal extracts oxygen from the air, the oxygen owes to the animal its removal from the air to the lungs, but it is the very oxygen which was in the air. The mind in like manner sees the table now square now oblong, according to the point of view. But these are real visual elements of the table, and only the selection is due to the mind. Now all mental action (at any rate

[1] This consideration is used repeatedly by the 'New Realists' in their treatment of what they call the 'egocentric predicament'. See especially Prof. Perry's paper. Of course the stamp of the king's head implies human minds but certainly the qualities of the silver do not. On the contrary it is because this is a metal, comparatively rare, and easy to handle, that it is made use of by men for currency.

when it is sensory) is a reaction on the object, and in respect of its cognitive character leaves the object unaffected in its nature, though it may select for its attention according to the direction of its interest the most different combinations of the characters of the object.

Thus on the strength of the declarations of experience itself we see that objects are not dependent for their own characters on the mind which apprehends them, and have those characters when there are none to apprehend. We humans, who live at the level of the sixth day of creation, are so unwilling to go back to the fourth when there were no animals to see and hear. It may be objected that if the sense-object actually acts causally on the subject its effect would not exist in the absence of the subject. But this would be an error; it would produce its full effect, but if the recipient were different, so would be the effect. A sound from a tuning-fork would not produce hearing, but it would set in sympathetic vibration a fork of the appropriate pitch.

This is all that is necessary for our purpose, for it demonstrates that the object is independent of the mind. But it is well to go further, even at the risk of raising difficulties that will not be solved, and consider how the case stands with the independence or dependence of the mind. According to the vague general description of dependence given, mind is undoubtedly dependent on its objects. In sensory action the particular direction of consciousness is even determined causally by the object. In imagination, however, and thinking, the object is not causally operative but only compresent. We might feel inclined to say then, that the image and the thought are dependent on the mind, or at least interdependent with it. But this cannot be; the image and the thought are themselves verified in their different ways by sensory experience, that is, by an object independent of mind; and they are as much objective as the perceived table, though they may contain elements of error. All that the image and the thought owe to the mind is the particular selection of elements; and the erroneous elements are arbitrarily selected; but, true or illusory, they are equally objective and independent; precisely as a steam-engine though due to my practical action is independent of me, and may destroy me if I do not humour it.

The above general account of dependence would make the cause 'dependent' on its effect, as well as the effect on the cause; or the triangle 'depend' on its surrounding space. But dependence in common usage suggests causal dependence, and it is not consistent with usage to say that the cause depends on the effect or is determined by it. In this situation we might try to modify our account of dependence;

but this would mean a difficult inquiry, and I deliberately choose now the coward's part and evade it.[1] But since dependence suggests that the dependent is an effect, and since this is not true of every sort of mental action, it is better to use a more general word and, borrowing a term from the 'New Realism', say that the mind implies its objects. The objects still do not imply the mind, except for their being known (i. e. implied); not, that is, for their nature. Such implication is not inferential, but experiential, attested by the experience itself.

Thus if we have to speak of dependence at all, it is the mind which is dependent on objects and not objects on the mind. For the reasons given, I prefer to avoid the phrase. But though mind only implies its objects and does not always owe its action to them, yet we have still to note that in the order of creation, minds are strictly the issue, and the causal issue, of the physical order of things. For now that we have learnt that we experience real objects, as well as ourselves; have learnt that the foundations of science are sound; we may follow what we can learn from any source in physical science concerning them. And following analogy we must hold that beings with mind are descendants of lower forms of life, and exist because their apprehension of external things (and one another) enabled them to persist, and that conscious apprehension is but the last and most perfect form known to us of accommodation to pre-existing things, the greater perfection of man's receptivity to his surroundings and his more or less inventive reaction upon them securing him his happiness and his mastery of the world. We hold this in virtue of the same reasoning which inverts the old argument from design, and holds, not that the trees and rocks and lower animals were created for man, but that man's fortunate endowment enables him to survive by making use of rocks and trees and animals.

If any one thinks that this doctrine savours of materialism, he forgets that mind, though descended on its physical side from lower forms of existence, is, when it comes, a new quality in the world, and no more ceases to be original because in certain respects it is resoluble into physical motions, than colour disappears because it is resoluble into vibrations. But if he thinks (what is more serious) that this doctrine destroys the independence, individuality or self-existence of mind, he is confusing independence, not in the old way with unrelatedness, but with isolation. Man's implication of objects which do not imply him, and his genetic outcome from things of their order, no more destroy his individuality and independence, than a triangle's

[1] I could not attempt it myself, apart from a general inquiry into time.

implication of its surrounding space destroys its individuality. On the contrary, these things make him the richer individual. It was only in order to repel the notion that objects were dependent on mind, that we were forced to say that if we must choose which side, if either, is dependent, it must be mind. But dependence and independence are relative terms. Strictly speaking, there is nothing which is not dependent on other things, and in the end on the whole universe, in at least some of its aspects. For instance, the stone though not dependent on me, is dependent on the whole of space and time. But it is just because the stone is not aware of mind and does not imply it, that mind which does imply the stone is higher than it. The thing which carries mind is in its degree an independent individual, with its own self-existence. For take the worst case, that of the action on the mind of sensory objects which affect it causally. They do but give its particular direction to the consciousness which they awake. They do not by themselves create consciousness. Consciousness owes its possibility to the organism of which it is a functional quality, not to the object which acts on it. Without the object there would be no act of consciousness; but without the organism there would be no consciousness to awake. The individuality of the man consists in the tendencies which precede the action of the object, the tendencies to react upon the object. The apple which I perceive makes me put out my hand to grasp it and eat it. That reaction has with me the character of consciousness, and in the reaction I am aware of the form and taste of the apple.[1] The basis of my individuality lies in these tendencies to conscious reaction. Each several reaction in which these tendencies are set a-going implies its object and enriches the individuality. Sometimes the object itself it is which sets them at work. Sometimes they are set at work from within. But there are always the tendencies to act and to know. Just so the impulse of love implies a mate of whom it sets a man in search; and the instinct towards one's fellows implies them and enables us to know them. Perhaps in the same way the impulse to worship implies a God, in searching for whom we get to know him. All these tendencies centred in our brain and supported by our body, waiting for the touch which awakes them into consciousness, are for us the properties contained within those boundaries of space and time, which

[1] This is what is meant when cognition is denied to be a distinct mental attitude, different from conation. The element in the cognitive complex, in virtue of which the conation needs to be called cognition, is the *cognitum*, the object itself outside the mind. See paper on 'Conational Psychology', *British Journal of Psychology*, vol. iv, 1911.

make us individuals and the distinct and relatively independent things we are.

The same account with proper changes might be given of every other form of finite existence.

10. *Minds and 'Mind'*. The minds we have been discussing are empirical existences, strictly comparable with physical things, but distinguished from physical things by their peculiar quality of consciousness or mentality. A mind is a continuum of processes which also are functions of an organic, physical body. An empirical existence is contrasted with an *a priori* existence, not in the sense that what is *a priori* is not experienced, for there is nothing which is not either experienced or experiencing, but in the sense that there are certain characters of the world which are all-pervasive, and are common both to things and minds.[1] And amongst these fundamental categorial characters I include time and space, whether as characters or as actual existences. But it is urged from the side of Idealism that the whole analysis is unreal and false, not on the grounds that have hitherto been discussed, which are relatively secondary, but for a more deep-going reason to which the distinction of empirical and *a priori* supplies in advance the answer. The very objects of the mind themselves, it is urged, are, not indeed minds, but mind; have characters in virtue of which they live in a medium of mind. The simplest object, the sensum blue, is really continuous in kind (it is not meant in space or time) with mind. 'Continuity to make every part permeate every other, retention to let no element drop out,' these are characters of the objects themselves; 'and all this means mind.'[2] The blue thing has unity and life; blue in it reinforces blue and so produces the 'effect' called blue in the artistic sense of that word, the elements in it 'work on each other through identity and difference'.[3]—'The reality of the universal'[4] on which the realists insist so urgently, 'is a sufficient proof that the objects of mind may be alive with its vitality.' Accordingly to Mr. Bosanquet, the separation of the physical sensum from mind seems fraudulent, because the sensum is already mind.

Now finite minds we know, and we can conceive an infinite mind. But it is not minds which are here in question but mind. The issue, therefore, is not whether finite minds are indispensable to the things which they know. All the same, it is easy to slip from the notion that all things live in the medium of mind to the proposition that 'objects of finite mind and finite minds themselves are reciprocally

[1] See *Mind*, vol. 21, 1912, 'On the Method of Metaphysics and the Categories'.
[2] *A. L.*, p. 39. [3] *A. L.*, p. 33. [4] *A. L.*, p. 36.

indispensable[1]' and that is why I have tried to show that this aspect of the matter need no longer be regarded; and that the proposition is untrue in fact. On the large and vital issue, I answer that the objection rests on a confusion between the distinctive character of minds, which is consciousness and an empirical quality, with the formal or categorial characters of things, which are contained alike in mind and things and are only most easily experienced in minds.

In insisting that the enjoyer and things which he contemplates are alike things beside each other in the world, not of the same perfection but on a like footing of reality, realism bids us also, while treating minds as things, look also to objects to see whether they do not, as contemplated, present features which the mind also presents in enjoyment. It bids us do what science does, and ask for general laws or features connecting all the things with which metaphysics is engaged. And it is rewarded by finding that such general features do exist. Continuity, occupation of space and time, substantiality, causality, to name only these, are in mind. Look outward and you find them in things. There is difficulty for us in the discovery, and hence such errors as that we impute substance or causality to things on the analogy of mind, instead of actually finding them there; or the belief that we do not enjoy ourselves in space, but only in time, or that we even transcend space and time. The angels, who do not enjoy mind but contemplate it and things alike, would find no difficulty. They see, and we can too, that there is substance in the table, and continuity at least in space and time; and perhaps ultimately there are no other continua but these. And all categorial characters they find to be as much ingrained in the structure of all finite things, including minds, as the physicist finds gravitation in material things; and perhaps with greater confidence.

But while he finds substance and continuity, identity and difference, in things, the realist does not commit the mistake of declaring therefore that things are, in their real and deep-seated nature, mind. Mind is for him a general name for the empirical character of consciousness wherever it occurs in finite minds or in an infinite mind, if such there be. He knows no other 'mind'. I have indicated what we lose by forgetting the earlier days of creation in favour of the sixth. But now I plead that we should sometimes consider the later ones. To the creatures of the eighth day the doctrine that all things are living in a medium of mind would sound as impossible as the proposition sounds to ourselves, who are no more than minds (and Mr. Bosanquet is one of our number), that all things are material. We know from

[1] *A. L.*, p. 45.

Homer that the immortal gods upon occasion laughed inextinguishably. One can fancy one almost hears the laughter of the angels over Mr. Bosanquet.

No wonder that my critic, with this forgetfulness of the categorial characters of things, should think that the objects of the realist, from percepts to universals, are abstractions, killed as he says and stuffed for examination[1]; or that he should think that their connexions and coherences are in fact, on our view, introduced by the mind itself in the fashion of Kant's synthetic unity, on its erroneous side[2] or on an erroneous interpretation of it. The inner coherence of the table is in the table not in the mind, and in the strict sense there is no mind in the table nor even life. But I am guilty of no abstraction in recognizing the independence of the table in the fulness of its reality so long as I do not fail to discover in it all the unity and coherence which it really contains in itself, and of which my mind is but a higher specimen, a specimen in higher material. When Mr. Bosanquet says that 'the reality of the universal is a sufficient proof that the objects of mind may be alive with its vitality', I imagine he means with the vitality of mind; and I should answer, No! but with their own vitality so far as vitality can be ascribed to them (if they are purely material objects and not living ones), in a metaphorical or extended sense. If he means with the vitality of the universal, I do not feel at present equal to any reasoned reply. I should doubt if a universal 'works' by itself, but rather in and through its embodiments; any more than the law works except through its agents or the minds of the people who obey it; or than a mental habit works without the special act which sets it going. But if the universal does work, as such, it works as much if it is non-mental as if it is mental or alive. This reference to vitality induces me to add that it is not because they are connected, one function implying another, that vital functions are alive; but because these functions have the specific quality of life. Life does not consist merely in the relation of the functions. The functions are alive, and their relation is that determinate modification of continuity which is organic, and which is not found in a purely physical being, nor in a universal unless the elements of the universal are alive. You cannot call life a relation without making a relation into a quality. Mental activity in like manner is empirical in respect of its mentality. You cannot attribute mind to objects which lack the fit empirical nature. There is a saying of Goethe's which Lotze quotes, reminding of certain sayings of Greek philosophers: if the eye were not sunlike how could it see the light? The

[1] *A. L.*, p. 45. [2] *A. L.*, p. 35.

eye must indeed be susceptible to light for the mind to take in light. But we may not reverse the question, and ask: if the light had not an eye, how could it be visible?

The truth in this matter lies rather in a reversal of the suggestion that objects are full of mind, in principle the same as that reversal of ideas which explains why it is that the animals and plants are serviceable for man.[1] It is not true that objects are mind. What is true is that into the constitution of mind there enter the formal elements, and above all the fundamental ones of space and time, which enter also into physical and living things. The empirical existence mind is an outcome of and is built up upon the lower levels of empirical existence, in which also these formal elements are contained. The mind has a body of life; and life has a body of physical and chemical properties; and perhaps the secondary qualities have a body of primary ones. *In this sense* the empirical qualities of the lower level are carried up into the higher level. The formal characters belong to each level alike. Mind is the most perfect form we know of empirical existence in which these formal elements appear. But the empirical qualities of the lower level are not *themselves* contained in the empirical characters of the higher. The formal characters, however, which belong to all levels alike are thus carried up. It is for this reason that lower existences may seem to us to be 'mind', just as animals may seem to exist for the sake of man. In reality, minds make use in the way described of the lower levels; and if we confuse the categorial characters of minds and things with the empirical character of minds, we are forced to the paradox, as unwelcome to my critic as to common sense, that minds owe their 'mind' to physical existence.

11. *The wider issues.* It is no part of my purpose to attack idealism, but rather to expound realism and defend it on its own merits. But it will help this purpose if I endeavour to make clear the underlying differences between it and the form of idealism which my critic represents, and the larger issues which the contrast raises. This is all the more necessary because the language which he uses is such as verbally I could use myself, but with a total difference of orientation. For I have habitually used language which declares that not minds only know, but in an extended sense a physical thing 'knows' other things to the extent of its receptivity. This follows at once from the analysis of knowing proper, the knowing which consciousness has; and is when considered carefully only another way of stating that analysis. The cognitive relation proper is the compresence between the physical object and another thing, when that thing has

[1] Above, section 9, p. 304.

the property of consciousness. The peculiarity of cognition arises not from the relation but from the empirical character of the subject. In this case the universal relation of compresence between finites is named cognitive after its term. We may extend the sense of cognition, and calling compresence 'knowing', may ascribe 'mind' to all things alike, in various degrees. It might seem therefore that the dissent from idealism is a distinction without a difference. I can only gratefully acknowledge the fairness and insight with which Mr. Bosanquet declares that the form of realism with which I am feeling my way and the other forms of realism current at the present time, have no truck with materialism and are in fact far nearer to idealism of his own objective type; and that if on these views mind loses something of what it is commonly credited with (I have tried to show that in abandoning its pretensions mind establishes its reality and its perfection) matter receives much more than materialism credits it with. Moreover, it is possible even that the union of the body and mind which we find in the human person may turn out in the end to be typical of every form of existence from the lowest to the highest and perhaps of the universe itself as a whole.

But in fact, identical as the language may be, when realism ascribes mind to physical things (I prefer not to do so myself, and while allowing a physical thing to 'know' not to call it a mind), the distinction from idealism is vital. For things are minds on this view, not in the sense of idealism, that they live in a medium of mind, are 'mind' and 'focussed in mind', but merely in the sense that the objects with which they are in relation (say of causality), are presented and revealed to them, as objects are presented and revealed to minds proper. They would therefore, if we use this language, not be 'mind' but minds. They would have distinctive empirical qualities in virtue of which they enjoy themselves, and contemplate other things so far as is open to them. These empirical qualities are not consciousness, but since the distinction of enjoyment and contemplation which we know from consciousness exists on lower levels of existence as well, we may if we please, by an extension in the way of metaphor, call lower existences consciousnesses or minds. In vital respects this is not different from the method of Leibniz in regarding monads of different orders as minds of varying degree. But it is still widely different, even from him. For in the first place, his representations have disappeared and been replaced by the other monads themselves in so far as they are revealed to the single monad. And next, his doctrine of consciousness of different degrees is replaced by a series of empirical qualities not merely different in degree, or in variety, but

in kind, where only the character which is familiar as consciousness is really consciousness at all. For this reason, while it is legitimate always to say that a material thing 'knows' in the extended sense defined, I prefer, in order to avoid this ambiguity, not to call a material thing a mind, but what it is, a material thing. At any rate it is not 'mind' but *a* mind. It would be the business of metaphysics to set out the relations of these various types of empirical existence to one another and to the fundamental categories; while it is the business of the sciences to describe their empirical characters.

The proposition that the truth is the whole might be accepted in appropriate meanings not merely by idealism, but by realism as well. And therefore the issue between realism and the idealism which takes these words for its watchword, and is not subjective but objective idealism, is not properly named the issue between idealism and realism. It is more properly the issue of Monism, or more precisely Singularism,[1] and Pluralism. But let us retain the name Idealism. Now the different function assigned to mind in the two methods is an illustration of certain fundamental issues. I will mention some of them, premising that they are in reality all reducible to one. They all turn on the second sense of perfection which was referred to in the opening section, in which 'more' or 'less perfect' mean not higher and lower degrees of development, but on any one level the more or less complete or comprehensive, as for instance society is completer than an individual member of it. But these questions I shall not attempt to answer here, even if I could at present answer them satisfactorily at all. I shall merely raise them.

(1) For idealism there is only one self-existent, the whole. Realism inquires whether the finites do not retain their self-existence, though that self-existence be relative. Can even the whole be self-existent independently of its parts? And if it can, what has become of the parts? This second question merges in the next. There is a further question whether, as idealism maintains, the whole is of the nature of spirit, which also merges into a later one.

(2) According to idealism, the finites are appearances of the Real. In the character which they wear as appearances they are real, but in so far as they are mere appearances, they are not ultimately real, but are absorbed into the one reality. This is true not only of finite bodies but of finite minds. In such absorption into the Real they are transformed, and they do not retain in the Real the character which they

[1] See J. S. Mackenzie, *Mind*, vol. 23, Jan. 1914, 'Meaning of Reality', p. 26. The term Singularism is used by O. Kulpe and by J. Ward.

have as appearances. But this is gravely open to question. As before urged (sec. 1) in order to prove that entrance into the whole transforms the part, it must be shown that this relation is one which destroys the individuality of that which enters into the relation. But experience seems to show that at any rate not all relations have this consequence. For instance, a triangle is in relation to the whole of space, but so far from its being true that its participation in space destroys its triangularity, the triangle implies the rest of space and vice versa. This case has been cited before. Similarly, the entrance of the individual into a society of some sort or other, does not transform him, since he possesses social impulses, but rather fulfils him. These are examples of entry into intrinsic relations. With extrinsic relations, it is a matter of circumstances whether the relation transforms or not the individuality of the term. Thus a blow in the face may cause my death; but it may only knock out a tooth and leave my individuality very much what it was. Moreover we should arrive, if idealism were well founded, at the paradoxical result that the relation of the finite to the whole was extrinsic. But it may be questioned whether extrinsic relations are not merely such as lead to a redistribution of elements within the whole and whether they do not therefore subsist only between finites. Perhaps the relation of the infinite whole to its parts is always intrinsic, as in the example of parts of space. In that case the parts would be retained as they are, and not transformed.

(3) According to idealism, then, the finite does not exist as such in the infinite whole. At the same time the whole is said to be of the nature of spirit. But though the empirical character of mind or spirit is possessed by the highest things we know, there is no evidence that there may not be higher empirical finite characters in the world; not merely that there may not be vaster minds in the sense in which the human mind is superior to an elephant's or a monkey's, but that there may not be finite things with an altogether new character, as life is new compared with matter. Still less can we assume that the infinite being may not be of an altogether higher order. Thus there may be a different alternative. The case may be, as with the human person, body and soul. The separate cells do retain their individuality within the physiological body. But a certain part of the body carries with it not mere life but consciousness. The whole may be constructed on this plan, in which all finites are preserved as such, and yet the whole may be new, because a part of it (an infinite part) carries a totally new character.

(4) Space and Time are, for idealism, appearances and in some respects the lowest degree of reality. And not only does the whole

transcend space and time, but the finite mind, at least in some forms of the method, does so as well. But for realism the question arises whether these may not be at the foundation of all reality, and whether it may not be they which hold the world together, so that whatever else exists, exists in them. So far from the whole's transcending space and time, it may be only in terms of them that the world as a whole can be expressed through and through. Here it has been maintained that on the strength of its own deliverances the mind enjoys itself in space and time. These doctrines as to space and time, I need not add, are not held in common by all forms of realism.

It is not implied that the above statements of the fundamental features of idealism would be accepted in precisely this form by idealism itself. I have sought merely to indicate the way in which some of its features strike my own mind, and the kind of questions which they raise there. And as I have become personal, I will end with a confession which is suggested by the last paragraph about space and time. I do not speak of other forms of realism, but only of that which I am expounding here. But whatever truth it may contain (and in the main I believe it to be true), appears to myself utterly incomplete and unsatisfying, to float unsuspended, and to be nearly valueless, till an inquiry has been made into space and time, their intrinsic nature and their relation to one another, and, following upon this, their relation both to the fundamental characters of existence, and to the existence of empirical characters.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Mind as 'thing' and as 'character'. In the text mind is spoken of sometimes as a thing, like other things, and sometimes as a peculiar character of an appropriately organized body, and in particular of an appropriately organized nervous system. This as I found from the discussion which followed the paper is apt to create difficulty, which I can remove by the remark that the designation of mind as a character of something, the brain or the nervous system, is secondary and the result of discovery. In perceiving an external object I enjoy my mental act (and in the end my mind as a continuum of such mental acts), as an existence compresent with the object. This is the primary experience. It is I believe a mistake to describe that experience as the compresence of the body with the object. I am only aware of my body in so far as I enjoy myself, or my mind, in compresence with my contemplated body. Accordingly the primary fact is that I, the mind, am compresent

with the table. So far as I perceive the table I know nothing of my body. Primarily therefore the mind is enjoyed as a thing alongside of other things. But I soon discover that there is an intimate connexion between my mind, my body, and the table. If I close my eyes I cease to see the table. That is unless the contemplated eyes are open (unless I have the position sensa of the open eyes) I am no longer perceptually compresent with the table. In other words, in the act by which I contemplate the table, I now also contemplate the open eyes. This kind of discovery goes on, and I find that not only must my organs be at work for perception to occur, but also my mental acts issue in movements contemplated, at least in the form of kinaesthetic sensa; and in the end when I have sufficient knowledge and thought to contemplate the brain which I do not see, I find that my mind is in the same place as my brain, and my mental acts are conditioned by physiological processes therein. When I have arrived at this stage, and it is very late, I can say that my mentality is a character or quality of my brain, and then I cease to describe my mind as a thing, but regard it in its connexion with the body to which it belongs.[1]

But all this is discovery. And when I do not take into account my bodily conditions of mind I am still aware of my mind in enjoyment as the thing which it is in my primary experience. It is only by attending to the bodily intermediaries between objects and my mind that I can learn my essential intimacy with my bodily structure. The animals must soon be aware that, for instance, when their eye is shut the object disappears. But does a dog ever learn that his seeing depends on his eyes being open? Does he ever attend to this condition, and can he ever reach the awareness that his mind is a character of his body? I should say not. But *we* do attend, and so at last we create brain physiology and psychophysics.

Hence when it is urged, as it was urged in the discussion, that what matters is not that there should be a mind compresent with the object, but a body with sensory organs compresent with it; I reply that this confuses knowledge of the situation with knowledge about it; and that in perceiving a table the body is not as such in the experience, till a later stage.

[1] For the details of the process of fuller discovery I refer to the paper on 'Self as subject and as person' (*Proc. Arist Society*, vol xi, 1910-11, especially Section 5) or to *Mind*, N.S., vol. 21, 1912, 'Method, &c.' (Section 5).

GLEANINGS IN THE ITALIAN FIELD OF CELTIC EPIGRAPHY

By SIR JOHN RHŶS

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read May 27, 1914

As far as inscriptions are concerned the field of this paper is slightly wider than that of the last one, entitled 'The Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul', as I have at the last moment thought it desirable to include the Ligurian region of the Riviera di Levante, a group of the monuments of which have recently been proved Celtic: I allude to important articles contributed to the pages of the *Revue Celtique*, by Professor Vendryes of the Sorbonne and M. H. Hubert of the National Museum at the Château St. Germain.

Speaking generally, what I offer you this time consists of gleanings of two or three kinds, made since I wrote my paper read in January last year: some are concerned with newly discovered stones, which I had not then seen, some with inscriptions which I had failed to find, and, above all, with several which I had failed to read and interpret. I feel encouraged to return to this work by the friendly communications of two of the scholars whose judgement in these matters I value above all others, namely Prof. Danielsson of Upsala and Prof. Herbig of Rostock. The latter proved the heartiness of his attitude by appending to his letter of congratulations an original contribution of no little importance: it will be found incorporated in its proper place.

In a field of research where such a vast deal is at present only tentative, the hope of attaining permanent results depends largely on its attracting more workers.

I

On the first of September, 1913, I called on the Cavaliere Giussani at Como, and he at once informed me of the finding of a Celtic tombstone at a place called Banco in Bedigliora, in the month of July. He, having gone there immediately, was able to present me with a copy of his photograph of this last discovered inscription, which will be found

reproduced in plate II at the end of this paper. A full account of the stone from the pen of Giussani himself will doubtless be found in the forthcoming number of his *Rivista*, at the production of which he and Dr. Baserga had begun to work. He gave me the address of the discoverer and owner of the stone, Signor Mario Ferretti, a young surveyor living at Banco, and I was also provided with the necessary information how to reach Banco. The most practical way, as well as the most pleasant, I found was to take the electric railway recently made from Lugano to Ponte Tresa. My daughter and I travelled by it as far as a station called Magliaso near the Lake of Lugano: we alighted there and took our seats in a mail car which goes up to Novaggio in the hills. The road is good but so steep that we never found the horses attempting to trot even once. We kept mostly in sight of the river Magliasina, which pursued its rough course at a good distance below us. When the road twisted towards the right for Curio, we left the coach and walked straight up the hill for a while; then we took a path on our right which led us past some peasants carrying home hay—probably a second crop—in tall creels on their backs. We were much interested in the appearance of great strength which the women displayed; they knelt on the ground for the piling of huge loads on their shoulders, and when that was over they would get up on their feet slowly and irresistibly, as if their lower limbs had tendons of steel. Such men as were to be seen engaged in the loading seemed too old or too young to bear the burdens with which the women walked away with admirable steadiness. They possibly represent an early population which may never have been disturbed wholesale in those difficult hills.

The short cut brought us into the high road close to the village of Banco, from which the distance to Magliaso was said to be about five kilometres. It was a delightful day, and we returned on foot so as to enjoy more leisurely the rough scenery of the glen of the Magliasina. From several points on that road we could see the position of the village of Aranno, to which I had driven direct from Lugano in April 1912, in order to see some inscribed fragments built into the wall of a house there. I could now have done the journey to Aranno more cheaply had I been prepared to find my way down to the bottom of the deep, wooded dingle below us and to climb a good deal higher somewhere on the other side. I mention this to show that our journey to Banco lay in the district characterized by Celtic inscriptions of the Lugano type.

When we reached Banco we found two of the brothers Ferretti at home and they received us most courteously. Signor Mario Ferretti,

the surveyor, after telling us how he discovered the stone in the previous July, when he found it lying across a small water-way in the street, went and fetched it out of the house and placed it in a convenient light. The slab consists of a kind of fine-grained granite, which the Ferretti called *beola*; and it measures $0^{m}71$ by $0^{m}46$, its greatest width, while the letters are about $0^{m}13$ high. Having been told the size of the slab you will not be surprised to learn that it can only be a fragment of the original stone, as will appear presently. The reading for which I had been prepared by Giussani's photograph is easy enough except at the beginning and the end, at both of which it is broken off. It runs from right to left thus:

AIAVI:IVAI

That is . . . . IALVI PALA. The latter limb of the *a* is in the three instances slightly curved outwards about the middle, that is to say, bulging towards the reader's left hand. The first *l* has the tag joining visibly above the lower end of the vertical line; but this is less apparent in the case of the other *l*. The top of that letter is gone with more of the top of the final *a*: this happened when that part of the stone was fractured.

To return to the beginning, I may mention that attached to the first I is a hollow occasioned by the splintering of the stone, which can be traced across obliquely into the next letter, the first A: it was probably caused by the inscriber's tool. There are more of these flakings of the surface of that part of the stone to be seen, and some of them can be detected in the photograph; but it is important not to associate any of them with the traces to be seen of a portion of the lower part of a straight line approximately parallel to the I. What it means is explained by the traces of writing in the right-hand top corner before the I, where the brothers Ferretti insisted that they detected a small v. They were right: it is there and taken with the vertical line to which I have referred it indicates without doubt that the letter Ч, that is *n*, was formerly there. The interpunction consists, not of three points, but of two, as on one of the fragments at Aranno in the same neighbourhood, and on one of the stones from Stabbio: see pp. 39, 44 of my last paper [1] on the Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul—let us call them C. I. Cisalpina. In fact the : is, so far as I know for certain, confined to these three stones all belonging to the Lugano group. Lastly the letters are bounded by two parallel grooves, and the one beneath the letters ends

[1] The references are to pages of the present volume.

in a sharp curve directed downwards ⌒—. The groove above the letters breaks off before the ᗅ⅃, but the shape of it was probably ◡—. The former is to be compared with the corresponding termination of the lower boundary line of the Vergiate inscription, which may be seen in plate VIII in my last paper, though it has not come out very well in the photograph : that plate is reproduced here for the convenience of comparison.

The reading, partly restored, at which we have arrived, runs thus :—

ᗅ⅃ᗅ1:IV⅃ᗅIᛗ

That makes when transcribed forwards . . . NIALVI PALA. What letters should be supplied before the ᛗ (= *n*) it is impossible to say, but the *nialui* evidently contains the dative ending *-āl-ui* of a patronymic. Let us complete it with the help of one of the names already found in the Lugano district: take for instance the *Slaniui* implied by the feminine *Slaniai* (*C. I. Cis.*, p. 26), and the patronymic thus suggested would be *Slani-āl-ui*. But we cannot stop there, for the patronymic must have been immediately preceded by the deceased's personal name: let us suppose this to have been *Alkouinos*, dative *Alkouinui* (ibid. p. 41). The inscription would then read [*Alkouinui: Sla*]*nialui: pala*, meaning 'For Alkouin(d)os son of Slanios a burial plot'. Unfortunately the fragment as we have it has only 11 letters, including the punctuation, which takes up the room of a letter, whereas the reading here suggested at random brings the number up to 24, or more than twice 11, and that without any attempt to select names longer than the average. This conjecture, so far as it goes, leads me to think that the lost portion of the stone was rather longer than that discovered by Signor Mario Ferretti: it is therefore all the more likely to be found some day, that is, unless it has been broken into bits. It is not improbable that the stone in its entire and original form served as the lid of a cist or a rude kind of sarcophagus. As it was a comparatively thin slab, the weight of a mound or cairn, supposing such to have been piled over it, may have caused it to crack right across the middle some centuries before the grave was disturbed in a later age.

To what date that points it is impossible to say, but Signor Ferretti supposes the stone to have come from a necropolis discovered at Banco in the year 1852. It consisted, it is said, of some 200 tombs which were erased and their contents dispersed. At my request Signor Ferretti has given me notes on the subject, the substance of which is as follows :—The graves contained sepulchral vases

of terra-cotta resembling amphoræ ('simili ad anfore ed ampolle'), together with other objects; but in most cases there was no trace of metal with the exception of three graves found some distance from the necropolis, for those contained three fibulæ and other things, the description of which suggested to him objects of the La Tène period. The remains of the necropolis, which he has been able to examine, included besides the object in point, a stone hatchet or the blade of a stone hatchet and a sort of stone dish ('una catinella in sasso') found in the sand. The funeral vases and other articles were bought up from individuals for a few coppers by a Dr. Carlo Visconti; and my informant has not been able to trace them, but he thought it highly probable that they were presented to the museum of Pavia. The necropolis was situated on a slope to the west of a beautiful spring of water near which he had recently found the stone dish. The slabs of stone found in course of the excavation were used in building a dairy or farm-house ('una cascina'), on which he keeps his eye. I have written to the keeper of the Museo Civico at Pavia to ask him if he has any antiquities from Banco in the Museum, and if so what they are and when they came there, also whether any of them have been described in print, and where. His reply is that they have no such things: in fact he seems never to have heard of anything there from Banco, which is politically Swiss and not Italian.

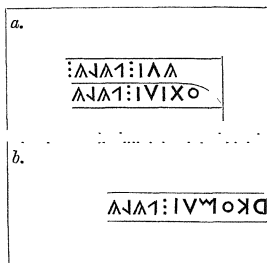
II

VIGANELLO, near Lugano. The stone in the ruined oratory of St. Siro, near Viganello, for which the parish priest and I searched in vain in 1912, has been further searched for by him and the Cav. Giussani, who knew exactly where he had seen it. The latter was there himself last autumn and he is convinced that it is no longer there. Neither he nor the priest has any idea what has become of it. Pauli gives it as reading to all intents and purposes

OꓘΛᛗ : I Ǝ˥ΛИVϟ

with the second word incomplete. see his no. 12; also Giussani's *Tesserete*, p. 22. *Sunalei* is probably a dative.

TESSERETE, near Lugano. My account of the inscriptions on the Tesserete stone is given in *C. I. Cis.*, pp. 36–38, and Giussani's in his *Tesserete* (Como, 1902), p. 8. The writing consists of three lines, of

which two are close together on one face (*a*) of the stone, while the other is on the opposite face (*b*): the edge between those two faces was too narrow to be inscribed. Giussani's sketches of the inscriptions are very good, but they would have been still more helpful ha they taken in the whole of both faces: this is here remedied by the photographs in plate I. The disposition of the lettering may be roughly shown thus, in spite of crooked and irregular outlines being here represented by straight lines:—

The first line, on face *a*, reads like the other lines from right to left and makes *Aai Pala* 'a burial place for Aa'. In briefly discussing in *C. I. Cis.*, p. 94, certain cases of *aa* in our Cisalpine inscriptions, I admitted that I could not cite this instance as evidence because Giussani had given it as ΛΛ, while I had copied it as AA. That was one reason why I was anxious to see the stone again, and it turns out that he was right and that I was wrong, for the second *a* consists beyond a doubt of a two-line Λ. As to the other *a*'s here, it is difficult to decide between the open form Λ and the closed one A—I have copied all three as Λ, but another reader may find that the lines meet in the boundary groove. This does not affect the other question: the second Λ is unlike the five others, and that is a point of some importance in dealing with other inscriptions such as the Voltino one in the Garda group, with the proper name ᛒCAᛒI, that is *Ecaai*, and OBAΛ, '*Obaa*'.

The next line reading *Otiui Pala* 'a burial place for Otios' is inscribed as close as can be to the other, with only a groove between them. Now to the left after ΛᛁΛ1:IΛΛ the boundary grooves end in a curve which seems to have been intended for the head and face of the lady commemorated. Further, the three points following *pala*

in the first line are not quite in a straight line as in the case of the others; I am therefore inclined to regard the former as crudely indicating the neck of the figure.[1] The second row of letters probably also ended in the outline of a head and face; but here unfortunately a piece of the stone is gone, leaving no trace of the outlines of the face, except that I thought I detected three points also there. A use which was not purely for interpunction in the case of the two sets of three points at the end of a line of letters is welcome, as any point at all after the last word of an inscription or of a line of inscription is against the analogy of the other Celtic instances of Csalpine Gaul · for one or two exceptions see my last paper, pp. 84, 105. The faces were in both lines at the end of *pala*, but the boundary lines are continued beyond the beginning of ΙΛΛ and ΙVΙΧΟ and they are joined so as to enclose spaces which probably represent folds of drapery; not to mention that four marks or sharp artificial hollows there possibly indicate two feet.

I come now to face *b* with the single line reading:—

AɅA1:IVꟽoꓘD

The V has a point in it making it into V̇, and the M is of the old type consisting of five pieces. The last A is only represented by a part of the first line, the rest has been lost in a patch beginning there with the surface all rough and broken, and extending to the end of the stone. That patch which is approximately opposite the place of the heads on face *a* of the stone probably also ended with a crude sketch of the head and face of the man commemorated on this part of the stone. Unfortunately the beginning of his name is gone; for there the fracture must have amounted to a shortening of the length of the stone. The vertical of the D is just traceable, but the boundary lines are produced about an inch and a half beyond it, and there is no question as to the fact of the breakage. I have guessed the entire name to have been *Verkomui*, and I even thought that I saw the ends of the two lower arms of the Ǝ before the D; but this may be mere imagination on my part. Even the D is a good deal further to the right than the beginning of the two lines of letters on the other face of the stone.

[1] This would mean that the letters read towards the figure's head, and so with the two other lines on the stone, that is if they had a head outlined, which is certain with regard to the two legends on the Davesco slab: see *C. I. Cis.*, plate I. In the same plate the Stabbio instance shows the reverse arrangement and strongly recalls the Zignago block, in spite of the sculpturing of the head and neck in the latter case: see p. 351 below.

III

Rondineto in the commune of Breccia, near Como. I visited the Civic Museum at Como again in order to look at the pottery from Rondineto and to re-examine the bits of inscription on it. On pages 60, 61 of the *C. I. Cis.* I gave Pauli's readings of some of them as follows:—These are imperfect at beginning and end, namely *akur* which is right; so as to *ouki*, and I would cancel Pauli's alternative *olki*; *ial* is possibly right but it is peculiar and very doubtful; and *lioiso* is right so far as it goes—I reserve it for further discussion. The others could not be found, namely, *uklk* or *nklk*, where the alternative seems based not on the original but on an error suggesting that Pauli or one of his informants forgot to distinguish between *n* and *u* in the handwriting of his own copy; and the bits bearing the spellings *vas*, *tiu*, *tarise*. This last, consisting of six letters, I should particularly like to have seen, but it was not forthcoming out of the mass of potsherds there. I was shown about a score with writing on them, but most of them had so few letters as to be of no philological interest, except the three about to be mentioned. These are fastened to a piece of pasteboard and bear the numbers 371, 372, 373 in the Rondineto case. They are here represented by photographs kindly taken under the direction of the Cav. Giussani and the director, the rev. Father Santo Monti.

(i) The first of the three is the little βουστροφηδόν graffito making *Piuai Aa* which I interpreted in *C. I. Cis.*, p. 60, as 'Aa (gives it) to Biva'. We have just had the dative *Aai* of this curious name *Aa* on p. 320 above, where the two *a*'s were seen to differ in form; but, so far as I can make out, they are identical here. The photograph will enable you to judge of this, though it is not very clear at the point in question. *Biu̯a* is another instance of the fondness of the Celts for the element *biu-* 'living, life' in their proper names. We have had Piu̯iotalui and Piu̯onei, among the Cisalpine inscriptions; not to mention the derivative Welsh *Biu̯-an*, later *Buan*, which in fact is also the ordinary adjective *buan* 'swift,[1] quick', or a near cognate, the Breton being *buan*, *buhan* of the same meaning and showing the same change of *iu̯* into *ū*, which we have also in Welsh *buched̄* 'life,

[1] This derivation of a word for 'swift' from that of 'being quick' in the sense of 'alive, *vivus*, *viva*, *vivum*', together with the two senses of the English adjective 'quick, *vivus* and *velox*', suggests a query as to Mod. French *vite*, Old French *viste*, Italian *visto* 'quick, lively, brisk, sharp, sprightly'. Korting, 10234, would connect these vocables with Latin *videre*. Would the phonological rules of the Romance languages admit of our referring the words in question to *vivere* in preference?

a life history, biography', O. Breton *buhez*, from an early *biu̯'īi̯ā*. Here the breathing before the accented vowel developed into *h*, which in Welsh became *ch*.[1]

(ii) The next of the three has been mentioned in *C. I. Cis.*, p. 61, where I left it uninterpreted. Its position on the pasteboard in the case is upside down, which I did not discover, nor would any one, I think, until he had solved the chief difficulty of the reading. That is mainly connected with the branches of a badly formed K : they appear attached not so much to the vertical limb of that letter as to the vertical of the letter which follows: this latter should be severed from them in order to be read I (= *i*). The letter preceding the K is D (= *r*), and the whole reads from left to right and not the reverse as I tried. The letters following the I also cling together and when separated they make VWV with the second limb of the second V completely gone; but there are no ligatures in the sense that a line has to be read twice, that is as part of two letters. Beneath the legend a boundary line has been drawn touching the letters and it extends on the left beyond the D. The top of the vertical stem of that letter has been carried away by the breakage. But above the D there is a bit of the boundary line left: the rest is gone in a crescent-shaped breakage, the bulge of which extends rather low over the VW. In any case the upper boundary line appears to have run at an appreciable distance above the tops of the line of letters and without touching them anywhere, whereas the lower line touched them all. Lastly the W is probably to be treated as an inverted M, or better perhaps an Ꟑ minus its vertical line; this, together with the direction from left to right, serves to indicate that the fragment does not belong to the oldest class of Celtic inscriptions in Cisalpina. Compare with the W here that in *Tome* on the Voltino stone in the Brescia Museum (ibid. p. 94).

The reading which I have been trying to establish in the foregoing notes stands thus: see plate III :—

DKIVWV

That is . . . *rkiumu*, but whether there were letters after the incomplete V we are unable to decide with anything like certainty; in any case at the beginning there must have been one or more before the D. As I am inclined to the minimum of conjecture, I would take it to have been only one letter, and it must have been a vowel. The most

[1] On these changes see Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, i. 186–8, 248. In his Breton dictionary M. Henry records a derivation of *buhez* from *buc'h* 'a cow', 'en tant que la vache, dans les civilisations primitives, est le moyen de subsistance par excellence'.

probable of the vowels so far as I can see is *a*: this would give us *Arkiumu* in which I should treat the *k* as standing for *g*. The result would be *Argiumu*, with *argiu* which I should equate with the *argio* of *Argio-talo-s* in the inscription found at Worms, giving 'Argiotalus Smertulitani f(ilius) Namnis equ(es) Ala Indiana' (*C. I L.*, xiii. 6230): *Namnis* is the nominative singular of the name which is familiar enough as Namnetes 'the people of *Nantes* and the district round about it'. Stokes, Fick, ii. 18, gives *argo-s* 'a hero' and *argendi* as the feminine, both inferred from Cormac's Irish *arg*, and *argeind*, and he suggests their connexion with ἀρχός 'a leader, chief, commander'; but he puts *argio-s* under *arg* 'to shine' and interprets it to mean 'weisslich, licht'. I should be inclined rather to derive it directly from *argo-s* and regard it as meaning 'belonging to, or characteristic of, a hero, heroic, lordly, noble'. Accordingly *Argio-talo-s* should mean 'him of the heroic brow or lordly forehead'; similarly in the case of the inscription at Llanfor, Merioneth, reading CAVOSENIARGII, and meaning probably 'Cavos (son) of Seniargios', this last compound may have meant 'old and heroic', a name indicating that the person bearing it was treated at the ceremony of naming him as an avatar of a great hero in times which even then were long past. With *Argio-talos* compare *Danno-talos*.

To return to *Argiumu*, the complete form was possibly *Argiumui*, the dative of an *Argiumo-s*, where *-mo-*, feminine *-ma-*, is a secondary affix which occurs in other names cited by Holder, such as *Axima*, *Bergomu-m*, *Bitumu-s*, *Vesumu-s*, with Latin *-mu* for Celtic *-mo-*. Briefly I treat . . *rgiumu* as standing for *Argiumu*(*i*) 'to or for Argiumos', that is a present for *Argiumos* or *Argiomos*. Several other ways of explaining this fragment appear possible, but the foregoing seems to me the simplest and most direct.

(iii) The last to be mentioned of the three is the one which I gave (*C. I. Cis.*, pp. 53, 61) as a fragment reading *lioiso*, but I can now do it more justice. It is in the circle of the foot of a vessel of red ware, and it has been broken into two, but the two pieces, held together by wires, do not cover much more than one-half of the area of the circle as may be seen in the photograph, plate III. The writing runs across the circle and is complete at the end. The straight-line letters are tall and reach from one boundary line to the other. They have been drawn with the help of a ruler or some straight edge, which is seen to have been done before the clay had hardened, and the whole appears to have been written with one and the same stick or pin, thus:

OƐIOI⅃

That is *lioiso*, with a fracture through the second I which does not appear as one perpendicular, since the two pieces have not been exactly fitted together by the photographer: a breakage has carried away the top of the I and a bit of the top of the next letter, which is a kind of sigma. In making the top of the last letter the inscriber allowed his stick to slip, leaving the O provided with a short tangent; but neither O is closed at the bottom, and the workman evidently found trouble in managing the stick in describing upward curves. But for the details the photograph should be consulted.

This, like the other inscription, was upside down in the case, but the director kindly brought the piece of pasteboard out for me to examine the letters and fractures more closely. I then detected traces of a letter before the *l*. The end of the top tag or hook of such a letter as 1 or ∃ is distinctly visible. On the other hand, if you take a pair of compasses and complete the broken circle you will find that there is no probability of a letter preceding the 1 or ∃ having ever been there, at any rate without allotting it less room than the size of the others would suggest. The evidence for crowded letters at the beginning of an inscription would have to be pretty strong: here it is wanting. So the question remaining to be decided is whether we have to do with OᛋIOIᛚ1 (= Plioiso) or OᛋIOIᛚ∃ (= Elioiso).

In favour of the former conjecture I may say that the traces of the initial letter at the first glance suggested a 1 to me. This would give us *Plioiso*, with which I should not know how to deal. On the other hand, another reader might at once prefer ∃, as in fact a friend of mine did on being shown the photograph. At all events one has to admit that the vowel is quite possible and doubtless, etymologically speaking, much preferable. I shall now treat the name as *Elioiso*, while I adhere in the case of the Giubiasco helmet (*C. I. Cis.*, p. 53) to the reading IIN◇IX◇ᚠᚠ, that is *Enoixo fe*(*cit*), where I would treat *Enoixo* as standing for *End'oixo* = *Endo-oixo*. Compare *Endovellic-us* (also found as *Endovollic-*, *Endovolic-*, *Endovellec-*, *Indovelic-*, and *Enobolic-*), *Enobux* (Latin gen. *Enobugi*[*s*]), *Enoclia*, and the like cited by Holder. Later the equation *-oixo* with *Oiso*, *-oiso*, is to be put forward; but I wish to point out that these forms in *-oiso* can hardly be for a nominative in *-os* of the *o*-declension with the final sibilant dropped in both instances. I conclude, therefore, that what we have is an *n*-stem *-oiso*, genitive *-oison-os*, dative *Oisoni* (Latin *-oisonis*, dative *Oisoni*), which did not distinguish between masculine and feminine. We may now return to the Auch epitaph which greatly puzzled me (ib. p. 53); for as given in *C. I. L.*, xiii. 478, the fragment appears somewhat as in the margin of the next page. The reading indi-

cated is not very accurate, as will now be seen by consulting the excellent photograph, plate IV, which I owe to the kindness of Com. Espérandieu and the courtesy of the Director of the Archaeological Museum at Auch. Besides suggesting F for what was probably the E of ET, the Corpus has an ivy leaf in the fourth line, where that proves to have no business, all the stops here being of another kind as the photograph shows. This raises the question whether the beginning of the A of VIVA was ever there. In full it would

VIV/
OIS⊙OL
FILA[E] · F
CIVL ❦ CER/

have to be the dative *Vivae*, unless we read *Caia Julia Coerana*, which the editor of the Corpus negatives. At any rate the ordinary formula seems to require the initial adjective to refer to the person who puts up the monument. My friend Professor Haverfield, who has very kindly helped me in this matter, states that what we should expect is VIV (in the middle) for *vivus* or *vivo*, in reference to the husband who doubtless had the structure made. In that case the inscription might be expanded somewhat as follows:—Viv(us) | Oiso·Oll[ocni] | filiae·e[t sibi] | C. Iul. Coer[anus f(ecit)]. The wife's designation is made into *Oisò Ollocni filiae*—I guess *Ollocni* as being about the length required. But, however you construe the whole, the woman's name must be treated as a dative: what was the nominative? The mark in the small o indicates, as in the other instances, that we have here to do with interpunction and not necessarily with an abbreviation. That is to say, the mark does not encourage us to expand *Oiso* into *Oisoni*: we seem to have to operate with *Oiso* as a complete form. But you would look in vain in Stokes's 'Protoceltic Paradigms' for a dative in *-ō* or *-ū* which could be applied to a woman. On the other hand, Old Irish paradigms show in the instance of consonantal stems, including those in *n*, that the dative may sometimes have the same form as the nominative, as in *nathir* 'a snake', dative *nathraig* and *nathir*; *traig* 'foot', dative *traigid* and *traig*; *brithem* 'a judge', dative *brithemuin* and *brithem*; *brú* 'womb', dative *broinn* and *brú*; and *ainm* 'name', dative *anmaimm* and *ainm*: see Thurneysen, i. 195, 197, 201, 204, also Vendryes, *Rev. Celt.* xxxiv. 488. If we may assume the duplication of the dative case to have begun before the Celts left the Continent, the way would be clear to explain *Oiso* as a dative to match a nominative *Oisō* = *Oisū*. The derivation of *Oiso* will be found touched upon at page 332 below.

The next thing is to examine the composition of the name *Elioiso*: on the analogy of *Enoixo* I would analyse it into *Eli-oiso* or better *Eli-oiso(n)*, and equate *eli* with the *el-* with which many Welsh names

begin. In Irish it is *il*, plural *ili* 'much, manifold, many'. Stokes in his *Celtic Declension*, p. 42, treats it as a *u*-stem and cites the O. Irish instances *in tomais il* (gl. multi ponderis), and *cosin taidbse il* (gl. cum multa ostensione). He equates it with the Gothic *vilu*, Mod. H. German *viel* 'many, much', and Greek πολύς, Vedic Sanskrit *purú*. Thurneysen (*Handbuch*, i. 213), on the other hand, treats *il* as having completely passed over into the *I*-declension: compare the case of Irish *maith* 'good' but Sc. Gaelic *math*, Welsh *mâd*. This adjective is of the *u*-declension, *matu-s* 'good, in the sense of lucky', in the Coligny Calendar.

We have some names which retained the *u* of the Greek πολύ-ς and Gothic *vilu*: take such an instance as Ουριττακος Ηλουσκονιος 'Vrittacos son of Elusconos' where *elu-* meant 'much' or 'very', and *skon-* 'shining, brilliant, or simply conspicuous' so the compound should have signified 'much shining, *praeclarus*, very conspicuous, greatly distinguished'. Compare Med. Welsh *yscwn* as in 'Eidal tal *yscvn*', that is 'Eidal of the conspicuous forehead or of the lofty brow' (Skene, ii. 32; Evans, *Black Book* facsimile, p. 34[a]). *Yscvn* rhymes with *hwn* 'this' and it admits of being translated in Welsh poetry as 'conspicuous, famous', possibly as 'notorious', as suggested by Dr. Davies s. v. *ysgwn*. The best known cognates are German *schön* —the sense of 'pretty or beautiful' is comparatively late—from O. High Ger. *scôni* 'shining, brilliant, glorious', and the English 'shine, sheen': see Kluge s. v. *schön*. Other traces of the *u* occur in such Celtic names (cited by Holder) as *Elvorix* = *Elu̯o-rix* 'greatly king, very kingly' (*C. I. L.*, vi. 3593, xiii. 4407), and *Elvontiu* on the principal Genouilly tombstone described in my *C. I. Gaul*, p. 55. Holder gives other derivatives such as *Elvicus*, *Elvillus*, *Elvima* (fem.) *Elvinius* (*Helvinius*), *Elvissa* (fem.), *Elvisius*, *Helvisia* (fem.) *Elvisianus*, *Elvisso*, and others including the personal names *Elvius* (and *Elvia*) liable to confusion with the Roman *Helvius*, and the tribal name *Elvii*, *Helvii* in the clientela of the Sequani, and the man's name *Elviomāros* which should mean 'him of manifold greatness, or one who is very great', which probably was also the meaning of *Eliomar-us*, *Eliomara*, and *Eliamar-us*. *Elvius* may be mentioned here as found with an *elu-* name comparable to Ηλουσκονιος, occurring in one and the same family and in the same epitaph at Arona in the province of Novara (*C. I. L.*, v. 6624) where we come across *Elvio Eluconis f(ilio)* 'to Elvios son of *Elo-cū*'. Here *Elu-conis* would have been in Celtic *Elu-conos*, genitive of *Elu-cū* meaning 'great hound, *can grande*', in the Celtic sense of 'much guarding, great protector'. This is familiar in the *Liber Landavensis* in the forms

El-cī, *El-cū*, genitive *El-cŏn*, *El-cŭn*, but they are treated there as distinct names. To illustrate further the use of the element here in question I subjoin a few instances where it is treated as a prefix in such Welsh names as the following:—

(1) *Elwared*, meaning one 'who is of much help or brings a great deliverance'. In the *Book of Llan Dâv* the name is spelt *Elguored-us*, *Elgoret-us*, *Elguaret*. The same book has a name occurring as *Elharnn*, *Elheiarun* (? *Elheiarnn*), *Elhearn*, *Elheharn*, and *Helhearn*; it should mean him 'of much iron' or one who is 'very iron'. In the 'Iolo MSS' the spelling is corrupted into *Aelhaearn*, which should mean him 'of the iron brow'. So we have in Carnarvonshire a *Llan Aelhaearn* though the pronunciation is *Llánn El-háearn*, or else *Llann-háearn*, which would make it mean 'iron church'. There is a church of the same name in Merioneth which Rice Rees (p. 341) spells somewhat more incorrectly as *Llanaelhaiarn*. The same fate has befallen the name *Elgyfarch* in the *Myvyrian*, ii. 28: it survives in a house called *Ceselgyfarch*, near Tremadoc, as a shortening of *Cesail Elgyfarch* 'Elgyfarch's nook'. *Elgyfarch* seems to have meant one 'who receives many greetings, one who is much in request'.

(2) *Elfarch*, a name in the Welsh folklore of Glamorganshire: see Rhŷs's *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 26, 650. In Brittany it occurs as *Elmarc-us*, *Helmarc-us*, and *Elmarc*: compare *Elbrit*, and for both see De Courson's *Cartulaire de Redon*, pp. 19, 259, 369. *Elfarch* probably meant one 'who has many steeds, the owner of many chargers', while *Elbrit* may have been he 'who has much judgement or discrimination'.

(3) *Elfodw*, variously written *Elbodgu*, *Elbodugo*, and *Elbodg* in the British Museum Manuscript Harleian 3859: see Phillimore's edition of the oldest version of the 'Annales Cambriae', in the *Cymmrodor*, ix. 162, 163, 180. In this name the *d* was softened into *đ* and the *g* was the guttural catch preceding *u̯*, on which see Jones's *Grammar*, p. 188. The modern form should be *Elfođ*, not *Elbod*; and the early one was probably *Elu-* or *Elo-bodu̯o-s*, for the second vowel was obscure and hard to fix. As *bodu̯a* was of the same origin and meaning as Anglo-Saxon *beado* 'battle, combat', the name must have meant him 'of much fighting or one who has many conflicts'. Compare such Greek names as Πολύχαρμος and Πολυνείκης, and for more compounds of *bodu̯a* see Stokes in Fick's ii. 176, and Holder's *Treasury*.

(4) *Elfed*, the name of a district in Carmarthenshire, for an earlier *Elmet*, recorded by Bede and perpetuated in Elmet Wood, Barwick-in-Elmet, and Sherburn-in-Elmet in the West Riding of Yorkshire: compare *Elmetiac-o* on an ancient tombstone at the Llan Elhaearn

already mentioned as being in Carnarvonshire. The second part of *Elmet*, *Elfed*, probably comes from the same root as Welsh *med-i*, 'to reap': compare the Old Welsh glosses *anter-metetic* 'semiputata' (of the vine) and *et-met* 'retonde' (Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachforschung*, iv. 408, 409). Compare Latin *meto* 'I mow', Lith. *metù* 'I cast or throw', and see Pedersen's *Vergl. Gram. der keltischen Sprachen*, i. 162, 163. On the whole one seems warranted in supposing *El-met-* to have meant a 'place of much reaping or mowing, of much pruning or cutting, or perhaps of much timber-felling'. At Trallwng near Brecon there is a bilingual inscription, Latin and Goidelic, and the Goidel who had it carved put on the stone a line of Ogam reading *Cunacennivi Ilvveto* 'the stone of C. of Elfed', which shows that he was not familiar with the spelling *Elmet*, the Brythonic for *Elfed* or rather *Elvet*. He has probably given us the spelling of what he considered to be the pronunciation of the word as he had heard it; and it is to be noticed that he at once converted the Brythonic *el-* into the Goidelic *il-*.

(5) *Elltud* in Llan *Elltud* (usually misspelt Llan *Elltyd*) near Dolgelley, in Merioneth. When the final vowel of the first element in this name was dropped and the *l* came in contact with the dental consonant, Welsh phonology required the voiced *l* to be unvoiced into *ll* so that the word became *Elldud* or *Elltud*, while the Latin form remained *Eltutus*. Fortunately we have a far earlier one on record: it is Christian and comes from the ancient town of Concordia in the immediate vicinity of Portogruaro to the north-east of Venice, and it is a feminine spelt ILATEVTA (*C. I. L.*, v. 8740). Here the element *teutā* was the antecedent of the Irish feminine *tuath* 'a tribe', Welsh *tūd* 'people, country': the intermediate stages were probably *toutā* and *tōtā*: compare *Teutates*, Τοουτισσικνος, and *Totatigenos*. The spelling *ila* of the other element in the compound *Ila-teuta*[1] shows by its *a* that the corresponding *i* in *Eli-oiso* was not exclusively in possession; not to mention that *Enoixos* was perhaps arrived at through *Endo-oixos*. It was doubtless unaccented and obscured ready to be

[1] Perhaps one ought to place alongside of *Ilateuta* the form *Helvitutia* occurring in an epitaph in Rome reading *D(is) M(anibus) Helvitutiae Successae P. Heltutius Agathopus conju.* (*C. I. L.*, vi. 19282). *Heltutius* and *Helvitutiae* are derivatives from *Heltūto-s* and *Helvitūto-s*, but *Heltūtius* was probably but a shortened form of *Helvitūtios*. This suggests a far more interesting abbreviation, namely, that of *(H)elvitios* or *(H)elvetio-s* from *(H)elvitūtio-s* or *Elvetūtio-s*, 'one ruling over a great community or mighty tribe', which was presumably called *Elviteutā*, *Elvitoutā*, or *Elvitūtā* at different times; and so with the name of the country *Elvetia* from *Elvetūtia*. Very possibly even such a name as that of the *Elvii* stood for some such compound as *Elvi-tūtii*.

slurred over; but before that slurring happened any vowel almost might be used in the written forms. More remarkable still is the fact that the prefixed word begins in the Concordia inscription with *i* and not *e*, thus agreeing with Irish *il* and the Ogam legend *Ilvveto*. That is not all, for the founder of the great school at Llan Illtud Fawr, that is, Lantwit Major in Glamorgan, was far less well known as *Elltud* and *Eltutus* than as *Illtud* and *Iltutus*. The cross of Illtud is at Lantwit still, though somewhat damaged, and among other inscriptions which it bore was the following, ✝ ILTUTI, that is 'the Cross of Illtud, in Latin *Iltutus*', as carefully attested by Iolo Morgannwg, whose account of it was published by the late Mr. Romilly Allen in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1893, p. 327. I regard *Illtud* and *Iltutus* as owing their initial *i* to the influence of the Irish language, in which the name must have been *Iltuath*.[1] The fame of St. Illtud and of his great school at Lantwit spread his name to all parts of Wales, to Cornwall and to Brittany. He is supposed by Mr. Fisher to have founded Lantwit about the year 476 (*Lives of the British Saints*, iii. 317), when South Wales was to a great extent Goidelic in speech and institutions. The inscriptions found in Glamorgan, that is

[1] The existence of *Iltuath* (gen. *Iltuaithe*, dat. *Iltuaith*, ac *Iltuaith-n*) is attested by the name Lan-*yltwyt* or -*iltwyt*, for which see the *Bk. of Llan Dâv*, pp. 319, 325, 330, 331. This was the name of St Illtyd's famous monastery, until it was reduced to *Lantwit*: the names of his other churches followed suit. Thus we have *Llantwit* Vardre under Llantrisant, *Llantwit-juxta-Neath*; also *Ilston* contracted from *Iltwitston*. These and others were in Glamorgan, but one from North Pembrokeshire is worth adding as it is *Lantood* in English spelling, and *Llantwyd* in Welsh: see the *Lives of the British Saints*, iii. 315. The *wy* of the Welsh came, not from the *ua* of the Irish nominative, but from the *uai* of the oblique cases, which Welsh *wy* represented perhaps accurately enough. The change of Irish final *th* into *t*, *d*, in Welsh in this name is harder to explain; nevertheless one cannot hesitate to regard *Iltwyt*, and its later spelling *Iltwyd*, as to all intents and purposes the Irish name perpetuated, subject to slight modifications as the language changed from Irish to Welsh. On the other hand *Eldut*, *Eltut*, *Elltud* was a substitution for the Irish of a Welsh name corresponding to it in every detail according to the rules of Celtic phonology. Possibly *Eldut* or *Eltut* was never in common use in the name of the monastery nor even the form *Ildut* or *Iltut*, but only the more correct Irish *Iltuaith* and the modification *Iltwit*. Where we have doublets in the case of Welsh names, the one nearer the Irish proves to have been the one in common use. I have pointed out a couple, namely, *Trwyth* and *Trwit*, *Ecell* and *Echel* in my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 541–2, and the following, *Brochwel* and *Brochvael*, *Dogwel* and *Dogfael*, *Dy-doch* for *Dogmael* (*Dogfael*) in the *Cymmrodor*, xxi. 55, 56. Here I add *Iltuit*, *Iltwyd*, and *Elltut*, also *Ulltud* and other spellings (including *Illtid*) in the example from Merioneth. Later we shall have *Gwnnadl* and *Gwynhoedl*, p. 336. Such instances go to prove that the Goidelic inhabitants of ancient Wales were not all driven out of the country but rather induced in the course of time to adopt Brythonic speech.

at Lantwit, Margam, and Merthyr Mawr, belonging to a later time, suggest Goidelic communities of considerable vitality, but that does not prove Illtud himself to have been a Goidel: the tradition, in fact, seems to have been that he came from Armorica. Nevertheless his name was accepted in a modified Goidelic form, except, as far as we know, in the case of the Merionethshire church of Llan Elltud in Mid-Wales, a region considered to have been less Goidelic than the extreme south or extreme north of that country.

In the case of some of the compounds occupying us here I have doubts as to the exact relation between the elements making them up, at any rate as regards the sense. However, if *Elfarch* for instance meant 'having or possessing many horses', what could *Elltud*, *Iltuath* have meant? Apparently one 'who had or possessed many tribes' in the sense, possibly, of being at the head of many tribes or acting as the leader of a great following of tribesmen. The extravagant family ambitions breathed into ancient Celtic names form the rule perhaps rather than the exception, and in this case possibly such an instance as the Greek Πολύλαος may be quoted as a parallel.

It occurs to me that we have in Welsh an adjective derived from the *elu-* here in question, to wit, in the compound *eliбlu* which occurs in the Manawyđan tale in the Red Book *Mabinogion*, p. 53. There we read the words *eliбlu y byt o lygot*, which literally rendered would be 'the world's great host of mice'. The words *y byt* 'the world's' are inserted to enhance the exaggeration, the number being further defined in the story, seeing that it represents the rodents as numerous enough to supply a mouse to climb every cornstalk in order to bite off the ear and carry it away, leaving the hero of the Mabinogi clean robbed of the crop of his whole croft. The word analyses itself into *eliб* 'great or vast' and *llu* 'a host'. It occurs in one of the Llywarch Hên verses, where we have *elyflu* in an englyn which I would edit as follows, having regard to the Red Book, col. 1038 (Skene, ii. 265) and the *Myvyrian Arch. of Wales*, i. 118[b]:—

Kyt delei Gymru elyflu o Loegyr.	Though a great host came to Wales from England,
A llawer o belltu:	And many from a distant region,
Dangossei Byll bwyll udu.	Pyll would teach them caution.

Here the spelling has an *f* for a *v*, and Dr. Davies makes the word into *elyfflu* and mentions as the meaning *gormes*, that is 'an oppression, invasion, or intrusion', and in that spelling it goes into Pughe's Dictionary, where it is interpreted as 'a ravaging host; annoyance, or grievance'. Pughe adds an article 'elyffwl, s. m. (llwff) annoyance,

grievance, plague'. I know nothing of the vocable *elyffwl*, but in favour of *ϐ* or *w* as against the spelling with *f* or *ff* I would mention the proper name *Eliwlad*, *Eliwlod*, and *Eliwlot* of a nephew of Arthur's, who, when he dies, takes the form of an eagle and prophesies to his uncle. The name is mostly curtailed into *Liwlad* or *Liwlod*, *Liwlot*, just as the feminine name *Eluned*, *Elunet* is shortened into *Luned*, *Lunet*. The conversation with Arthur is given in triplets in the *Myvyrian*, i. 176–8, and there the name is made to rhyme both as Liwl*ad* and Liwl*od*. This is also the case in one of two other versions which have been published in the *Cymmrodor*, viii. 177–89. The forms ending in *lod* were developed probably under the influence—all the versions are late—of such names as *Dunod*, *Arianrhod* or *Aranrot*, and above all of *Lawnselot* for the *Lancelot* of the Romances. The earlier form was doubtless *Eliwlat* (later spelling *Eliwlad*), which readily analyses itself into *Eliw-lat* meaning 'him of great or much hospitality'. Compare the *latu* of *Latu-marui* in the *C. I. Cis.*, pp. 86–8. We also appear to have the word crystallized in the Welsh *y rhelyw* 'the rest of anything', meaning at first, perhaps, 'the much or the bulk of anything'. In that case the term has been wrongly divided and should be *yr helyw* with an accentual *h*, on which see Jones's *Grammar*, pp. 187, 414.

On comparing the *elu* of Ηλου-σκονιος and *Elu-conis* (p. 327 above) with the *elui* of *Helui-tūtia*, it is seen that *helui* is probably an *i*-stem derived from the simpler form. Now *helvi* or *elui* subjected to a metathesis of early date in Brythonic, on which see Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, p. 114, would take the form *eliu*. Such, I suppose, to be the origin of our Med. Welsh adjective *eliϐ*, *elyw* 'great, vast'.

The other element in the name *Elioiso* is probably to be equated with the Irish *áes*, genitive *aisso*, Mod. Irish *aos*, gen. *aosa*, 'age, generation, people', Old Welsh *ois*, Mod. W. *oes* 'life, age', in which the *s* which comes down intact represents some combination involving a sibilant such as one of the following: (1) *st*, which has to be rejected because the reduction to *ss* or *s* seems too recent for the Rondineto name; (2) *cs*, which is also inadmissible, as in Welsh it would have resulted in *ch*; (3) *ts* (or *ds*), which would fit, but lacks support; and (4) *t-t*, which appears at an early date to have undergone affrication of the first *t* into t^s, so that t^st became *ss* or *s* in Celtic, as in the Welsh *melys* 'sweet', Irish *milis*, from *melit-tos* 'honeyed', and in the Welsh *gwŷs* 'a making known, a summons' for *u̯itst-* from *u̯itt-* for *u̯id-t-* from the root *u̯eid* 'to see, to know'. See Jones's *Grammar*, i. 126, 127, where he points out that the same change was known in Latin and Teutonic. For other instances see Brugmann's *Grundriss*, i². 658, 666, 685, 701.

Before proceeding further we have to meet the difficulty of the spelling with Latin *x* on the Giubiasco helmet. Now it is well known that by the fifth century of our era the compound sound *cs* of Latin *x* had been reduced to *ss* and *s*, as illustrated by such forms on monuments as *visit*, *viset*, *bissit*, *bisit* for classical *vixit* (Corssen, i². 297) and *Alesander* for *Alexander*: see Corssen, i². 297, 298, and Professor W. M. Lindsay (*Latin Language*, pp. 102, 107, 108), who writes as follows: 'X had, as the grammarians repeatedly tell us, the sound of *c* followed by the sound of *s*. The *c* tended to be dropped after a consonant, whence the spelling *mers* in Plautus for *merx*; and in careless pronunciation *x* in any position tended to become *ss*, as we see from forms like *cossim* for *coxim*, used in the farces of Pomponius (*ap.* Non. 40 M.).' Professor Lindsay gives a couple of similar instances from Pelignian and Umbrian. He specifies as the earliest known instance one in an epitaph which cannot be later than the reign of Nero, to wit, [*ve*]*ssilo* for *vexillo* (ii. § 125). Now from the moment one becomes familiar with such spellings as *mers* for *merx*, *cals* for *calx*, *cossim* for *coxim*, *destra* for *dextra*, and the like, the way begins to be open for miswriting *x* for *ss*, *s*, as in *milex* for *miles*, *pregnax* for *praegnas*, and the like.

Having proceeded thus far on the philological side it was high time to inquire more precisely after the indications of date afforded by the Giubiasco helmet. So I wrote to consult Dr. Viollier of the Zürich 'Landesmuseum', among the treasures of which the helmet counts as no mean item. I appealed to him the more readily as he had helped me before. After some preliminary correspondence I received from him the following letter, bearing the date of Zürich, January 7, 1914. It will be seen that both the archæological and philological conclusions seem to point approximately to the beginning of the Christian era:—

'En ce qui concerne les casques de bronze dont un porte une inscription, la question est assez complexe; je l'ai reprise de nouveau à votre intention, et voici quels sont les résultats de ma nouvelle enquête:

'La forme est indubitablement étrusque, puisqu'on trouve dans les cimetières de l'Italie de nombreux casques semblables. Mais cette forme a dû être en usage très longtemps, pendant des siècles, et je constate que les casques trouvés en Étrurie sont de forme beaucoup plus simple, sans décoration, tandis que les casques de Giubiasco sont très ornés et de profil élégant. Comme je vous l'ai déjà dit, les casques de Giubiasco ont été trouvés avec des armes La Tène III et des vases en terre sigillée. Les tombes dans lesquelles ils se trouvaient ne sauraient donc être antérieures à l'époque d'Auguste. D'autre part, l'état de conservation de ces casques est si parfait qu'il me semble qu'il faut

abandonner l'hypothèse d'objets de famille conservés pendant des siècles avant d'être déposés dans la sépulture, car, dans ce cas-là, ces objets n'auraient pas manqué de recevoir des coups, d'être bosselés et plus ou moins endommagés. D'autre part, comme je vous l'ai dit, je suis persuadé que l'inscription du casque a été imprimée dans le moule. Pour toutes ces raisons, je crois donc que nous pouvons admettre une forme primitive remontant à l'époque étrusque et d'autres formes plus ornées, plus riches, plus élégantes qui ont été en usage jusqu'au début de notre ère. A ces dernières appartiendrait le casque avec inscription. Comme vous le savez, une petite statuette de bronze trouvée dans le cimetière d'Idria di Basca (Forrer, *Reallexikon*, Fig. 260, p. 341) porte un casque identique au nôtre. Cette figure ne doit pas être de beaucoup antérieure à l'ère chrétienne. Enfin, aux arguments archéologiques ci-dessus, je crois que l'on peut joindre l'argument philologique que vous m'exposez dans votre lettre et admettre que nous avons bien à faire à des armes ne remontant pas plus haut que l'époque d'Auguste.'

The brief history of the *s* of Irish *áes*, Welsh *oes*, leads to the narrowing of the search for the origin of *-oiso*, namely, to *oit-*, which we have represented by the Welsh verb *oed-af* 'I delay' for an early *oitāmi*. Compare the noun *oed* 'age, also a point in the future marking the end of a distinct length of time, a time of meeting fixed upon'. The Old Welsh spelling of *oed* was *oit*. I have not met with the etymological equivalent in Irish. The Irish *áes*, *aos*, belongs to the *u*-declension and so probably did the Welsh *oes*: thus from the *oit-* of the verb was formed *oit-t-us*, making *oit*[s]*tu-s*, *oissu-s*. Compare the Sanskrit *ā́yus-* 'life', Latin *aevu-m*, Gothic *aivs*, genitive *aivis*, 'time, this time = the world, long time', Anglo-Saxon *ǣ*, *ǣw* 'time, endless time', English 'for *aye* = for ever'. Here also perhaps comes the Greek *αἰών* 'lifetime', although, according to Curtius, there is no evidence of *αἰϝών* with the digamma, any more than there seems to be in the case of the related adverbs *αἰεί*, *αἰέν* 'ever, for ever'. The form I should like especially to compare with *oit*, *oed* is the Latin *aetas* 'age'; but the authorities are not agreed as to its history: Walde, for instance, makes it a shrunken derivative from *aevitas*, which he regards as the old form. It is, however, by no means certain that *aevitas* was not an expansion of *aetas* suggested by the existence of the common word *aevum*, not to mention the Pelignian ablative *aetate*, not *aevitate*. In Curtius's fourth edition of his *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*, to which Windisch contributed the Celtic equivalents, we read (p. 389) that '*oet* scheint wie lat. *aetas* nur ein *t*-Suffix zu enthalten'. For this statement we seem to be

entitled to hold both Curtius and Windisch responsible, and I feel inclined to accept their view.

Where the workshop of Elioiso was has not been ascertained and we know as little about the helmet-maker. The name Elioiso does not appear to have been a common one, but it would hardly be correct to say that it was not widely spread. For on searching Holder's *Treasury* the reader comes across the following spellings of the same name and closely related ones, mostly in Spain: *Elaesus*, genitive *Elaesi*, from Astorga near Leon, dating (according to Holder) from the first or second century of our era (*C. I. L.*, ii. 2633); *E*]*laes*[*us* from San Miguel, near Lara de los Infantes, south-east of Burgos (ib. 2868); *Elaesi* (a genitive of doubtful reading) from Traguntia, west of Salamanca (ib. 5034); and *Elaisicum* from Paredes de Nava, in Palencia (ib. 5763), which is found to date from the year 2 B.C.; this adjective is treated by Holder as *Elaisicum* (not *Flaisicum*) as a people's name. Possibly also *Elesio* in an obscure passage which Holder quotes from Cicero, *pro Fonteio*, ix. 19, should be corrected into *Elaesio* and treated as a related form. This suggests a region between Toulouse and Narbonne: that is, a good deal nearer Cisalpine Gaul. In case I am warranted in regarding *Elaisus* for Celtic *Elaeso-s* as related to *Elioiso*, one has to suppose *Eli-* to have dropped its final vowel *i*, thereby shortening the first element into *el-*, and more important still is the difference between the diphthongs *ae* or *ai* and *oi*. Instances in point will be found in Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, i. 56, 57, and Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, pp. 97, 98, 114, 153. To those which they give[1] I would add the following:—

(1) Welsh *hoyw*, *hoew*, which now means 'alert, lively, jolly,

[1] One of these is Welsh *bloesg* 'having a thick, heavy utterance', not a lisping pronunciation as given in the dictionaries, for, as it has only the one sibilant *s*, a lisp is, as far as my observation goes, unknown in Welsh. *Bloesg* finds its place in Davies's Dictionary and is explained as *blæsiloquus*, *blæsus*, and has Armoric *blisig* wrongly added to it, though here the Welsh equivalent is *blysig* 'greedy'. Then we have *bloesg* entered in Fick's vol ii. 221, and equated with Sanskrit *mlecchá* but with Breton *blisic* dragged in again, to be mercilessly swept out by Loth in the *Revue Celtique*, xx. 348 Walde now very properly warns one against *blisic* but derives *bloesg* from an unattested Latin *blaesicus*, which I find in any case difficult to accept; not to mention that an epitaph from Risingham (*C. I. L.*, vii. 1017) reads *D♡M Blescius Diovicus filiae suae.* Here I take *Blescius* to be a derivative from *blesco-s* which Welsh *bloesg* probably represents. The Latin spelling with *e* can hardly be relied on to give us the Celtic sound: thus in Latin inscriptions we have, mostly, *Esus*, *Esunertus*, *Esumopas* and the like, but on an ancient British coin AESV (Evans, p. 386) and *Aesubilinus* at Colchester (*C. I L.*, vii. 87). Though corresponding to Welsh *hoedl* 'life' we should have early *saitl-*, what

sprightly', while Dr. Davies gives it as '*cultus, concinnus, elegans*': its original signification is not easy to fix. I take it however to be the etymological equivalent of the Latin adjective *saevus* 'roused to fierceness', but in Old Latin *saevus* also meant 'great', a meaning which Walde thinks the word may have possibly reached from that of 'schrecklich gross'. Nor does the original meaning of the Latin word appear to have been certain either, and even a cognate word with a different termination such as meets us in the Gothic *sair* 'pain', Anglo-Saxon *sâr* 'pain, wound, painful', Mod. English *sore*, cannot be regarded as settling the original meaning of such an adjective as *saevus*. The Welsh and the Latin taken together suggest a neutral meaning of 'moving, moved, roused or excited', without indicating the result, whether agreeable or the reverse.

(2) Walde warns the student that *saevus* is not to be associated with Gothic *saivs* 'a lake or mere' (compare German *See*, and English *sea*), from which others have been used to derive Gothic *saivala* 'the soul', German *Seele*, English *soul*. These are set aside, together with Greek *αἰόλος* interpreted as meaning 'beweglich'. Here however there is a disturbing fact not generally known, namely, that we have in Welsh the etymological equivalent of Gothic *saivala* in *hoywal* or *hoewal*, which the mediæval poets used in the sense of the whirling or eddying of flowing water, or (according to Pughe) the widening circles of waves occasioned by anything thrown into a quiet pool. He gives instances, one from Cyndelw, a poet of the twelfth century, and one from Meredyđ ab Rhys of the fifteenth, who describes himself as an unsuccessful angler, in the words:

Hely'r wyf hoewal yr afon.[1]
Chasing am I the river's eddy.

we do get is *setl-* as in *Setlocenia* from Ellenborough near Maryport (*C. I. L.*, vii. 393), and in Goidelic inscriptions in Wales we have the vowel portion of the word reduced to *e* as in *Cimesetl-i*, *Vennisetl-i* (in Carmarthenshire), and *Vendesetl-i* (in Carnarvonshire), which seems to have been taken into Welsh as *Vinde-sĕtl-*, whence regularly *Gwynnedl* reduced in the dialect into *Gwnnadl* in Llan *Gwnnadl*. A more purely Welsh form *Gwynhoedl* was some time or other supplied, but it is not used except as the saint's name in books or in the mouths of those who follow them.

[1] I am indebted to my friend Mr. Richard Ellis for looking up some of the readings in the MSS. in the National Library at Aberystwyth. To them I prefer, I find, the one given by Dr. Pughe, and long before by Dr. Davies, who interprets the word as *Pars fluminis tardius transiens*, adding, however, *Alij volunt esse alueum fluminis et aquam festinantem*. The difference is perhaps merely one of the point of view, for the strength and velocity of the central current of a swollen river is not always apparent to a person standing on its bank. For more on the question of the meaning of the word see Prof. J. Morris Jones's edition of Ellis Wynne's *Bardd Cwsc*, pp. 146, 190, and the older edition by

And L. Glyn Cothi in the same century makes a comparison involving

> *Hoewal llif drwy ganol llyn.*
> The eddying of a flood through the middle of a lake.

So much for the Welsh side, which has *hoewal* retained in a purely physical meaning, but when one casts about in Irish one stumbles across the equivalent postulated by the Irish verb *sáilim*,[1] Mod. Ir. *saoilim*, now also spelt *sílim* 'I think, I imagine or fancy, I expect', Sc. Gaelic *saoiliam* 'methinks'. The word underlying these verbs referred no doubt to the soul or mind as the thinking agency in man. In point of meaning Irish and Welsh supplement one another, the latter illustrating the physical and the former the figurative force of the word, while the two taken together help irresistibly to reinstate the old-fashioned explanation of *saivala*, *seele*, *soul*, and their congeners.

(3) The name *Oed* given in the 'Kulhwch' (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 110). The usual form of the name in Welsh is *Aed*, borrowed from Irish as may be the case even with *Oed*. For it may perhaps have existed by the side of *Aed*, as seems to have been the fact with *saeth* and *soeth* side by side, represented in Welsh by *hoed* 'grief'.

(4) Possibly here also belongs the Irish *loig*, *loeg*, *laeg*, modern *laogh* 'calf', Welsh *llo* for an older **lloe*, whence the plural *lloia* in the dialect of Gwynedd, while standard Welsh has cut the plural down to *lloi* and made a new singular *llo*. But the old Cornish form *loch* and the Breton *lûé* offer difficulties which have not been explained. See Pedersen, loc. cit., where he operates with a strange plural *lloau*, and Stokes, Fick ii. 253, where the preference in Irish is given to *lóig*, while Pedersen reserves it for *láeg*.

Summing up these notes, I come to the question of the meaning of the compound *Eli-oiso*, which it is not easy to answer with precision. It reminds me of the Greek name Μακρό-βιος 'long-lived', but still more strongly, if *eli-* may be equated with πολυ-, of that of Πολύ-βιος, meaning 'him of much life or vigour'.

Silvan Evans, p. 94. Ellis Wynne used *hoewal* as an adjective, which suggests to me that he was blundering over a word with which he was not familiar.

[1] I find that I have been anticipated in this equation many years back; see Whitley Stokes *On the Calendar of Oengus*, published in 1880 by the R. Irish Academy (Irish MS. Series, vol. i, p. cccx), where he has also a reference to *sáile* 'sea', which I think may possibly represent an early *saivalio-*. But here the modern form is *sáile* 'sea', not *saoile*, owing perhaps to the influence of the unrelated word *sălann* 'salt', Welsh *hălen*, and Med. Irish *sal* 'sea', which, if entitled to the pronunciation *sál*, must owe it to the influence of *sáile*: compare Welsh *hel-i* 'brine'.

IV

The Civiglio inscription reading *Alios* from right to left was examined by me in the Civic Museum at Como last September and I now find that in my last paper, p. 64, the second letter is given inexactly as ⅃: it should be ⅃ with the oblique line projecting to the right of the perpendicular stem.

I made further inquiries after the Cernusco vessel with the two inscriptions *Ritukalos* and *Tiusiuilios* (ibid. p. 66). The nondescript mark immediately preceding the latter vocable I am now inclined to compare with the Ornavasso marks given on p. 341 below: it is probably not to be treated as organically connected with the letters forming the legend *Tiusiuilios*.

I tried once more to find the abbreviated inscription ꓘ1VX∃ϟ or *Setupk* scratched on a piece of earthenware supposed to have been found near Milan: see *C. I. Cis.*, p. 67. I was resolved to make a search at the Sforzesco, but it proved to be in vain, though I looked through the contents of all the cases said to contain Gaulish pottery. The Director of the Castle, Dr. Vicenzi, was good enough to let me have the invaluable aid of one of his colleagues, Dr. Vergani. But the only thing we found calling for notice here was a kind of rough earthenware plate from Nosate near Turbigo (No. 37 in glass-case No. 39) bearing scratched on it the letters VX∃1, which make *Petu* or *Pexu*. If the latter I should compare it with such names as *Pesivius* in the Museum at York (*C. I. L.*, vii. 1336. 830), ... PESSAE F. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 4769), and *Pessicinnus* (*C. I. L.*, xiii. 3114). If, however, the horizontal line of the third letter is not of any significance, the reading will be *Petu*; but see *C. I. Cis.*, pp. 49, 86. *Petu* may be the nominative of an *n*-declension word or the short dative for *Petui* of the *o*-declension. As a Gaulish name it should probably be referred to the same origin as the Goidelic *Qetai*, which is discussed on p. 348 below.

The statement (ib p. 77) that the inscription reading SVRICA| CIPOMIS|F is still at Levo is to be corrected: it has been taken with the two others to the museum at Turin. In connexion with *Ciposis* I mentioned in my paper a curious Latin inscription in the little museum at Suno which I visited with the Cav. Cesare Poma. We were made greatly welcome at the residence of the Count della Porta, but we could not boast of having made out the sense of the inscription, though we succeeded in reading portions of it and establishing the fact that it is in Latin. My friend has recently published a short paper

on it in order to call the attention of Latinists to a late inscription of such difficulty as to have baffled Prof. Mommsen. See the *Bollettino Storico per la Provincia di Novaru*, year vii, fasc. 5, where the article is aptly entitled ' L'Enigma di Suno '.

We now come to the Carcegna inscription, *C. I. Cis.*, p. 79, where I thought I had discovered a small V attached to the I of *Meteliknа*: I find this to be an illusion into which the photograph led me, without the photographer being in the least to blame as far as I can see: in any case the footnote is to be cancelled. I made a minute examination of the lettering but found nothing worth mentioning here except the fact that underneath the elbow of the first И of *Krasanikna* there are traces of a small X scratched so lightly as to scarcely penetrate the red glaze of the vessel. It looked to me as if somebody had tried to make *Krasanikna* into *Krasantikna*. I mean that instead of describing the woman as daughter of *Crassano-s*, he wished to correct the name into *Crassanto-s*, which actually existed, for Holder cites it with the Latin spelling *Craxsantus*, from *C. I. L.*, iii. 4815, where we have *Craxsantus Barbi P(ublii) s(ervus)*.

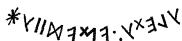
As to the lamp (*C. I. Cis.*, p. 81), I examined the maker's name again, having previously guessed it to have been EABRID MA: I thought now that the name is GABRIC or perhaps GABRIL, for a genitive *Gabrici* or *Gabrilli* of *Gabrico-s* or *Gabrillo-s* derived from **gabro-s* or **gabrā* ' a goat '. I could not discover a point before the MA, but there is one following it. Nevertheless one may perhaps venture to interpret the whole as standing for *Gabrici Manu* or *Gabrilli Manu*.

My next search was in the collection at the Cav. Bianchetti's country house at Ornavasso. He was good enough to let me examine the whole series of pottery there in quest of more Celtic. It took me three days: I got nothing new. But the search was by no means time wasted. First and foremost I was delighted to find the Naxian wine-vessel where I suppose it had remained undisturbed when I was there in 1912. Somehow or other the gentleman who assisted me by handing down the pottery must have overlooked it, and as an excuse for him I may say that the one in question is by no means conspicuous in appearance or in a good state of preservation. The inscriptions which it bears are all on the upper portion of the vessel. The most celebrated of them is the one I gave in my last paper, p. 86, as reading backwards—*Latumarui Sapsutaipe u̯inom naxom*, which I interpreted as 'To or for Latumāros and Sapsutā Naxian wine'! One of the most remarkable features of the language is the ending of the neuter singular in *m*, but I was hardly warranted in saying that *u̯inom naxom* yields the only instance known in Celtic, as we may possibly have

another in .... A⅃I:MO⅃ .... that is .... *lom ila* ... But the reading is incomplete and doubtful. It comes from Aranno: see pp. 43, 44. Besides the inscription already mentioned the discoverer of the vase gives three others; and there are more scratches on this vessel: one of the groups seems to read VM∃, that is *Enu*: I do not know what it means. However, we may treat it as a shortened dative for *Enui* 'for Enos' and equate it with the EINOYI in an ex-voto in Greek letters representing the pronunciation *Inui*. The stone is in the museum at Nîmes, in France: see my *Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, p. 36, and compare such names as *Inoreixs* (*C. I. L.*, iii. 12014. 752), also *Inus* quoted by Holder from Nîmes and Langres, with *Inux* from Metz.

At p. 69 of Bianchetti's *Sepolcreti di Ornavasso* we have an inscription from S. Bernardo, no. 29, given as reading ⸮OMΛ⸮ΛV, that is *Vasamos*, while on p. 117 it is cited as ⸮OMΛ⸮Λ⸮ or *Sasamos*, and corrected back into *Vasamos* on p. 309, at which I am not surprised in any way, though I think the matter acquires significance when one finds, as I did, that the initial letter is all gone except the extreme bit of the left-hand top of the V. That would suit the letter ⸮ equally well, if one may suppose that most of the letter had already gone in the excavator's time, that is to say, that he had no more of the letter to help him to the correct reading than we have. He would naturally be inclined to the initial V by the proximity of the two next inscriptions which he mentions, namely, *Vasekia* and what he treated as *Veśama*. This he should have read in the other direction as *Amaśev*, but it is not to the point here that he read it wrong. It matters, however, to some extent that the name *Vasamos* seems otherwise unknown, while that is not the case with *Sasamos*. Witness the spellings *Saxamus*, *Saxsamus*, and *Saxxamus* given by Holder as occurring in Latin inscriptions found at various places in Carinthia, at Autun, on Mont Auxois, and other ancient sites in the Côte-d'Or in France. I feel tempted therefore to think that the name in question was *Sasamos*, not *Vasamos*.

On pages 89 and 90 of my last paper I gave a hasty description of a graffito on a vase *a trottola* from the tomb numbered 32 S. Bernardo. My examination of it last September results in a better reading of the end letters: thus for *Amaśui* I now read *Amaśeu*. Moreover, I can add some points of detail aided by a pencil rubbing made on the spot: I have since made a tracing of it, and the former is reproduced in plate V. The lettering occupies a portion of the surface around the neck of the vessel: it makes half round it a curve, which is not circular but rough and irregular. In fact the first word is almost at

a tangent to the vessel's neck, which makes it easy to detach it from the rest. The whole may be roughly represented thus:

That is, *Vletu Amaśeu* instead of *Vletuamaśui*, which I read somewhat hurriedly before. I omit the interpunction as rather uncertain; in any case points are unnecessary as the lettering takes a new direction. The star-like mark at the end I take to have had no organic connexion with the inscription in letters. The most usual place for such a mark is the circular cavity at the foot of a vessel. Thus Bianchetti gives X 'nel cavo del piede' in the case of vessels described by him on pp. 140, 142, 144, 160, + on pp. 179, 188 (twice), ⚹ on p. 166; and he gives others now and then, including the one here in question, namely, on p. 146. Another symbol, Ƴ, he mentions as being on other portions of the vessel bearing it, on p. 138, 'nel fianco superiore', on pp. 138 (thrice) and 149, 'sul ventre', on p. 140, 'sul fianco', on pp. 127 and 166, 'nella parte superiore', and p. 189 'nel cavo del piede'. Our ✱ resembles the Ƴ in not being confined to one position, as is also the case sometimes with X. I do not now see much point in the comparison which I ventured with the nondescript character or characters preceding *Tiusiuilios*. That may well have been a symbol of the same class requiring, for the most part, to be treated in the same way, and not as a form of *CH*, the reference to which will be found on p. 66 of my last paper.

In point of lettering, the second and third *v* or *u* remind me of the second *u* of *Utonoiu* on the stone of Andergia; even the first instance of it here belongs to the same class of forms. The ⅂ is remarkable for the length of its lowest arm: I am not clear how much of that length may have been due to the slipping of the tool with which the scratches were being made. The same question of long shanks arises also in the case of the || and the final letter: the prolongations cannot be purely accidental. The X is small and insignificant, while this fact and its position above the line suggest that the person who was to scratch the graffito on the vessel had a copy given him, that in looking at it his eye was caught by the little X with which the *m* ended, and that he took his cue from that in treating the letter X, which should have been as large as the others. This implies that he did not understand what he was writing. The Ⅹ꓿ itself is nearly as remarkable as those in *Minuku Komoneos* on one of the

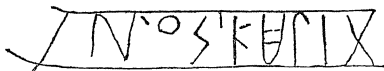
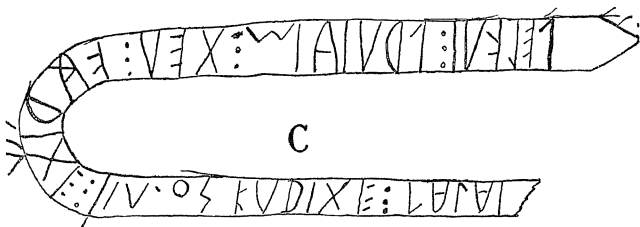
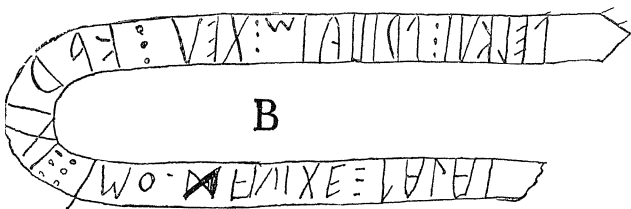
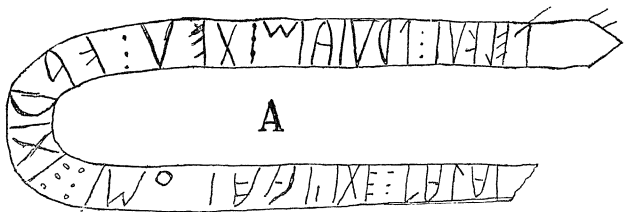
stones from S. Pietro di Stabbio: see p. 39 of the same paper. The stilted ᛞ is also noteworthy.

I had written my notes up to this point before it dawned on me that this graffito is not wholly unrecorded in Bianchetti's book; that it is in fact his no. 19 on p. 69 (see also p. 120) coming from Grave no. 32 S. Bernardo. I have some excuse for this oversight, for not only has he always treated the name as *Veśama* by reading ᚴᛁᛁᛞᛋᛗᛋ in the wrong direction, but he has left out the first word *vletu* altogether as well as the mark at the end. On the other hand his reading *Vesama* as consisting of exactly the same combinations of lines as my *Amaśeu*, I regard as a valuable corroboration of that reading arrived at independently. The name *Amaśeu* can be read in his photograph of the vase, plate XVIII, 11, which is enlarged in our plate V; but the vessel was so placed that only the end of *vletu* can be detected, enough being seen, however, to show that there was writing before the proper name. It follows from these remarks that the alternative suggestion that ᚴᛁᛁᛞᐱᛗᐱ should be analysed into *Amaśi-iu* is to be cancelled: see p. 83 of my last paper.

Lastly, the translation of *Vletu Amaśeu* is 'A feast for Amaśeos'. It should be noticed that the shape of the vessel compels us to interpret the term feast as here meaning no feast of solid food but drink, which countenances my surmise as to the meaning of the *latu* of *Latu-marui*: see pp. 86, 87 of the same paper.

Early in September I came down from Stresa to Gallarate to see the Vergiate Stone which has been brought there. I was met by Dr. Nicodemi, who introduced me to the leading men of the *Società gallaratese per gli Studi patrî.* In my last paper I devoted the Appendix to it, pp. 100–109, and it turns out that I had been so well provided with reliable rubbings, sketches (by Dr. Nicodemi), and a photograph—all supplied me by the Commendatore Lattes and the Lombard Institute—that I have very little that is new or important to say about the inscription. For the convenience of the reader this paper is provided with a copy of the photographs used in the last paper.

The stone is local and wofully poor material it is, so friable that small bits of it come off by merely rubbing it with the fingers or by trying to clean it, but Dr. Nicodemi knew of a chemical that could be used to strengthen the surface. There was a rumour current at the time that the Government was going to insist on having the stone carted to Rome. Were that to be done the inscription could hardly escape serious damage. When found, the stone was resting on the side furthest from the commencement of the writing;

DR NICODEMI'S SKETCHES OF THE VERGIATE INSCRIPTION

and it is hardly conceivable that it escaped all damage in being moved; but several bits of the writing have gone since. The first I noticed is a little line joining the hook of the ᛚ (= *p*) at the beginning in such a way as to make it appear in the photograph as Ν (= *n*). Some of the redundant lines in the examples of A are of this kind. Take the first A which looks in the photo as if it had, besides the oblique line across, a horizontal one produced in both directions towards the neighbouring letters I and Ν. So it has, for when you look at the stone, this is quite perceptible as a slight scaling of the surface. This does not apply to the A of *karite*; for here the stonecutter began to make another Ꮖ and, finding his mistake, rounded it off as nearly as he could into A. The stops after *karite* are not points at all but three short lines slanting in the same direction as the arms of the ᚼ preceding them, but whether this peculiarity had any significance or not I cannot tell.

Coming to the chief difficulty, where I had read ϟOVVI, I noticed a depression near the top of the I which would perhaps convert that letter into ᛚ, and a similar one inside the first V: I scrutinized both and came to the conclusion that neither of them was a part of the writing, and I understood Dr. Nicodemi to say that he had examined them some time before very closely with a powerful glass and had come to the same conclusion. Since he drew the sketches C and D with the bit of an oblique line in front of the O the disintegration of the surface leaves us without any data except those drawings. After the ϟ where a short I is given I seemed to feel three small hollows for the finger-tips, but I fancy the stonecutter made the three points—wrongly—into an I. The difficulty about A Ꮖ is that they are traversed by a scaling which affects the Ꮖ rather seriously and makes it hard to recognize A at first, as a piece of it is gone. The scaling near the A may be said to extend to the X which it has affected badly.

From the first he had recognized the serpentine outlines given to the ribbon bearing the legend, and on examining the representation of the beast's head and what had been supposed to be an eye, we found that it was more probably the mouth. As to the gills on either side of the head // and \\ I could not find that in either pair the lines were joined together at all. The dorsal fins seem to be where they should be, and in spite of the fracture at the end we have an indication of one tail fin.

Unfortunately Giussani was unable to come with me to Gallarate to examine the stone, but he has been there since, and one may probably expect a full report of his conclusions in the forthcoming number of his *Rivista Archeologica.* He has sent me his reading long

since, and it differs at several points from that of Lattes and Nogara as well as from mine, for it runs thus: *Pelkui* ⁝ *Pruiam* ⁝ *Teu* ⁝ *Karite* ⁝ *Pivios* ⁝ *Karite* ⁝ *Palai.* It would be useless to discuss it until he has published his own account of it with the interpretation which he may wish to offer.

V

The next inscription to call for notice is that found in the Val Sabbia, and now to be seen in the Museo Patrio at Brescia: see *C. I. Cis.*, p. 93. It is given in *C. I. L.*, v. 4897, where the editor, the late Professor Mommsen, gave it as his opinion that it might perhaps be Raetic rather than Latin, though cut in roman letters as follows :—

DIEVPALA
MINVI

Its importance did not escape me but among other things I stupidly treated the top line as a compound word made up of *dieu* and *pala.* In fact I missed the key to the interpretation of the whole : two pairs of eyes are better than one, and Professor Herbig's suggestion to which I have alluded at the beginning clears away the whole difficulty at one stroke. His words written from Rostock, Sept. 30, 1913, read as follows: 'Erfreulich ist, dass Sie die *pala*-Inschriften durch eine in lateinischer Verkleidung (*C. I. L.*, v. 4897) vermehrt haben: sie ist wohl wie die von Mesocco und Levo von der zweiten zur ersten Zeile zu lesen; in *dieu* muss doch wohl der Vatername stecken. Vgl. Min*ui* Di*eu* mit Pelc*ui* Pruiamit*eu*.' That means that we are to construe *Minui Dieu pala*, which is to be rendered 'For Minos Dieos a burial plot', and completely establishes the correctness of Danielsson's treatment of the two other inscriptions in which he reads the second line first.

Minui was the dative of a name of which the nominative was most probably *Minos* related to *Minuku*, with a probable genitive *Minukonos* exactly represented in Irish by *Mencon* and *Mincon* (Book of Leinster, 349[a], 369[e]). *Minuku* [1] is discussed in the *C. Inscr. Cis.*, p. 39.

[1] The *cū* 'dog, hound' of this kind of name meant for the ancient Celts the war-dog, the guardian or protector of the house, and then protector in a wider sense. It leads me to wonder whether Dante's names *Can Grande* della Scala and that of his brother *Mastino* 'mastiff' do not argue Celtic descent and tradition. The bearers of these names were lords of Verona from 1301 to 1329 ; but their father Jacopo Fico, the founder of the family of La Scala, seems to have been of low degree, associated by Villani with the mountains. See Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*, pp. 485, 590, while as to the use of dogs in war by the Celts of ancient Gaul and as to the false etymology of *cū*- and *con*- proper names my remarks in the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1907, pp. 85–90, may be consulted : see also the *Cymmrodor*, vol. xxi, p. 11 (footnote).

Holder has other forms which may be of the same origin, such as (Latin) *Ad-minius*, and *Am-minus*; also, in spite of the *nn*, the names which he cites as *Minnius*, *Minno-dunum*, and *Minna*, which may have been the feminine of the very name *Minos* here in question: in that case it should perhaps be written *Minnos*. The dative would be *Minui*, but there is a possible alternative to *Minos*, namely, the *Minuo-s* which yielded in Latin the genitive *Minui*, that is in Celtic *Minu̯i* 'of Minu̯os'; the dative of this would regularly be *Minu̯ui*, but in writing it may, perhaps, have been contracted into *Minui*, yielding what we have in the Val Sabbia inscription as MINVI. It is simpler, however, to assume that our form was *Minos*, dative *Minui*, and that *Minu̯os* was only a related form (with a dative *Minu̯ui*) to be classed with Min(n)ios, in Latin *Minius* and *Minnius*: see Holder, who has more instances of the same description.

Next comes *Dieu*, which I take to represent the older dative *Dieui*, though that contrasts markedly with the full form of *Minui*. This brief inscription reading from left to right in roman capitals cannot be one of our earliest, and we are ignorant as to the rule for dropping or preserving the *i* of the dative at the time; the retention of the *i* of *Minui* may have been an archaism, the current pronunciation being *Minu*; or if the nominative *Dieos* was three syllables in length, that would naturally favour the curtailing of *Dieui* into *Dieu* of two syllables. At any rate the curtailed form does not prevent our supposing the cases in point to have been *Dieo-s*, dative *Dieu*(*i*), which would postulate a father's name *Dio-s* or the like. Now the dative of *Dio-s* would be *Diui*, in Greek letters Διουι, a spelling that meets us in a βρατουδε inscription which I tried to restore (*C. Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 11) into Ουοουοπο (or Ουοουογιο) Διουι[1] βρατου[δε]. At that time I wished to treat Διουι as meaning 'to (the) Goddess', but now I am disposed to interpret it as 'to Dios', which would bring the ex-voto more completely into line with the better established instances of the βρατουδε group. In that case it is not clear whether the name of a god had got to be that of a mere man in the Val Sabbia epitaph or whether the mere man, being perhaps a prince, was treated as the son of a divinity. Compare such a Celtic name as *Esu-genos* 'offspring of Esus', the Greek name Ἀπολλογένης, and the like.

But what god Dios could have been I cannot say: possibly it was a Celtic *Dis*, *Ditis*, but the authorities differ as to the etymology of that name, as Walde tells us. We know from Caesar that a god whom

[1] It would fit also into the St.-Côme fragment, where we have a dative ending . . . υι. See the *C. I. France and Italy*, p. 39.

he identified with the Latin Dis was a great figure in Celtic theology, but he gives us no clue to his name in Celtic. We seem to have the name of Dios in that of the potter *Diocaru(s)*, genitive *Diocari* from Troyes and Neuss, from the Museums of Leiden and Utrecht (*C. I. L.*, xiii. 10010. 779)· this should mean 'lover or kinsman of Dios'. So with *Diovicus* 'Dios's fighter or champion' in the name *Blescius Diovicus* mentioned on p. 335n. *Dio-* [1] is usually explained as a reduced form of *dīvo-* or *dēvo-*, but I have never seen any proof of the wholesale omission of *v* or *u̯* in Continental Celtic: the notion has apparently been suggested by the Latin words *deus* and *divus*, helped perhaps by Irish *día* 'god'.

We have already had instances of the interchange of *ai*, *ae* with *e*, and I am inclined to think that the *e* in *Dieo-s*, dative *Dieu(i)*, represents an older *ai*, that is, that we may treat them as standing for earlier *Diaio-s*, *Diaiui*. Of this affix Holder has collected numerous instances (i. 72, iii. 541) which look in some cases as if formed by adding *-io-* to feminines in *ā*. Among our examples we have the following with *e*—*Komoneos* (*C. I. Cis. Gaul*, pp. 39, 40), *Varsileos* (ib. p. 40), *Amaśe-u* (p. 83), and *Pruiamite-u* (p. 103), in a previous paper Ουιλλονεος (*C. I. France and Italy*, p. 13), Λιτουμαρεος (ib. p. 33), Κονδιλλεος (p. 38), and *Anareviśeos* (p. 63). But of those with *ai* we have only two, both in the genitive case, namely *Oxtai* (*C. I. Gaul*, p. 52, pl. vi. 12). Holder in his list gives *Oχtaius*, with a feminine *Oχtaia*, as he thinks the *Oxt-* of the inscription in point identical in origin with the *octo* of *Octodurus, Octogesa*: cf. *Atioxtus*. His instance of *Oxtaius* comes from Mandeure in the dep. of Doubs; it is on a bronze patera in the museum at Besançon, and reads *Deae Bell(onae) Scantrus Oxtai fil(ius)*. The name occurs also as a feminine at Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) and reads D(is) OXTAIAE · M(anibus): see *C. I. L.*, xiii. 5408, 5441, and for *Atioxtus*, *Atioxta* see 658, 659 in the same volume.

The other was discussed in my last paper, pp. 94–7: it is spelt in a way which is very puzzling; the reading which I then gave was ⁝·⁝OW⊧ᛏ⊧CAFI [2] 'To or for Tom(m)a, daughter of

[1] The *dia-* of words like *Diablintes*, the name of the people who left it to the town of *Jublains* in the department of Mayenne, *Diasulos* on coins of the Aedui, and Γαιζατο-διαστο-ς, may possibly be a compound preposition made up of *dē-ad-*. So the last-mentioned compound may perhaps have meant the 'spearman who stands by as a helper or as a leader', *di-ad-sto-s*, from which was derived the separate names *Diastulus*, and *Diastullus*; but (in *C. I. L.*, v. 1169) DIASTVS may well have been an independent name. On these and other names in point see Holder's *Treasury* and the *Corpus*, to which he supplies references.

[2] Here I wish to mention that Prof. Elia Lattes has read ⁝·⁝, which occurs twice on the Voltino marble, both times not as X = t but as ⋈ = ś: see the

Eccaios'. According to Holder, *Eccaios* is the spelling of a name that occurs on coins of the Senones, and the equation seems to suggest that the vowel *a* represented by two differently shaped *a*'s coming together meant a long *a*. It may be a convenience to you that I should bring the instances together from the scattered references in my last paper: there are five of them, as follows:

(1) A*a*i, 'to or for Aa', *C. I. Cis.* 36, 85, 94, 97; and on p. 320 above (cf. p. 322) I have given some account of my examination of the stone last September, which goes to show that the vowels are ΛA ←.

(2) A*a*miti, loc. cit., pp. 44, 110. This is uncertain but the letters may well have been Λ ꟻ ←.

(3) Ba*a*i, 'to or for Baa' with two Roman ordinary A's inclining away from one another ΛA, loc. cit., pp. 85, 97.

(4) Eca*a*i (genitive of *Ecaaios*, p. 94), if it be the right reading. On the same stone occurs *Obaa*, with ΛΛ, in the nominative feminine OBΛΛ, on which see also p. 111 where the suggestion is made that this name is made up of *Od-baa*.

These stems in *-aio-s*, *-aiā* are not unknown in the post-Roman inscriptions of this country: witness the following instances:

Genaius in an inscription in the vicinity of Helston in Cornwall: see Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, no. 5.

Veccaius with the E not very certain, which is to be deplored, as the stone seems to have long disappeared: see Hübner's no. 30. He gives the place as Bowden, north of Totnes, in Devon: I have made inquiries after the stone but in vain.

Vehimaie or *Venimaie* in a context which is not intelligible to me, in an inscription copied by Lewis Morris in 1746, and published by Mr. Edward Owen in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1896, p. 136. The stone was in a wall near the churchyard of Llanymawddwy in Merioneth in Morris's time; but it seems not to have been heard of since, which is the more to be regretted, as the epitaph is peculiar and longer than the average of the 'Hic iacit' instances to which it belonged.

Most Ogam inscriptions are in the genitive singular masculine, and such genitives in *ai* are fairly common. The following instances occur in Ogam, and I have examined them:

(1) *Bogai* (? Mogai) *maqi Biraci* 'The stone of *Bogaias* son of Biracas', in the Ballyknock group, near Rathcormack, in County

Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1893 (series V, vol. ii), p. 1041, note 51. As far as I can remember I have never met with ⋈ as an initial. But were it never to be found so elsewhere, it would by no means be a conclusive objection to his view.

Cork: see *C. I. Cis.*, p. 48, and the *Journal of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1891, p. 525.

(2) *Coillabbotas maqi Corbi maqi mucoi Qerai* 'The Stone of Coillabot, son of Corb son of Qeraias's kin', found at Laharan in the parish of Kilbonane, in Kerry, but preserved at Adare Manor, where I saw it in 1883. Brash, p. 223, gives it in two pieces, and wrongly reads *Qeroi*.

(3) *Culrigai* or *Cubbrigai*, a genitive on a tombstone which, with five others, thanks to the well-known archæologist Sir Bertrand Windle, President of the University College at Cork, I had the pleasure of seeing unearthed last October from a *ráth* on the townland of Knockshanawee, near Crookstown, Co. Cork. The operations were superintended by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, who has since reported on the whole group in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, volume xxxii, sec. C, no. 8, pp. 140–6. For the protection of the stones Sir Bertrand Windle has had them all safely housed in University College with the Ogam monuments deposited there many years ago as the outcome of the zeal of one of his predecessors, W. K. Sullivan, editor of Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.*

(4) *Qetai*, the genitive of a name which in its Ogamic spelling was probably *Quetaia*[*s*]. The inscription which was found at Drumconnell near Armagh, where the stone is preserved in the public library, reads *Dinoaglo maqi Qetai*. It is right to mention that it is not quite certain that the genitive here in question could not be read *Qetoi*: see the *Journal of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1895, pp. 102, 103, where I have given an account of the Ogam. A related genitive *Qettia* (for a fuller *Qettias* with *tt* = *th*) occurs in an inscription reading on two edges *Maqqi Qettia, Maqqi Cunitti.* It was found at Ballinrannig in Kerry, and the stone is now at Lord Ventry's residence, Burnham House, near Dingle. Brash gives (from a note by Mr. Windele), p. 132, what appears to have been a fragment (from Coolineagh, ? Clonmoyle, Co. Cork) reading *Maqi Qit* which may have been in full *Qitia*(*s*), *Qitai*, or *Qiti*. But *Qit* as cut in Ogam, would by the addition of a single score make *Qic*, the beginning of another name *Qici*, a genitive in the bilingual from Fardell in Devon, now in the British Museum. I have never been able to trace the Windele epitaph, and I gather that Brash never saw it either. The importance of the name *Qetai* or *Quetai* is that it has its equivalent on the Continent, namely in an inscription from Kovácsi, north-west of Buda-Pest, in Hungary. It begins with the words *Comatimare Quitai f*(*ilia*) 'Comatimara daughter of Quitaios', *C.I.L.* iii. 3621; but in a Roman inscription, reading *Petrosidia Quita*

(*C. I. L.* vi. 24052), we have *Quita* standing, doubtless, for Latin *Quinta.* The Celtic *quit-* would seem to be nearly related to the Welsh *pyd* 'danger'. compare *enbyd* which in book Welsh means 'dangerous', but in the Festiniog quarries is the cry of warning when blasting is about to take place, that is, it means 'beware!' (Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, p. 269). *Pyd* probably meant first the state of being aware of something to be guarded against, the precaution taken against danger, and then came to mean the danger or evil itself. The root seems to have been *qei*, *qovei* 'to be ware', whence the Greek name Πολυποίτης and the πιστ of ἐπίσταμαι, also the Sanskrit *cétati*, *citté*, *ci-kéta*, *ci-kité*, *cittá* 'to appear, consider, intend, understand'. The Celtic name here in question would seem to have meant approximately one who understood, one who was wise and cautious. The *Petu* mentioned at p. 338 above may possibly belong here, in case that is the right readin .

In any case *Quetai* is not to be associated with another group with *tt* for an earlier *nt*, in which the simplest stem implied was presumably *Quento-s* or *Qento-s*, which in Early Goidelic would appear as *Qētta-s.* We seem to have it in the old tales of the Ultonian Cycle as *Cétt* or *Cét*, genitive *Céitt* or *Cétt*, from a Proto-Celtic *Qento-s* for *Qenqto-s* derived from *qenqe*, Welsh *pimp*, *pump* 'five', and exactly equivalent to Latin *Quinctus*, *Quintus* 'the fifth son', whence *Quin(c)tius*, *Quintius*. The ancient Gaulish must have been *pento-s* attested by its derivatives, (Latin) *Pentius* for Gaulish *Pentio-s*, *Pentin-us* (compare Latin *Quintinus*), *Pentili-us*, *Pentilia* (compare Latin *Quinctilius*). The ordinal Irish *cóiced* 'a fifth, a fifth of Ireland, a province' and O. Welsh *pimphet*, Modern Welsh *pumed* 'fifth', were later formations, which superseded *genta-s* = *quento-s*, and *pento-s*: for these and related forms see Holder's *Treasury.*

(5) *Veqoanai maqi Equot*[*igirni* 'the Stone of Fiachna son of Echthigirne', in a souterrain in a field close to the church of Cooldorrihy in the parish of Kilmichael, Co. Cork. The Ogam breaks off at the third score of a consonant on the H side, so I take it to have been a *t* (in Ogam ᚈ), though *c* (ᚉ) or *q* (ᚊ) is possible; but the well-established name *Echthigerne* 'horse lord' leads me to prefer the *t*. The other consonants including the *d* (ᚇ) at which Brash, p. 159, stops, lead to no equally probable result. The genitive *Veqoanai* is to be found ending in the same way in Med. Irish, for instance in the Book of Leinster (fo. 337[c]) where it occurs spelt *Fiachnai*. so in Stokes's *Oengus*, Nov. 12, and p. 242, where, however, it also occurs as a nominative with *Fiachna* as genitive. In spite of the wellnigh promiscuous use of the forms Stokes treated the

nominative as *Fiachnae* (Ap. 29), with which the genitive *Fiachnai* would seem to go. Similarly, in his edition of 'The Second Battle of Moytura' (*Revue Celtique*, xii. 125), in the case of the Dagda's name he prefers nom. *Dagdae*, gen. *Dagdai*; and he has *Luchtae* (*Celtic Declension*, p. 11), with the gen. *Luchtai* in the Egerton version of *Tochmarc Etáine*: see Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 121.

As far as I know, there has been no attempt made to collect the *-aio-* words together, and to distinguish them from the rest of the *io-* and *ia-*declensions.

Lastly as to *pala* and Kretschmer's association of it with the Welsh *pâl* 'a spade', mentioned at p. 26, there are other Welsh words from the same source, such, for instance, as *paladr* 'a shaft, as of a spear', *pelydr* 'shafts, lances', *pelydr haul* 'rays of the sun, sunbeams', *paledryd* 'a maker of arrows, a fletcher', *paladur*,[1] modern *pladur* 'a scythe'. Among the related words in other languages may be mentioned Irish *celtair* 'a spear or lance', Greek πaλτóν 'a dart or light spear', Lith. *kũ'las* 'a pale, a stake', O. Slav. *kolŭ*, with the same meaning (Fick, ii. 57). As kindred words in Latin I have, in the passage in question, suggested such cognate forms as *vallus* 'a pale, a palisade' and *vallum* which Walde regards as a sort of collective of *vallus*, meaning 'a wall provided with a fence of stakes, a palisaded entrenchment'. For the reduction of initial *qu* to *v* in Latin see Walde's remarks on *vapor* and *invitus*. If we may assume the same omission of *q* here, there remain one or two points to be explained in reference to the meaning. (1) The implement called *pâl* in South Wales is the ordinary English spade, with a step on either side of the bottom of the handle to facilitate the pressing of the iron into the ground with either of the delver's feet; but in North Wales it is called a *rhaw bal*—*rhaw balar* also occurs—which seems to mean a 'shovel spade' and to imply that at some time or other the *pâl* was itself narrower. This latter is an implement which Irish labourers employ, and I have used it to unearth old tombstones: in shape it resembles an English spade split longitudinally with only one of the two steps for the foot: I believe that in Ireland I have heard it called a 'spud'. The Welsh *pâl* was probably of this description, and its name would fit aptly enough into a group of words vaguely meaning stakes, spearheads, and the like things of narrower dimension than an English spade.

(2) The distance between the meaning of *paladr* 'a shaft or spear' and *paladur* 'a scythe' is certainly very considerable. We are reminded of Pliny's description of a curious contrivance for reaping

[1] Sometimes to be heard in Anglesey as *pliadur*, probably implying an earlier *paliadur* or *peliadur*.

corn, to wit, a pole set with teeth and fastened to a cart pulled forwards by oxen placed behind: this was used, he says, by the Gauls (xviii. 30, 72, § 296). It is mentioned also by Palladius, vii. 2, who wrote in the fourth century on agriculture. The whole machine is by him termed a *vehiculum*; its teeth formed a series of contrivances for cutting, with small knives or saws taking the place, as it were, of properly directed spearheads or laterally sharpened stakes.

(3) It may have been unnecessary to suppose that *pala* meant a plot of burial-ground carefully bounded by stakes limiting it all round: it may have sufficed to stick a single one into the ground, the family concerned being presumed to be capable of identifying their boundaries in case of encroachment. Thus, for instance, 'Aai pala' would mean 'For Aa a stake', that is, a plot of burial-ground procured by her or her family and indicated by a single stake fixed in the ground. Slightly modifying Kretschmer's view, it follows that the Welsh feminine *pâl*, which implies an early form *pălā*, may be claimed as the very word *pala* of the inscriptions, and not merely as a kindred vocable.

VI

While putting these notes together the last number of volume xxxiv of the *Revue Celtique* reached me, containing articles entitled 'Notes d'archéologie et de philologie celtiques', by Prof. Vendryes and M. H. Hubert. They discuss an inscription in Etruscan letters on a stone discovered in Liguria in 1827, namely at Zignago in the valley of the Vara, a tributary of the Magra, anciently *Macra*, which enters the sea east of the gulf on which Spezia stands. The stele, which consists of sandstone, is now in the Civic Museum at Genoa and measures a little more than a metre in height. The top is roughly sculptured into a man's face. The inscription, to which M. Vendryes's article is devoted, reads (from right to left) down the stone in the direction away from the head, as in the margin below: see p. 321 above. M. Vendryes transcribes it *Mezunemusus*, which he interprets as *Medionemossos*, identifying the *medio* with that in *Mediolanum*, which is the name of a number of places in Celtic lands. He adds a reference to a *Medio-nemeton* mentioned by Ravennas v. 31 and supposed to be now Kirkintilloch near Glasgow, in Scotland. He translates *Medio-nemossos* as either 'sanctuaire du milieu' or 'milieu du sanctuaire'. In fact he treats *nemossos* as synonymous with *nemeton* 'a sanctuary or holy place', and in connexion with it he recalls Strabo's ancient name Νεμωσσός for *Augusto-nemeton*, now Clermont-Ferrand, and recalls the fact that the name of the

little French town of Nemours is also derived from *Nemossos*. He avoids—unnecessarily, I think—any mention of *Nemausos*, which has become in French *Nîmes*, *Nimes*. The root is given by Stokes (Fick, ii. 192) as *nem* 'to bend down, to venerate or honour', and treated by him as the etymon of such tribal and local names as *Nemetes*, *Nemetoduron* 'Nanterre', and Welsh personal names such as *Nimet*, later *Nyfed* as in Ednyfed (?), Ythneued, Itneuet, and other forms, for instances of which see Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 466, 468, 489, 490, 505: they imply an early *Ĭud-nem-et-* 'Champion of the Sanctuary'. In *Nemausus* we have the ending *-auso-* which appears as *-osso-* or *-ωσσο-* in *Nemossos*, Νεμωσσός. Holder (i. 298, iii. 761) has collected instances of this termination. Its exact force is not known, but its Celticity[1] is favoured by the distribution of the name: witness the Nemausian appellations of Nîmes, Clermont-Ferrand, and Nemours. M. Vendryes ends by warning archæologists to give up the notion that the stone has anything to do with a burial of any kind.

I agree with Prof. Vendryes as to the Celticity of the monument, and it would have pleased me to follow him further, but I feel that a difficulty, which I must now try to explain, arises out of his analysis of the inscription:—

The letters Ǝ, V, Ⴤ, and ≶ are of a common type; the *m* in both instances is of an ancient form with five joints; the *z* is ‡, consisting of three lines like the tall Z, which we may possibly regard as forms of one and the same letter. There remains the sigma, M, which in the Lugano district is commonly replaced by ⋈.

Pauli in his *Altitalische Forschungen*, vol. i. 59, following Corssen's *Sprache der Etrusker*, i. 12, regarded ⋈ as formed from M by producing the slanting lines down to meet the two verticals, which however they did not always do at the right points or indeed at all:

[1] This we seem to have in Welsh as *-ūs*, which is used so much like *-ōs-* in such Latin words as *clamōsus*, *operōsus*, *verbōsus*, that it is sometimes regarded as borrowed from Latin. The Welsh *-us* is added to substantives as in *ofnus* 'timid' from *ofn* 'fear' and to adjectives as in *iachus* 'wholesome' from *iach* 'healthy'. The suffix can be traced as far back as the O. Welsh glosses in the Cambridge Codex Juvencus of the eighth or ninth century. See Stokes in Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beiträge*, iv. 392, where we have a manufactured word 'guotricus-egeticion' as a gloss on the Latin '*deluta* [read *dilata*] *diu*'. To mention any such instance is, however, hardly necessary as the use of the affix was Brythonic at a time previous to the separation of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. All this would agree perfectly with the meaning of *nemōsos* as a synonym of *nemeton*, unless we are to regard the former as entitled to the interpretation of a '*very* venerable, a *very* holy' place. On the latter, *nemeton*, I have some remarks in my *C. I. France and Italy*, p. 16.

witness the stilted 𐌑 cited on p. 342 above: see also plate V. Two instances likewise of the unclosed, carelessly formed ones will be found in *C. I. Cis.*, plates III, IV. Both kinds seem to me to confirm Corssen's view. Later, it is true, Dr. Pauli changed his mind, and tried to prove that the two forms have nothing to do with one another. See his *Altitalische Forschungen*, vol. iii. 154–66, where I fail to follow him.

Now let us look at Pauli's alphabets in the first volume of his *Altitalische Forschungen*, entitled 'Die Inschriften des nordetruskischen Alphabets', together with that of the Giubiasco finds, in order to compare with them the letters on the Zignago block. This can be done by means of the following table:—

	V	Z	M	Ś	U	O
Bozen: Pauli, i. 55	ꟻ		𐌌		V	
Lugano: Pauli, i. 57	(V)		𐌌, 𐌌	𐌑	V	O, ◇
Giubiasco: *C. I. Cis.*, pp. 45–46			M	𐌑	V	◇, ◊
Sondrio: Pauli, i. 56		⇞	W		V	O
Este: Pauli, i. 48–51	ꟻ	✗	𐌌, 𐌌	M	Λ	◇
Zignago Inscription		‡	𐌌	M	V	

We see at once that the affinities of the spelling on the Zignago stone are with the alphabet associated with Este, the ancient Ateste, in Venetia, and this in spite of the fact that the characteristic features of the latter, the digamma ᚠ, ꟻ for *v*, and Λ for V = *u*, happen to have no equivalents in the single name on the Zignago stone. On the other hand both have a *z* and we know approximately how the Este *z* was pronounced in Venetic. On pages 248 et seqq. in his third volume, Pauli devotes a good deal of space to proving that a word *zonasto* occurring frequently meant *dedit*, and implied a vocable **zonon* = Latin *donum*, while a kindred form *zoto* is equated by him with the Greek ἔ-δοτο. On the other hand Thurneysen reviewing Pauli's third volume identifies a Venetic feminine singular *Verconzar-na* partly with the unmistakably Celtic name which Livy gives as *Ver-condari—dubnus*, and he thinks Pauli's no. 267 ends with a word beginning with the same letter as *zonato*, namely, *zehvos* which the reviewer suggests equating with the Indo-European *deivos* 'a god'. The remarks in question by Thurneysen will be found in the *Wochenschrift f. kl. Philologie* (for 1892), vol. ix. 290, 291, where he treats the *z* as corresponding to *d*, and that *d* as being one of the 'wirkliche Mediae' in

Venetic. All this points to the Zignago name as representing, not *Medionemusus*, but *Medunemusus*, which is probably to be treated as *Medonemōsos*. This is the extent of the difference between Prof. Vendryes's analysis of the inscription and mine. I might stop at this point, but I am tempted to indulge in some conjectures as to the interpretation, though I am conscious that they may prove quite untenable.

The Venetic form *Verconzarna*, located by Pauli at Este, and based on a name borrowed from Celtic, is evidence of some measure of social intercourse between the Veneti and their Celtic neighbours. On the other hand, the similarity between the eleven characters of our inscription and the Este alphabet shows that the Celts of the Magra had adopted that alphabet or one very like it. But the distance between the Magra Valley and Este only warrants us in supposing that they got that alphabet directly from some people located far nearer the Magra than the Veneti of Ateste. I am not competent to decide the question whence, and by what route, the Celts reached the Ligurian district where their monuments are found. At all events the data, if any, must be very precarious: to know that the valleys of the Vara and the Magra correspond to passes across the mountains into the basin of the river Po and its tributaries does not carry us far enough. We seem, however, to be entitled to regard the *z* of our inscription as that of the Este alphabet and as having the probable value of the *z* of that alphabet. That value, as we have seen, Thurneysen regards as that of *d*, while Danielsson (loc. cit. p. 11) gives the preference to *đ*, but without excluding *d*. The difference is of no great consequence here, but possibly the preference for *đ* may prove justified. The instances in Holder's *Treasury* which can be connected with the *zar* of *Verconzarna* are written with ordinary *d* or with Greek δ. They are the following: (*a*) *Vercondaridubnus*, an Æduan mentioned in the *Periochae* (also called *Epitomae*) of Livy, edited at Leipsic in 1853 by Otto Jahn, p. 108: *sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo*, referring to the first priest of the altar of Rome and Augustus at Lyons in the year 12 B.C. (*b*) *Tarcondarius Castor*, tetrarch of the Tectosages in Galatia, who married a daughter of Deiotarus in 41 or 40 B.C.: see Caesar, *de Bello Civili*, iii. 4, also Meineke's Strabo, xii. 5, 3 (p. 568). (*c*) Σαωκονδάρου (Strabo, ibid.), a Greek genitive which seems to require emendation into Σαωκονδαρίου. According to Strabo Saocondarios also married a daughter of Deiotaros. (*d*) Holder mentions a potter's name *Condarinus* on pottery now in the museum at Rheims, to which may be added the diminutive *Condarill-us* of which examples are preserved in the

museums of Trier, Mannheim, Leyden, and elsewhere:[1] see *C. I. L.*, xiii. 10,010. 630.

There was a well-known Celtic sound-change which consisted in the lisping of the sibilant into *đ* in Transalpine Gaul: the lisp was variously written ÐÐ (sometimes Ð), DD (or even D), ΘΘ, Θ, ⊕ The original sound was *ss* or *s*; and both the sibilant and the lisp seem for a considerable time to have been written side by side. Stokes, in Fick, ii. 204, equates *Messul-us* with *Međđul-us* as does also Brugmann, I². 685. Holder (ii. 494) brings together *Missil-us* (fem. *Missilla, Mesilla*), *Međđill-us, Me⊕ill-us, Medsill-us, Medsil-us*; and in my opinion they are not merely comparable, masculine and feminine respectively, but may be regarded as identical save as regards the lisp. Now with the *međđu* of *Međđull-us* and *Meddu-gnat-us*, postulated also as *Međđi-gnat-us* by the derivative *Međđi-gnati-us* which occurs, I would associate the *mezu* (or *mezo*) of our Zignago inscription; and the next question relates to the meaning. We have to trace our *mezu* to its source, and in so doing we stumble across the O. Irish word *mess* 'a judgement, verdict or sentence', which is derived from the O. Irish verb *midiur* (for an early *me-dio-r*) 'I measure, judge, estimate', *air-med* 'size', Welsh *modfeđ* (=*mawd*+*međ*) 'thumb-measure, an inch', *troed-feđ* 'foot-measure', and in *međwl* 'the mind, intellect, thought, intention'. But *mess* of the *u*-declension and arrived at through *med-tu-*, *med^s^tu-* is not quite the vocable we want. The latter is indicated by *Medsill-us* (and *Medsil-us*) to be equated with *Međđill-us, Me⊕ill-us*, and by the briefer formations *Medsia, Mesia*, masculine *Mesi-us, Messia*, mas. *Messi-us* and *Miđđe-us*, derived from the simpler forms *Mes-us, Mesa*.

[1] The attempts to explain these names are, as far as I have seen, failures. The prefixed σαω and *tar* are, it is true, obscure, but the central element was an adjective *Condarios* or better perhaps *Condari̯o-s* (a shortening of **Cuno-dari̯o-s*), whence a feminine noun *condari̯ā*, which is in Welsh letter for letter the feminine *cynđaređ* 'rage, fury, madness, *rabies*'. Compare the Breton *kounnar* 'rage, fureur, furie', *kounnari* 'enrager', *kounnaret* 'enragé', *kî kounnaret* 'un chien enragé', also called *kî klañ* 'un chien malade'; and Cornish *conenoc* 'rabid, mad, frantic', Welsh *cynđeirog*, in dialect *cyndeirog*, N Cardiganshire *ci cyndeirog* 'a mad dog'. So *Condari-dubno-s* meant 'profoundly enraged, liable to be filled with the fury of battle, and to behave like a berserk', running amuck being presumably considered a proof of prowess and personal bravery: the story of Cúchulainn is in great part a vivid illustration of this attitude of mind. The presence of the word for dog in *con-dar-* seems to explain it as 'especially a dog disease', for *dar-* is doubtless to be identified with the *dar-* in the Welsh *dar-fod* 'to waste away', whence *darfodedigaeth* 'consumption, phthisis'. On this may be consulted Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, p. 147, where he refers *dar-* to the same origin as the Greek φθείρω 'I spoil, waste, destroy'.

Lastly, Holder (ii. 495–7) cites from eastern Gaul and the contiguous part of Germany *Medius* and *Medius f(ecit)*, while from Tournay, Troyes and elsewhere, he produces MEÐI which seems to have been genitive singular either of *Međos* or of *Međios*. He refers to Eugène Soil's *Potiers et Faienciers Tournaisiens* (Tournay, 1886), which gives (p. 31 and plates III, IV) a potsherd with a very neat stamp of the maker's name (MEÐI). This means an original *Messi*; we have as far as I know no proof that Continental Celtic softened *d* into *đ* under any circumstances.

It would take up too much of your time to discuss one by one these and kindred forms which will be found in their own places in Holder's great collection. The form to which they seem to point is *medso-s*, *medsā*, with an affix *-so-s*, fem. *-sā*, instances of which, and of *-so(n)*, have been brought together by Holder, ii. 1595: the combination *ds* would have to become *ss*, liable to yield *đđ*. The meaning of *medso-s* I should treat as that of 'one who measures', perhaps 'one who estimates, counsels, or advises'. Then the name *Mezu-nemusus* or let us say *Medo-nemōso-s* should signify him who measures a *nemeton* or holy place. If that seems too narrow, let us say 'one who thinks for the sanctuary, one who helps it with his counsel and advice'. Whatever the definite nature of the rôle may have been we have for the composition of the name the parallel of *Iud-nemeto-s* 'him who fights for the sanctuary, one who acts as the champion of the holy place'. Further afield we have the analogy of such Greek names as Μηδοκρίτη, Ἀστυμήδης, Ἀστυμέδων, Λαομέδων, and the like.

I have perused not only Professor Vendryes's article and that of M. Hubert in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. xxxiv. 424–47, together with M. Hubert's short article in the *Revue Archéologique* (for 1909), fourth series, xiv. 52–4, but also that of Dr. Ubaldo Mazzini to whom they often refer· this last will be found published in 1908 in the *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria* under the title of 'Monumenti Celtici in Val di Magra', pp. 393–417. Of these monuments there are more than a dozen, and one of my objects in reading about them has been to discover what or whom they are supposed to represent, gods and goddesses, or men and women buried near them. I append a few words about the leading group,[1] mostly from Dr. Mazzini's description:—

(1) Of the five the one with the inscription which has been here discussed may be allowed to come first. It is, as already mentioned, a pillar of sandstone a little over a metre in height, now preserved in

[1] For copious illustrations see Déchelette's *Manuel d'Archéologie*, II. ii, pp. 732–5.

the Civic Museum at Genoa. What the age of the inscription may prove to be must to some extent depend on the history of ⱡ.

(2) The second comes from the Selva di Filetto in the commune of Villafranca on the east side of the river Magra. This has carved on it a very remarkable figure of a nude warrior with his weapons in his big hands, a pair of *gaesa* in his right and a hatchet supposed to be the *cateia* in his left. Besides he had a band passing twice round his body to support a sword on the right side, παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν: see Diodorus v. 28. M. Hubert shows it to be of importance to note that the sword is of the short Hallstatt kind which French archæologists call a 'poignard à antennes' from the shape of the hilt. The figure bore an inscription running from beneath the right armpit across the breast towards the left elbow. It is said to have consisted of some ten letters now considered illegible owing to the writing having been scratched very superficially and rendered worse by exposure to the weather. The material is rather coarse-grained sandstone taken out of the bed of the Magra. It stood 90 centimetres above the ground with the rest undressed, embedded in it, to the depth of some 40 centimetres. When Dr. Mazzini wrote, it was in the possession of a friend of his, the Cav. Luigi Bocconi at Pontremoli.

(3) This is a block of grey stone from the same place as the last, but of a finer grain: the height is given as 1·04 metres by 49 centimetres. The head and neck remind Mazzini of no. 1. The sword is said to hang on the right side, while the *cateia* is in the right hand and the *gaesa* in the left. Below the right armpit is carved a sigma, Ƹ looking, it seems, towards the left. The stone is in the Civic Museum at Spezia.

(4) The locality of this stone is given as Villa di Càmpoli in a portion of the commune of Mulazzo in the parish of Lusuolo on the west bank of the Magra. It is there built upright into the wall of the oratory of the local Madonna near that building's left corner. It is a big fragment of fine sandstone measuring above ground 1·15 metres by an average width of 55 centimetres. It is much damaged, but the right hand can be seen to be provided with the two *gaesa*: the other hand and what it should hold were smashed (not very long before 1908) out of all recognition, but it is well remembered that it held a hatchet. The cord serving as a girdle can be detected, and it probably supported a sword on the right, but no traces of that can be seen in the present state of the stone. Lastly, Mazzini thought he detected traces of two bracelets above the elbow and the wrist of the left arm respectively. It is to be noted that this crude figure has no neck.

(5) The fifth and last of the stones which he describes here is just outside the castle of Malgrate, not very far north-east of Villafranca on the east side of the Magra. It was found in digging into a hillock hard by. It is now built into the outside wall of a labourer's cottage. The material is much the same as in the previous cases, a stream-rolled mass of yellowish sandstone. It was however from the first on a smaller scale than the other stones; and now the lower portion which should have been fixed in the ground is entirely missing. What remains represents a nude woman, and the workmanship is less crude than in the other cases. The country folk have a story that close by the monument there was found at the time of the excavation a vessel full of money, which, carried away to be exchanged, was seen no more.

Mazzini having given plates representing the five monuments with a concise description of each, expresses his conviction that they are sepulchral stones and that the writing was simply the name of the person buried: it is very unfortunate that the inscription of monument no. 2 is not legible. Now while Dr. Mazzini was publishing his account of the foregoing five monuments, he heard of others located in a chestnut wood called *I Bocciari* near a group of houses called Pontevecchio in the parish of Cècina and commune of Fivizzano, near the borderland of Fosdinovo and at the foot of the western barriers of the Apuan Alps. The spot is near a stream pursuing its way into the Aullella, which joins the lower course of the Magra. He excavated the place and discovered carved stones, no fewer than nine in number, of which two represent women. He purchased them all for the Spezia Museum of which he is director, a post evidently filled by him with great efficiency. That is not all, for he has published a report of them, with sketches, in the *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiano* (for 1909–10, pp. 65–77) under the title *Statue-menhirs di Lunigiana*; for the district is sometimes so called from the Luna of the ancients, at one time reckoned the furthest Etruscan town towards the north-west: it was later a Roman colony.

M. Hubert does not quite approve of Dr. Mazzini's treating the Pontevecchio stones as sculptured menhirs, which the latter does because he regards them as resembling some of the carved menhirs of the French departments of the Tarn, Hérault, and Aveyron. But M. Hubert is not inexorable on this point, for he adds (pp. 445, 446) as to the group of nine stones:—

'La vue des nouvelles stèles me rend moins négatif. Ici, pas plus de cou qu'à nos statues-menhirs de France. Quant à la façon dont le visage est exécuté, de petites stèles, trouvées à Orgon, dans les Bouches-

du-Rhône, en donnent l'exact équivalent. C'est la même tête de chouette, en dessin cubique. Mais sont-elles de la même famille que les premières? Il me paraît difficile de le nier. De part et d'autre, les épaules sont faites de la même façon et elle est caractéristique. C'est un bandeau horizontal qui forme encadrement; de ce bandeau descendent les bras, légèrement pliés, les mains dirigées vers le milieu du ventre. La silhouette de la partie supérieure ne diffère, de l'une à l'autre série, que par l'interposition d'un cou aux stèles de la première.'

The group of five inscriptions are not so crude in point of art as those of Pontevecchio, where the neck is always wanting, but there is one among the former which also lacks the neck and forms an unmistakable link of connexion between the two groups, and M. Hubert admits (p. 446) that if the first group is Celtic, the other must be Celtic too; and in any case, judging from the inferiority of the art it displays, it is older. Both Mazzini and Hubert speak freely of some of these monuments as sepulchral, but every now and then they show greater caution. I think I may venture to say that you would require more definite evidence than appears to be forthcoming to convince you that any of them are other than sepulchral. As the matter stands the opinion that they were connected with burials may be said to raise fewer difficulties, while I find nothing in favour of the idea that *Mezunemusus* is other than a personal name.

My interest in M. Hubert's important paper in the *Revue Celtique* does not end here, as one of the questions in his heading is that of the date of the arrival of the Gauls in Italy. He begins (p. 428) by mentioning the nearly complete agreement among archæologists as to the period of the vogue of the antennæ swords or poniards, namely, from 700 to 500 B.C. as the extreme dates. This seems to accord with the fact that the famous tomb at Sesto Calende on the Ticino, near where that river discharges the waters of Lago Maggiore, had, among its contents, a short sword with antennæ. It agrees also with the later history of the ancient cemeteries of Golasecca, Castelletto Ticino, and others, forming on the plateau of Somma a great and remarkable necropolis. He makes the suggestion that the Gauls came into Italy earlier than is generally believed. After going further into details he proceeds to make the following important statement (p. 436):—

'La civilisation de l'Ouest, à laquelle les archéologues attachent le nom de Golasecca, peut être celle des premiers Celtes.'

After mentioning certain remarkable points of resemblance between the eastern pottery of Este and the western pottery of Golasecca of the Second Period, he observes (p. 438, note 2) that one should bear in

mind that the ceramic of the First Golasecca Period—not the Second—is the one to be compared with that of Aquitaine; and he gives as an example a vase with a high foot from a tumulus at Liviers, near Jumillac-le-Grand (Dordogne); he reproduces as an illustration Déchelette's fig. 330, from his *Manuel*, II. 817.

M. Hubert goes on to sum up as follows: 'Bref, s'il y a eu des Celtes dans la Haute-Italie avant l'invasion du IV^e^ siècle, ils ont vécu sur le plateau de Somma et le cimetière de Golasecca contient leurs restes ou les témoignages de leur influence. Or, les stèles de Villafranca et l'inscription de Zignago nous donnent à penser qu'il y en a eu. Leur conjugaison encourage en effet et justifie la conjecture. Mais derrière la pointe d'avant-garde dont nous trouvons la trace en Ligurie, nous retrouvons le gros de la troupe occupant les rives du Tessin. Si ce n'étaient les Gaulois de Sigovèse, c'étaient peut-être les Insubres que ceux-ci, selon le récit de Tite-Live, y auraient trouvés établis.' The reference is to the well-known passage v. 34—*cum, in quo consederant, agrum Insubrium, appellari audissent.*

Lastly, insisting on the fact that if the Magra group of five monuments are Celtic, the others, the group of nine, must be so likewise, he proceeds as follows (pp. 446, 447): 'Si, d'autre part, les traits, par trop sommaires, de leurs figures permettent de hasarder une opinion sur leur date, il s'ensuivra que les Celtes se sont infiltrés dans le pays beaucoup plus tôt, peut-être dès la fin de l'âge de bronze, en tout cas, dans le temps même où ils auraient commencé à s'établir, comme je l'ai conjecturé, au sud du lac Majeur, ce qui nous éloigne beaucoup plus encore que nous ne l'avions fait jusqu'à présent, pour la date de l'occupation celtique des passes ligures, de la grande invasion et de Brennus.'

This last date is usually fixed at about 390 B.C., and M. Déchelette (II. 514) ventures to treat the year 900 B.C. as approximately the end of the Bronze Age. That leaves an interval of about 500 years, at the commencement of which we may fix the beginning of the infiltration of the first Celts into the country, hardly later than the first stages of the settlement of the district on both banks of the Ticino near the southern extremity of Lago Maggiore by the Celts of Golasecca. That area probably included Somma Lombardo, Golasecca itself, Casteletto Ticino, Sesto Calende, and other sites in that region remarkable for its early remains. This, it is needless to say, is a mere hypothesis, but it is elastic enough to stand the subtraction of a century or two from its remoter limit.

All this necessarily leads us to ask who the first Celts to reach Italy were. We may probably assume them to have been those of

the First Period of Golasecca or Celtic tribes nearly related to them. M. Hubert says of the vases characteristic of the cemetery of Golasecca (pp. 437, 438), meaning those which differ specially from the sepulchral furniture of Umbrian graves, that he has been used to think that he has found their prototypes in the Bavarian tumuli of the end of the Bronze Age, and that he recognizes the closest kinship between them and the ceramic of the west, whether in that of Le Bourget or of the tumuli of Aquitania. This sounds remote enough, and I venture to regard his earliest Celts—I mean earliest in Italy in the archæological sense—as having a claim to be racially identified with the earlier Celts in the philological sense. Who the latter were is open to no doubt: they were the Celts whose language had *qu* and with whom the Gaelic-speaking peoples of Erin, Man, and Scotland have to be ranked, while the Brythons were Gauls and spoke a Celtic which was modified, among other things in that it had substituted *p* for *qu*, as for instance in *epos* 'a horse' for the older *equos* or in *maqos* 'a boy, a son', Modern Irish *mac*, O. Welsh *map*, Modern Welsh *mab*, of the same meaning. The differentiation had taken place on the Continent, that is to say, before the ancestors of the Goidels had reached Ireland and before the Gauls settled in Britain.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 324. There are some data for elucidating the meaning of the name *Dannotalos*, which have never been very thoroughly discussed. The brief tract *De nominibus Gallicis*, known as Endlicher's Glossary, so called because it was found by Stephan Endlicher in a manuscript of the ninth century in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna; it has twice been published by our late colleague Whitley Stokes. The first time he gave the text with notes in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, vol. vi. 227–31, and later he printed it with one note at the foot, namely, in his *Celtic Declension*, pp. 80, 81. It consists of less than two dozen words with their interpretation as briefly as possible in Latin. One of the articles consists of the words: '*Roth*, violentum, *Dan*, et in gallico et in hebreo, iudicem; ideo *hrodanus*; iudex violentus'; this was evidently an attempt to interpret the name of the Rhone in the spelling *Hrodanus*, usually written *Rhodanus*. The Hebrew name Dan he possibly found in a work of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, in the fifth century; to wit, in his *Instructiones ad Salonium*, where one reads: 'Dan, iudicium, aut judicans' (Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. L. 812 D), not to mention *Daniel* interpreted there more than once in the same way. Where the glossarist found his Gaulish *dan* is not known to me, but his statement seems to have had some foundation of truth, as will appear from the consideration of the next word in point.

Holder gives a remarkable vocable as occurring in an inscription at Mainz, on the Rhine: it is *platio-danno-s*, the meaning of which he gives as *Strassenaufseher* 'a road overseer'. He treats it as the Celtic name of an office: in all this, except that he inserts a note of query, he follows Prof. J. Becker. Nobody who knows anything about Celtic can avoid seeing that the word is a Celtic compound whatever it meant. The inscription is on an altar found at Mainz, but the top of it is gone with the earlier portion of the writing: what remains reads as follows as given by Becker and Hübner in the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, lxiv.

43 and lxvii. 7–9: *M. Val(erius) Pudens, L. Anto(nius) Placidu[s], M. Biracius Indutius, C. Silvius Senecio platiodanni vici novi sub cura sua d(e) s(uo)*. These four men are called *platiodanni* of the Vicus Novus, which was one of the hamlets that went into the making of Mogontiacum or ancient Mainz. Now *platiodanni* is the plural of *platio-dannos*,[1] in which the *o* ending the first part of the compound does not imply that this, as a separate word, need have been *platio-s* or *platio-n*: it might equally well have had the separate form *platia*, feminine. In fact, that was the case here, *o* being the favourite thematic vowel ending of the first part of a Gaulish compound regardless of its gender; and similar Greek instances will at once occur to the reader like Ἀθηνό-δωρος (Ἀθήνη), Ἀελλό-πους (ἄελλα), Αἰχμο-κλῆς (αἰχμή), Ἡρό-δοτος (Ἥρα), and the like. Now the Greek πλατεῖα 'a street', was borrowed by the Romans and modified into *platēa* and *plátĕa* 'a wide road in a city, a street', and late 'an area, a courtyard'. Popular Latin gave *plátĕa* some such a pronunciation as that of *plátia* or, more exactly, **plạttia*: see Hatzfeld and Darmesteter s.v. The Gauls borrowed the word in its popular form and modified it in a regular way into the French *place*. At first sight it looks as though Old French had preserved also the one which supplied the second element in *platio-dannos*: witness the vocable *dan*, which Godefroy defines as 'titre de dignité, seigneur, maître, sire'. But I know that *dan* will be at once claimed as derived in some irregular way from *dominus*. At all events the guess that the compound meant an overseer of streets and roads cannot, it seems to me, be readily improved upon.

The next ancient trace of *dannos* occurs in a compound which Holder prints *arcanto-dănos*. The instances are brought together in his *Treasury*, i. 182, 183, and iii. 659; they are all on coins, and have been inferred by Ernault and others to mean an official connected with the mints of the states indicated. So far, however, the word only occurs in abbreviations, the longest of which is *arcantodan*, to be completed most probably into *arcantodannos*. But there are difficulties, and one of them is the *c* of *arcanto* which I should like to explain as *arganto-*, the word for silver, Old Welsh *argant* 'silver', Mod. Welsh *arian*, Breton *arc'hant*, *argant*, Cornish *archans*, Irish *arget*, *airgead*. All except the Cornish are used like the French *argent* both in the sense of 'money' and of 'silver'. Add to this that the spellings ARKANT and APKANTI are given by Holder.

[1] As regards *dannos* there is the possibility of a disturbing element in *Tannosenus* which Holder gives s. v. *sĕnŏ-s*; but as he has not yet reached the place in his *Nachträge* where it should reappear, I have no clue to his authority.

The latter would seem to imply the spelling *Arkanti-dannos* with the thematic vowel as *i* instead of *o*, its pronunciation being presumably in any case obscure. The presence of the K is not so easy to explain, especially in ARKANT where it is preceded by a Latin R. Perhaps it is due to a mechanical replacing of C by K, regardless of the question whether the former was sounded C or G. In brief, it is hard to suppose that any other word than Gaulish *arganto-* was in question or even to admit a dialectal explanation. The matter is probably one of mere spelling arising perhaps from the two values of Latin C. As most of the coins on which the word occurs appear to be of bronze it must have been used in the sense of money and not restricted to meaning silver; that is, just as in French and the Neo-celtic languages. So *arganto-dannos* probably meant an official who had charge of the coinage and the minting of money.

Both in *platio-dannos* and in *arganto-dannos*, if we may assume that to have been the pronunciation intended, the word *dannos* probably meant one who had to look or see to the performance of their tasks by men placed under him: in fact, the *platio-dannos* had also to pay his men out of his own pocket as we learn from the Mainz inscription already cited. That argues that he must have been regarded as one possessed of independent means, who could be allowed to place the whole community to which he belonged under obligations to him. The honour which this implied was, it is true, watered down in the case of the Vicus Novus by dividing it and the burden between four men acting together. The office of the *dannos* of the mint must have been one of still greater authority and importance, not likely to be shared with any brother official in one and the same state. I should hesitate, however, to do as Endlicher's glossarist has done in explaining *dan* as *iudex*: I should be satisfied to term him an over-seer, a head official, a master. To come at last to *Danno-talos*, I should treat it in the same way as *Argio-talos* and regard it as meaning 'a man with a master's forehead', said in reference to some notable peculiarity of his head and brow. We have no data for detail, but many men think that they can distinguish at sight the head and face of a banker, of a lawyer, or of a medical man, and our police believe that they can carry their physiognomical discrimination a great deal further still.

Pp. 335, 336. The difficulty of fixing the etymological meaning of some of the commonest adjectives in most languages is well known. It is illustrated to a certain extent in the case of Welsh *hoyw*, and still further in that of Welsh *llonn*, *llon*, discussed in *C. I. Cis.*, p. 47. It now means 'cheerful, sprightly', but the comparison with Old Irish *lond*

'wild, excited, fierce, strong', made me regard it as originally signifying wild of mood or temper, whether with joy or anger. I have since come across it used in this sense by our Welsh troubadour Dafyđ ap Gwilym, to wit in his Cywyđ xxvii, line 28, where a simile involving *awel glaw* 'a rain-bringing breeze' calls forth the couplet—

> *Ni bu wenith na nithid*
> *Wrth hon, pan fai lon o lid.*
> Never was there wheat that this
> Would not winnow, when moved by wrath.

P. 339. A good deal of speculation on my part as to the name *Sapsuta,* discussed in *C. I. Cis.*, pp. 87, 88, would have been spared, had I noticed the shorter name *Sapsa,* which Holder cites (s. v. *Petrosidius*) from an Italian place of considerable importance in former times, to wit Macerata, situated less than a score of miles due south of Ancona. The inscription reads thus (*C. I. L.*, ix. 5777):—D. M. Q. Petrosid(io) | Ianuario Sapsa | Mirtale coniugi | cum quo vix(it) | annis XXI | Petrusidius Secundus | patri | b. m. It is now evident that *Saps-ut-a* is a derivative from *Saps-a,* and not a contraction of a compound *Sapo-suta.* The interpretation 'a little pine' may perhaps stand, and the fact of Sapsa's second name being also arboreal is a curious coincidence. Stokes in Fick's vol. ii. 303, 304 suggests (with a query) that the Latin *sap(p)inus* was derived from a Gaulish **sapo-s* from a Pre-celtic **saqo-s.* Compare such names as *Sappius, Sappinius, Sappulus, Sappula* and the like cited by Holder. Walde expresses the same opinion as Stokes—and rightly without the query—as to the Gaulish derivation of Latin *sappinus.* Now from *Saqo-s* or *Saq*^{u}*o-s* was formed, by means of the ending *-so-s,* fem. *-sā,* a woman's name *Saq*^{u}*sa,* which in the mouths of Gauls became regularly *Sap-sā*; but in those of the Q Celts it yielded *Sac-sa* or *Saxa* to be reduced in the usual way into *Sassa,* (Latin) masculine *Sassus,* of which Holder gives instances; also of related forms such as *Sassula, Sasso, Sassonius, Sasouna.* Compare his *Saxamus, Saxxamus, Saxsamus,* and *Sassamus.* To these may be added a potter's name damaged and admitting of being read SASSVI, possibly SASSVT with the essential lines of a masculine name parallel to *Sapsuta,* feminine. It is in the Museum at Rheims with some perfect instances of SASSVS (*C. I. L.*, xiii. 10010. 1733). The distribution of the above names, needless to say, involves too many questions to be discussed in this note.

P. 341. Some of the mark son the Ornavasso pottery seem to be alphabetic characters, such for instance as Λ, doubtless the vowel *a*:

see Bianchetti's *Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, p. 67. So Ψ is the character given in various forms of the alphabet as standing for Greek χ or *ch*, while the mark following *Vletu Amaśeu* may possibly be a sort of Ψ doubled; but it also recalls the star preceding M. Changarnier's coin legend ΛΑΒΡΟΔΙΙΟϹ: see *C. I. Gaul*, p. 32. Unfortunately the exact lines of which the Ornavasso symbol consists are not quite certain, more especially near its centre. We now come to the X which seems to be the ordinary symbol for *t*. After the analogy of these cases it would appear that ‡ (Bianchetti, 166) is the letter which occurs in the Zignago inscription as ‡, the difference between them being that the latter looks toward the left, whereas the former looks the other way.

Pp. 346, 347, also 320; *C. I. Cis.*, pp. 94–7, 111; and *C. I. France and Italy*, pp. 65–9. I am not satisfied with any readings known to me of the Voltino marble, whether my own or those of others. I would now copy the whole thus:—

TETVMVS
SEXTI
DVGIAVA
SAꟽADIS
⁘OWꟻ⩚ꟻCAFI
OBFΛ⩚FИF⁘IИF

The values of some of the letters in the last two lines, forming the non-Latin part of the inscription, I should fix as follows:—(1) Treat the ⁘, as did Prof. Lattes (pp. 346, 347 above), not as X = *t* but as ⋈ = *s*, which Pauli used to transcribe as *ś*. My reading of the twig-like symbol as an interpunctional mark has not been accepted, and it is best to regard it as an instance of the Z discussed on pp. 352, 353 above, where the forms ‡ and ‡ are given; also ⩚ with the cross lines bent in the middle. The principal difficulty is the uncertainty as to F, which may be either Λ = *a* or the digamma, that is to say, *u̯*. The forms came to coincide, at any rate in the Lugano alphabet, as pointed out by Pauli, i, p. 59. There are here, however, only two places where the value of the digamma could possibly fit, namely, between the A and the I at the end of the fifth line and perhaps between B and Λ in the sixth, where I regard the fourth letter as a two-lined Latin *a*. The non-Latin legend would accordingly look as follows:—

Somedecau̯i
Obu̯adanasina.

But instead of *Obua* we seem to require *Obaa*, with the ending of the nominative feminine *Aa*, and of *Baa* implied by the dative *Baai*. This is all the more likely to be right if *Obaa* is made up of *Od-baa*. As regards the rest of the legend we may naturally expect an epithet or surname qualifying *Obaa* in what follows that name. So we reduce the legend into the following form, with the words separated at a guess:—

Somede Cau̯i
Obaa Danasina.

Here the syntax is the first thing to be considered, and I treat *Tetumus Sexti* 'T. son of Sextus' as the key to *Somede Cavi*, which I regard as meaning that *Somed-* was son of *Cavos*, a name which we have already had in *Cavoseniargii* (p. 324 above). There also used to be, at Caer Gai, a stone bearing among other names a genitive *Burgo-cavi*. The sites of both stones belong to the neighbourhood of Bala. see Rhŷs's *Lectures on Welsh Philology* [2], pp. 374, 377. But what are we to make of *Somede*, and what case is it in? I can only find in it a parallel to the dative *Ucuete*, to which the accusative *Ucuetin* corresponds. The name occurs in an inscription on a stone in Napoleon III's Museum at Alise-Ste.-Reine, and in 1908 another inscription mentioning the same god was discovered on Mont-Auxois on the side of which Alise stands. The latter is now in the Museum set up there by the 'Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de Semur'. This gives the dative of the god's name as *Ucueti*; so it is inferred with certainty that in the nominative the name was *Ucuetis*[1] (see *C. I. Gaul*, pp. 30–4), while its dative might be written with *e* or *i*. The original ending was possibly *-ei*, so that we may infer that *Atilon(n)ei* also implies a nominative *Atilonnis*, to the exclusion of *Atilo* (*C. I. Cis.*, p. 47); so perhaps with regard to *Sunalei*, p. 319 above. But whether this view as to the case is correct or not, I should gather from the dative *Somede* that the nominative was *Somedis*. This would resolve itself into *So-medis* with *med* meaning 'measuring, judging, advising', as suggested (on p. 356 above) in the case of *Medunemusus* with ‡ = *d*. *So-medis* would accordingly mean 'well measuring, rightly advising', in other words perhaps one who shows himself 'a good judge'.

But why the dative case? The answer is to be found in the nominative *Obaa* or even *Obu̯a*, if that should prove the right reading.

[1] Stems in *-ις* do not distinguish sex, and with them must be classed the dative feminine Βηλησαμι of the Vaison inscription. That is to say, it can hardly be exact to couple it with a nominative Βηλησαμα, but rather with Βηλησαμις, which may have been an alternative for Βηλησαμα. See *C. I. Fr. and Italy*, pp. 13, 76.

That is, Obaa had the marble slab put up to commemorate Somedis, who was possibly her husband. The relation of the man and woman named in the Latin part of the inscription is not indicated; Tetumus and Dugiava may have been the father and mother of either Obaa or Somedis.

There remains to be considered what follows *Obaa*; it seems naturally to divide itself into *Dana-sina*, which is paralleled in its second element by such names, cited by Holder, as *Marco-sena*, a woman's name found at Triest (*C. I. L.*, v. 571, 616), and *Leugo-sena* mentioned by Ravennas v. 31 as the name of a river in Britain; if genuine we may take it to have been that of the goddess of the river. Compare the man's name *Canto-senos*,[1] the Latin genitive of which occurs as *Cantoseni* in Jullian's *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1887, 1890), no. 128; the same collection also supplies *Seno-donna* and *Seno-ruccus*. In these I take *seno-*, *sino-* to be the Celtic for 'old or ancient', represented in Old Irish by *sen-*, Modern Irish *sean*, Welsh *hen-*, *hen* 'old'. The other element in *Danasina*, the feminine of *Dana-sinos*, stands for *danna* or rather for what we have as *danno-* (in *Danno-talos*), that is, 'an overseer, superintendent, or superior official', as already explained; thus *Dan(n)asinos* might be rendered one who has grown old in the discharge of the duties of his office, an official who is experienced.

The inscription is in an alphabet provided with letters intended to represent the mediæ; for here we have B for *b* and ᛣ for *d*. Why in the latter case some form of D or Δ was not preferred does not appear; but the choice of the Z symbol had probably taken place in some earlier alphabet where a symbol for the voiced spirant *z* was not wanted. Its presence here for *d* suggests that this inscription is not one of our earliest, a supposition corroborated by the evident traces of Latin influence which it displays, without, however, being incompatible with the reflex influence to be seen in the placing of ᛞ in the midst of the Roman letters of the Latin portion of the legend.

P. 354. Though you mend the genitive Σαωκουδάρου into Σαωκουδα-

[1] This has been interpreted as 'canus senex', but I have never seen any evidence of a *canto-* meaning 'white', and least of all as a form of *kn(s)to-s* (Fick, ii. 90). The starting-point wanted is more likely to be **cando-s*, whence Welsh *cann*, *can* 'white', as in *bara càn* 'white bread', in Cornish also *bara can* '*panis albus*' (*Gram. Celtica*, p. 1079[2]); but the 'Catholicon' gives *bara can* as 'pain a chant', which Le Gonidec explains as 'hostie, pain-chant, pain d'autel'. The Welsh verb noun is *cannu* 'to bleach': compare *canneid*, *cannaid* 'white, shining, brilliant, a luminary', *y gannaid* 'the shining one', applied to the sun, when *haul* 'sun' was commonly treated as of the feminine gender. Welsh has no occasion to confuse *can*, that is *cann* or *càn*, with *cân* 'song', or *cannu* with *canu* 'to sing'.

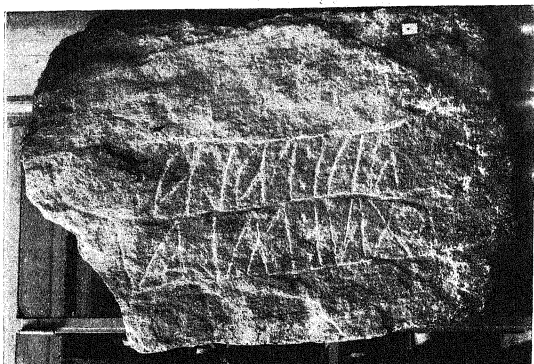
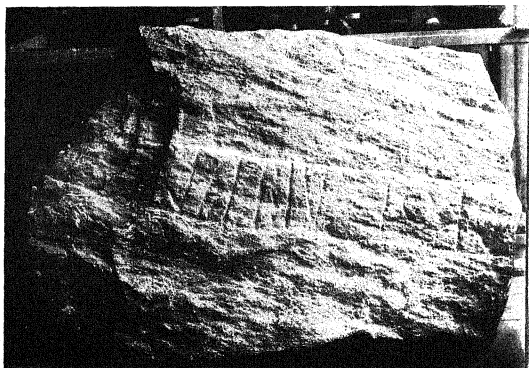
ρίου so as to end like the related names, that is probably not all the alteration which it requires to make it Celtic. Thus the Σαω- at the beginning was possibly suggested by such Greek words as *σαώτερος* or by *σαόφρων* and others beginning with *σαο-*. I should guess the Celtic prefix to have been *su-* or *so-* 'good, well': thus the whole name might be *Socondarios* or *Socondariịos*. *Tarcondarius* was in Celtic spelling *Tarcondarios* or *Tarcondariịos*; that is *Condariịos* with the prefix *tar-*, practically for the *taro-* which meets us in the name *Deio-taro-s* of his father-in-law. This view was suggested by Stokes in Fick's vol. ii. 123. Holder's other names in point are *Brogitarus* (borne by another son-in-law of Deiotarus), *Contarus*, *Tarodunon*, and *Taretius*. This last represents an early *Taret-io-s* derived from *Taret-o-s*, which occurs as *Tared Wledic*, father of Twrch Trwyth, in the Story of Kulhwch in the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 123. What *taro-s* meant is not certain, but one of Stokes's conjectures led him to derive it from an Indo-European *tarpo-s*, and ingeniously to compare *Deio-taro-s* with the Greek *τερψι-θέα*, with *τερψι-* from *terp-ti-*: see Fick s. v. *terpo* 'sättigen, erfreuen' (vol. i. 443), and Gothic *thrafstian* 'trosten' (vol. iii. 191).

P. 355. Such spellings as *Medsillus* recall others with *ds* like *Cudso*, (Latin) dative fem. *Cudsoni*, cited by Holder from Hüttenberg in Carinthia and compared with *Coddacatus* and *Coudso*. With it might also perhaps be associated *Cusonius*, *Cusonia*, *Cussiniacum*, and *Quasauna*. Another more singular spelling with *ds* is that of *Uradsarius* (from Milan) together with *Uradius* (from Brescia) and *Uraθarus* (of doubtful genuineness, from Metz). Other instances in point, such as *Redso-marus* and *Ressi-marus*, have been mentioned in my *C. I. Gaul*, pp. 11, 12. see foot-note 2 (wrongly marked 1, p. 11), in which also *gosgordd* should have been treated as a distinct word from Old Welsh *cascord* 'a retinue' and *casgoord* as Welsh, not Cornish. I take the opportunity of making these overdue corrections and of referring to Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, p. 267, where he would derive *gosgordd* from a root *sqer*, and to Loth in the *Rev. Celtique*, xiv. 70, xxix. 68, and xxxiii. 368.

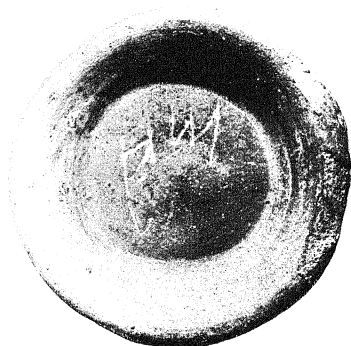
Sundry Errata in my last Paper.

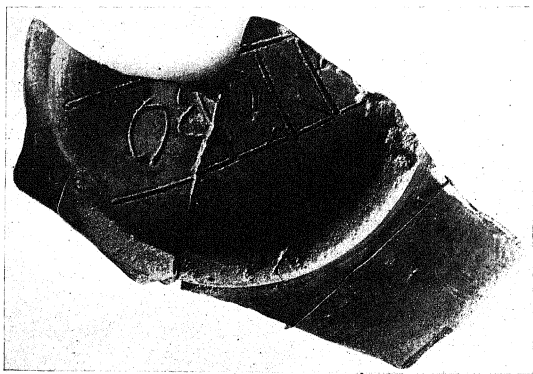
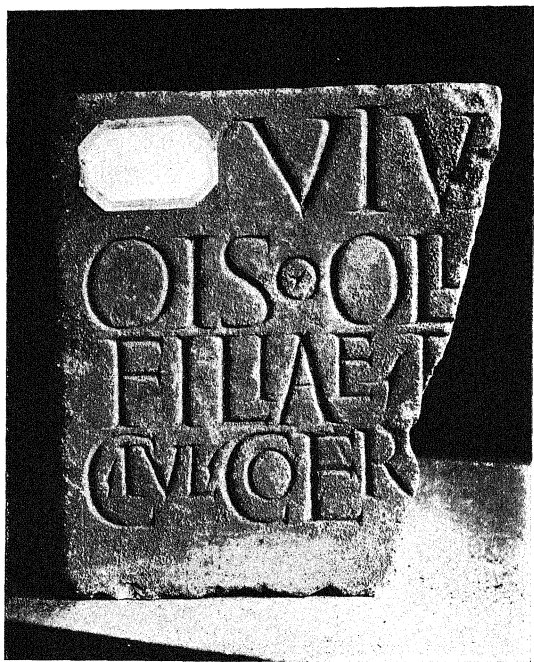
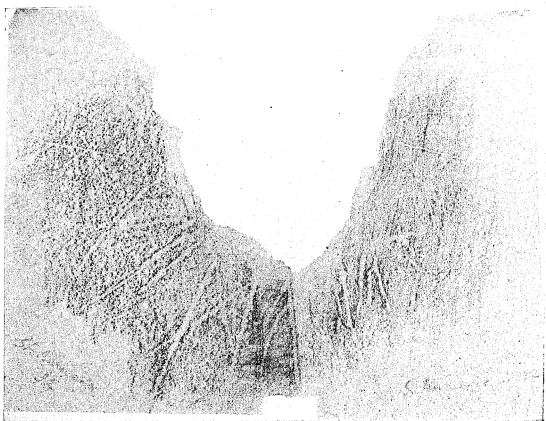
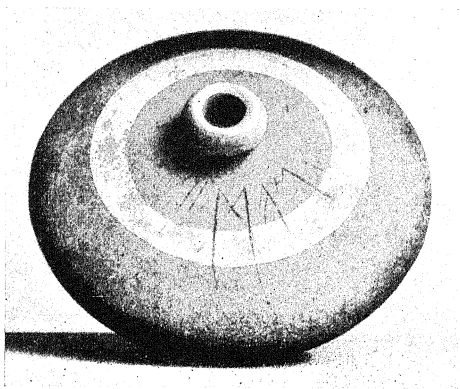
P. 29. The foot-note reference to M. Loth in the *Rev. Celtique* should be to vol. xxxiii, not xxx.

P. 54. In the lower line of the Mesocco inscription the first letter ꓷ should look the other way, that is, towards the right hand, D.

P. 75. The ᛗ in the upper line of the inscription on the Levo stone, no. 3, should also be reversed, to wit, to look towards the left, ᛗ.

a. TESSERETE (P. 6)

b. TESSERETE (P. 6)

BANCO (P. 2)

RONDINETO (P. 8)

Rondineto (p. 9)

Rondineto (p. 10)

AUCH (P. 12)

ORNAVASSO (P. 26)

BIANCHETTI'S PLATE XVIII, 11, MAGNIFIED TWO DIAMETERS (P. 28)

THE VERGIATE STONE (p. 28)

ROGER BACON

By Sir JOHN EDWIN SANDYS

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read May 27, 1914

On the 10th of June it is proposed to celebrate at Oxford the Seventh Centenary of the birth of Roger Bacon. In view of this coming event, I shall attempt, in the present paper, to give a brief outline of his life, with some notice of his principal works, and to trace his relations to Latin and Greek literature, and to the several sciences.

The date of Roger Bacon's birth is not precisely known. Since he states, in 1267, that he had then spent forty years in the study of sciences and languages,[1] he must have begun that study in 1227, and, supposing he was then thirteen years of age, he may have been born in 1214. This is the date assumed by the proposal to celebrate his Seventh Centenary in the present year. The place of his birth was probably Ilchester, in Somerset. He appears to have belonged to a wealthy family, which, subsequently, in the struggle between Henry III and the Barons (1258–1265), sacrificed their fortunes in the cause of the King.

The studies begun by Roger Bacon at home were continued at the University of Oxford. He there attended the lectures of Edmund Rich, the future archbishop of Canterbury (1234–1240), the first scholar in Western Europe to lecture on the book of Aristotle's *Organon*, known as the 'Sophistical Refutations'.[2] Roger Bacon also came under the influence of one of the most prominent pupils of Edmund Rich, namely Robert Grossetête, who had been appointed lecturer to the Franciscans shortly after their establishment at Oxford in 1224. Grossetête was especially interested in the study of the Greek language, a study in which he had been aided by a Greek monk of St. Albans. It was doubtless at the prompting of Grossetête that Roger Bacon learnt Greek, and it was probably under his influence that Bacon entered the Franciscan Order.

Following the example of Grossetête and other English scholars

[1] *Opus Tertium*, c. 20, p. 65 in *Opera Inedita*, ed. Brewer, 1859.
[2] *Compendium Studii Theologiae*, p. 34, ed. Rashdall, 1911.

he completed his studies at the University of Paris. It was in Paris that he resided during three separate periods of his life—the first visit, which was voluntary, extending from about 1234 to 1250; the second, which was compulsory, from 1257 to 1267; and the third, which was no less compulsory, from 1278 to 1292.

During his first visit he attained a high reputation as a student and as a teacher. As a student, he was not attracted by the teaching of his fellow-countryman from Gloucestershire, Alexander of Hales, who had joined the Franciscan Order, and became famous as the compiler of a ponderous *Summa Theologiae*; nor by that of the distinguished Dominican, Albertus Magnus, who, in 1245, brought from Cologne to Paris his famous pupil, Thomas Aquinas. In preference to these he chose as his master one of the most modest and most learned men of the time, one who had devoted himself to the study of chemistry and mathematics and astronomy, and, above all, to those practical applications of experimental science which prompted his enthusiastic pupil to call him 'the Master of Experiments'.[1] Bacon gives his master the name of Magister Petrus de Maharniscuria, adding that he was a native of Picardy. It may be fairly assumed that he derived his name from the village of Meharicourt, near the ancient abbey of Corbie, and that he is identical with Petrus Peregrinus de Maricourt, the author of a treatise on the Magnet, one of the manuscripts of which is dated 1269. In Paris Roger Bacon obtained the degree of Doctor of Theology, and it was there that he won renown among his contemporaries as the 'Admirable Doctor'.

From Paris he returned to Oxford about 1250. His influential friend, Grossetête, who had become bishop of Lincoln in 1235, died in 1253. Four years later Roger Bacon fell under the suspicions of the authorities of the Franciscan Order, and, by command of its General, afterwards known as the 'seraphic' Bonaventura, he was sent to Paris, there to be kept under strict surveillance at the Franciscan house near the Porte Saint-Michel, for the ten years from 1257 to 1267.

Fortunately, his fame had already reached the ears of the papal legate in England, Guy de Foulques, who had been sent from Rome on a message of peace, and who, like the family of Roger Bacon, sided with Henry III in his conflict with the Barons. In 1265, to the joy of the persecuted votary of science, this papal legate was raised to the papal throne under the name of Clement IV. In the next year the Pope wrote from his summer residence at Viterbo to his 'beloved son, Friar Roger named Bacon, of the Order of the Friars Minor', urging

[1] *Opus Tertium*, p. 46 f., Brewer.

him to send him, with all speed, the works of which he had already heard.[1]

Nothing daunted by the lack of scientific instruments or of skilful copyists, or of the means for obtaining them, Bacon completed, in the short space of eighteen months, his three large treatises, the *Opus Maius*, the *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium*. We do not know whether any of these works, which were successively sent to the Pope, ever actually reached him. However, it was possibly owing to papal influence that, in 1268, Roger Bacon was permitted to return to Oxford, and it was there that he produced, in 1271, the first part of an encyclopaedic work entitled the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*.

His writings were once more condemned by the new General of the Franciscans, Jerome of Ascoli, who, in 1278, caused him to be confined in the Parisian house of the Franciscans for no less than fourteen years. He was once more at liberty in 1292, when he wrote at Oxford his latest work, the *Compendium Studii Theologiae*. He probably died in 1294, in the eightieth year of his age. The date is said to have been St. Barnabas's day, the 11th of June, and it is on June 10, the eve of the day of his death, that it is proposed to celebrate the Seventh Centenary of his birth.

He was buried in the Church of the Franciscans, which has long since vanished, so that of this son of Oxford, who with his 'almost prophetic gleams of the future course of science'[2] had only a Pisgah sight of the promised land of long-deferred discovery, we may say that 'no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day'. A tower, traditionally known as 'Friar Bacon's Study', stood until 1779 on the old *Grand Pont*, or 'Folly Bridge', on the south side of Oxford.

By the end of the sixteenth century only three of his minor works had been printed, and one of them, the treatise 'on the marvellous power of art and nature', first printed in Paris in 1542, appeared at Oxford in 1594, and was translated into English in 1597. Roger Bacon's early reputation for his magical powers and his mechanical inventions partly arose out of a passage in that treatise, which reappeared in the following form in a popular work of the sixteenth century, entitled 'The famous historie of Fryer Bacon':

> First, by the figurations of art, there may be made instruments of navigation without men to rowe in them, as great ships to brooke the sea, only with one man to steere them, and they shall sayle far more swiftly than if they were full of men: also chariots that shall move with an unspeakable force, without any

[1] Letter printed on p. 1 of Brewer's ed. of *Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera Inedita*.
[2] Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, i. 114, ed. 1854.

living creature to stirre them. Likewise, an instrument may be made to fly withall, if one sit in the midst of the instrument, and doe turne an engine, by which the wings, being artificially composed, may beat the ayre after the manner of a flying bird. . . .

But physicall figurations are farre more strange: for by that may be framed perspects and looking-glasses, that one thing shall appeare to be many, as one man shall appeare to be a whole army, and one sunne or moone shall seem divers. Also perspects may be so framed, that things farre off shall seem most nigh unto us.[1]

Hence, in Robert Greene's *Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, a play performed in February 1592, we hear much of Friar Bacon's 'glass prospective', and also of his 'brazen head'. This head was doubtless suggested by the legendary belief, recorded in the *Image du Monde*, written about 1250 and published in English by Caxton in 1480, that Virgil constructed a talking head, which, from time to time, he consulted on the events of the future[2]; and also by similar legends told of Gerbert of Aurillac, Albertus Magnus, and Robert Grossetête.[3]

Several years after the invention of the telescope, two portions of Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius*, those on Mathematics and on Optics, including his forecast of the telescope,[4] were printed at Frankfort in 1614 by the Marburg professor, Combach, and thus became known to Newton, who died in 1727. It was not until six years after the death of Newton that the true grounds on which Roger Bacon deserves to be remembered by posterity were more clearly realized by the publication of the greater part of the *Opus Maius* by Dr. Samuel Jebb in 1733. In the form in which it was then published it consisted of six parts: the first on the four causes of human ignorance—authority, custom, popular opinion, and the pride of supposed knowledge; the second, on the sources of perfect wisdom in the Sacred Scriptures; the third and fourth, on the usefulness of Grammar and Mathematics; the fifth on Perspective (that is, Optics): and the sixth on Experimental Science. The seventh part, on Moral Philosophy, appeared in print for the first time in the edition published by Dr. Bridges in 1897.

[1] W. J. Thoms, *Early English Prose Romances*, ed. 2, 1858, i. 212 f.

[2] 'Si fist une teste parlant qui li responnoit de quanque il li demandoit,' p. 185, ed. O. H. Prior, Lausanne, 1913; cp. Caxton's *Mirrour of the World*, p. 159, ed. O. H. Prior, London, 1913, 'Yet made he an heed to speke, which answerd of alle that whiche he was demanded of.'

[3] Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, ed. 1872, vol. i, pp. 74, 80.

[4] *Opus Maius*, ii. 165, c. 3, 'possunt (specula) propinquius et remotius situari, ut videremus rem quantum a longe vellemus'; c. 4, 'longe distantia videbuntur propinquissime et e converso,' &c.

After a long interval the *Opus Maius* of 1733 was succeeded in 1859 by the second and third of the greater works, published by Brewer in the 'Rolls Series', namely, the *Opus Minus*, written partly to elucidate the previous work and to discuss various errors standing in the way of study; and the *Opus Tertium*, which begins with an account of the author's personal history, and dwells on the impediments thrown in his way by the ignorance, prejudice, and indifference of his contemporaries. A further portion of this work, dealing in a summary way with mathematics and optics and experimental science and alchemy, was published by Mr. A. G. Little in 1912.

Of Bacon's later work, the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, an imperfectly preserved portion was published in Brewer's volume in 1859, which was soon followed by the admirable monograph of M. Émile Charles, of Bordeaux, including a few pages of his *Compendium Theologiae*. About forty-five pages of the latter were published by Dr. Rashdall in 1911, pages proving, in the editor's opinion, that 'the Franciscan house at Oxford was the original home of all that was most important in the later mediaeval Scholasticism', and that 'much of the tradition that was there handed down no doubt started with Bacon'.

Any survey of the subjects traversed in Roger Bacon's extant works falls naturally under two heads, the first being Literature and Language, and the second, Science in the widest sense of the term, including Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics, Geography, Astronomy, Optics, Chemistry, and Experimental Science, and finally Moral Philosophy.

Under the head of Language we note that, in the *Opus Maius* [1], he sets forth the Hebrew Alphabet, with a transliteration and translation of one or two Hebrew verses.[2] He also shows that the text of the Bible had become exceedingly corrupt, and that, even when the text was correct, it had often been wrongly interpreted.[3] He further draws attention to the errors of the Vulgate [4], giving an account of the various versions of the Scriptures [5], and pointing out that errors in the literal interpretation lead to errors in the spiritual interpretation. Finally, he dwells on the prevailing ignorance of Hebrew.[6] There are not five men, he declares, in Latin Christendom, who are acquainted with the Grammar of Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. There are many among the Latins who can *speak* Greek, Arabic, and

[1] i. 74, Bridges.
[2] Frontispiece to vol. iii (1900), ed. Bridges.
[3] i. 77, 81.
[4] i. 330 ff.
[5] i. 334–8.
[6] i. 350.

Hebrew; very few who understand the *grammar* of those languages, or know how to teach them.[1] Some elementary rules of Hebrew Grammar in the Cambridge Library are regarded by their editor, Dr. Hirsch, as one of several drafts of the grammatical observations finally embodied in the third part of the *Opus Maius.*[2]

It is difficult to say how far Bacon was acquainted with Arabic; he admits that he did not write in Arabic as he did in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin[3]; and some of the Arabic authorities, which he used, were accessible to him in Latin translations.

The great Latin grammarian, Priscian, who lived at the close of the classical age, is respectfully quoted in the *Opus Maius*,[4] but we are warned, in the *Opus Tertium*,[5] that his authority is not to be implicitly followed. In the *Compendium* of Philosophy Bacon dwells on the errors of the mediaeval grammarians, Papias and Hugutio, and their critic, Brito. Hugutio and Brito *errant horribiliter*,[6] and all three of them are mendacious.[7]

It is mainly on points of prosody that Bacon quotes the Latin poets, from whom he also borrows some of their familiar sayings, such as Virgil's *labor improbus*[8] and Horace's *omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.*[9] He rightly holds that children should not be taught the mythological follies of Ovid and other Latin poets,[10] but he wrongly ascribes to Ovid the *Carmen de Vetula*,[11] forged in the Roman poet's name by Richard de Fournival, Chancellor of Amiens, about 1246.

Among writers of Latin prose, while he frequently quotes the elder Pliny for his facts, his favourite authorities on matters of opinion are Cicero and Seneca. In the case of Cicero, he quotes most frequently from the Tusculan Disputations and the *De Natura Deorum*, which he generally calls the *De Natura Divina.* In that of Seneca, he transcribes many passages from the moral treatises, giving two reasons for the large number of his long extracts from them: (1) their superiority to the teaching of Christian writers in certain branches of Moral Philosophy, especially on the control of anger, and (2) the fact that little in general was known of these writings, which Bacon had discovered after protracted search, possibly with the aid of

[1] *Opus Tertium*, p. 33 f.

[2] MS. Ff. 6, 13, printed at end of *Roger Bacon's Greek Grammar* (Cambridge University Press), 1902.

[3] *Opus Tertium*, c. 25, p. 88.

[4] i. 89 f.

[5] p. 245.

[6] p. 460.

[7] p. 447.

[8] *Opus Maius*, ii. 261.

[9] Ibid., i. 72.

[10] *Opus Tertium*, p. 55, Brewer.

[11] *Opus Maius*, ii. 256, 264, 267.

Campano of Novara.[1] When he looks forward to an age of wider knowledge, he borrows the language of his favourite moralist: 'veniet tempus quo ista quae nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat et longioris aevi diligentia.'[2] Seneca's pointed and epigrammatic style lends itself readily to quotation, and Bacon even compiled for the Pope an anthology of sentences selected from Seneca.[3]

His *Greek Grammar*, which was long preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was finally published in 1902 by the University Press at Cambridge. It includes a short summary of Accidence and ends with the complete paradigm of τύπτω. Bacon here follows the Byzantine tradition. He may have had some direct knowledge of the fourth-century grammarian, Theodosius of Alexandria, who sets forth all the imaginary aorists and futures of that verb, regardless of ancient usage, but it seems more probable that he made use of some modern Greek catechism. His knowledge of the language was mainly derived from the Greeks of his own day, and it is their pronunciation that he invariably adopts. Thus his name for the second letter of the alphabet is not *beta*, but *vita* (pronounced *veeta*); and, in transliterating the Nicene Creed, he represents ποιητήν by *piitin*, while he follows the Greek Church in omitting the words describing the Holy Ghost as proceeding 'from the Son'. In this treatise he holds that 'in all languages the Grammar is *substantially* the same, although it *accidentally* varies' (p. 27). Elsewhere, he says, *notitia linguarum est prima porta sapientiae*.[4] Of the three degrees of knowledge of a language, the lowest, or the capacity for reading the words and knowing the accidence, might, he maintains, be acquired by three days' close application under a competent teacher, and with the aid of a good manual.[5]

Turning to the Greek authors, we find him saying of the inferiority of translations to originals, 'If any one supposes that grace of language is not altered by translation, let him express Homer word by word in Latin'.[6]

He refers to Plato's *Phaedo*, firstly, for its witness to immortality, and, secondly, for its commendation of detachment from temporal cares.[7] In the case of the *Phaedo*, he may easily have used the current Latin translation. A vague reference to Plato, as having said that

[1] *Opus Maius*, ii. 365 n.

[2] *Nat. Quaest.*, vii. 25, 4 (*Opus Maius*, i. 13; and *Metaphysica*, quoted by Charles, p. 393)

[3] *Opus Tertium*, c. 15, p. 56.

[4] *Opus Tertium*, p. 102.

[5] Ibid., p. 65.

[6] *Opus Maius*, i. 67, Bridges.

[7] Ibid., ii. 239, 274.

that State is best ordered in which every one is in the dark about his own kindred,[1] may possibly be regarded as a reminiscence of the passage in the fifth book of the *Republic*, where we find that 'the highest perfection of the State is due to the community of wives and children'.[2] But it seems far less probable that Bacon had a first-hand knowledge of the *Republic* than that he found this saying in Avicenna, whom he quotes immediately before, and immediately after, this passage.

Plato was better known (says Bacon) to the Fathers than Aristotle, because Plato had been translated into Latin.[3] Bacon states that St. Augustine and others follow Plato in holding that heaven is of a fiery substance,[4] and he proves from a chronological statement in St. Augustine that it was erroneous to suppose that Plato had had the advantage of conversing with the prophet Jeremiah in Egypt.[5]

He observes, with satisfaction, that Aristotle discusses all the opinions of his predecessors.[6] In Bacon's age Aristotle is called *par excellence* 'the philosopher';[7] we are told that he is great, but he is not perfect.[8] Bacon cites all the treatises which make up the *Organon*. The 'Sophistical Refutations' were first expounded in his own time by Edmund Rich,[9] who in 1234 ceased to lecture at Oxford on becoming archbishop of Canterbury, and Bacon himself quotes the closing words of this treatise.[10] The 'Posterior Analytics' were first expounded by Hugo, and Bacon had seen him and his book. He has several quotations from this work of Aristotle.[11] He also refers to it in general terms when he is pointing out an inconsistency of practice with principle.[12] From the *Topica* he quotes the contrast between the opinions of the wise and the opinions of the many;[13] he also notices that, in this treatise, Aristotle does not always express his own opinions.[14]

Bacon frequently refers to Aristotle's *Physics*: for example, on vacuum (i. 145), on the influence of the sun on generation (i. 380), on the action of natural forces on sense (ii. 418), on action proportional to quantity of force (ii. 443 f.), on the heaven as a physical agent (ii. 449), on the infinite divisibility of matter (ii. 441), and on the propagation of light through space (ii. 691, 457).

[1] *Opus Maius*, ii. 251, 'in qua quisque proprios nescit (*v. l.* noscit) affectus' (= in late Latin, 'consanguineos', as suggested by Dr. Jackson). [2] p. 464 B.
[3] *Opus Maius*, i. 26, and 53 ult. [4] Ibid., i. 18.
[5] Ibid., i. 54. [6] Ibid., i. 14.
[7] Ibid., i. 55. [8] Ibid., i 8.
[9] *Comp. Stud. Theol.*, p. 34, ed. Rashdall. [10] *Opus Maius*, i. 12.
[11] *Opus Maius*, i. 168 (*Post. Anal.* i. 2, § 1), and i. 107 (ibid., i. 18).
[12] Ibid., ii. 259. [13] Ibid., i. 10 (*Top.* i. 2, 7). [14] Ibid., ii. 506.

From the *De Caelo* he quotes the passage on the small extent of sea between Spain and India,[1] and this portion of the *Opus Maius*, annexed without acknowledgement in the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly, attracted the attention of Christopher Columbus, who mentions it in 1498, in the letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, among the authorities which had prompted him to venture on the great voyage for the discovery of the New World. Bacon also quotes from the *De Caelo* the passage to the effect that the Southern Pole is really above the Northern,[2] and the passage opposing the plurality of worlds.[3] Some of the other passages refer to the weight of the atmosphere (i. 132), the spherical form of the world (i. 153), the illusion caused by rapid rotation (ii. 119), the trinity of nature (ii. 197), and the incorruptibility of the heavens (ii. 447); others to Aristotle's inadequate account of lunar phases (ii. 109), and of the phenomenon of scintillation (ii. 120).

To the treatise *De Generatione et Corruptione* he refers in connexion with the effects of celestial forces on terrestrial things (i. 379), also on moisture and dryness (ii. 6), on variety in the eyes of animals (ii. 84), on assimilation of patient to agent (ii. 441), and on propagation of force through space (ii. 456).

To the *Meteorologica* he appeals on the subject of the lunar rainbow (i. 40), the source of stellar light (i. 127), the occultation of stars (ibid.), the formation of clouds (i. 230), and the origin of the Nile (i. 323). The sun illuminates all the stars (ii. 446 f.), and the heaven is insusceptible of alien influences (ii. 449). He mentions (ii. 100) Aristotle's explanation of the Milky Way,[4] as though it agreed with his own, whereas Aristotle ascribes it to the motion of many *large* stars, while Bacon correctly regards it as consisting of 'many *minute* stars', which give the eye an impression of a continuous tract of light.

From the *De Anima* he shows that 'the principle which stirs our intellectual powers is without us, not within' (i. 38 f.). He also quotes Aristotle's remarks on *Sensus communis* (ii. 4 f.), on passivity of sensation (ii. 51), on taste and touch (ii. 55), and on the effect of vacuum on vision (ii. 67). Substance is here regarded by Aristotle as a compound of matter and force (ii. 423), and light is not an emanation from the body (ii. 506), &c., &c. On the instantaneous transit of light Bacon (ii. 68) dissents from the conclusion of Aristotle,[5] which had (he observes) been adopted by Alkindi (the ninth-century philosopher of Bagdad), and had been opposed by Alhazen (the

[1] *Opus Maius*, i. 290 (*De Caelo*, ii. 14, 15).
[2] i. 307 (ii. 25, 8).
[3] i. 164 (i. 9).
[4] *Meteor.*, i. c. 8.
[5] *De Anima*, ii. 7, § 3.

eleventh-century philosopher of Cairo), on grounds that were insufficient. Bacon gives adequate reasons for holding that the propagation of light is not instantaneous, thus anticipating the discovery made by Ole Roemer in Paris in 1676.

Under the title of 'the second book *De Somno et Vigilia*' we find references to the *De Insomniis* for 'shifting impressions of colour' (ii. 103), and for the 'propagation of force through space' (ii. 457).

All the works 'On Animals', namely, the nine books of the *Historia,* the four *de partibus,* the one *de incessu,* and the five *de generatione,* are regarded by Bacon as a single work consisting of nineteen books (ii. 49, 84). In the last of these books Aristotle speaks of vision being caused either by radiation *from* the eye or *to* the eye, without deciding which is the correct view;[1] it is in the treatise *De Sensu et Sensato* that Aristotle decides in favour of radiation *to* the eye,[2] an opinion which Bacon wrongly attributes to the previous passage (ii. 49). He quotes the treatise *De Sensu et Sensato* on the 'seven colours' (ii. 197), and on the nature of colour (ii. 416).

There are a few unimportant references to the *Problems* (ii. 56, 71), and many important references to the *Metaphysics.* In the recently edited 'Compendium of Theology' Bacon enumerates the contents of the ten books then known to him.[3] Elsewhere he notices that, in the first book of the *Metaphysics,* Aristotle expresses his gratitude to his predecessors (i. 12); also that, in that work, Aristotle declares that the chief causes of human error are custom and popular opinion (i. 4). He further quotes the *Metaphysics* for the connexion between music and dancing (i. 238), for a comparison between private and public good (ii. 254), and for the several opinions, that force is not generated without matter (ii. 424), that community of matter is implied in community of genus (ii. 446), that 'corruptible' and 'incorruptible' are generically different (ii. 448), and that a composite whole is something more than the parts of which it is composed (ii. 420).

Of the *Ethics,* the first, second, fourth, and sixth books are quoted in the *Opus Maius* of 1267, mainly in the part on Moral Philosophy. Writing afterwards in 1292, Bacon describes the *Ethics* as having been received and read in Europe later than the logical treatises.[4]

Probably Bacon's knowledge of the *Politics* was limited to the fact that, as stated at the close of the *Ethics,* it forms the sequel to that treatise. In 1267 he refers to the place where Aristotle 'makes his transition to the book of the laws'.[5] At the same date, after quoting

[1] *De Generatione Animalium,* v. 1. [2] c. 2.
[3] p. 36 f., Rashdall. [4] *Comp. Stud. Theol.,* p. 34, ed. Rashdall.
[5] *Opus Maius,* i. 29.

Averroes for the statement, ascribed by him to 'the law of Aristotle', that there were three sacrifices and three prayers, he adds that this is 'manifest by the Politic of Aristotle, which is the book of the laws' (ii. 231). He also states that Aristotle, in his *Politics*, proposes to consider the laws of four or five simple constitutions, and the causes by which those constitutions are corrupted, each constitution varying according to the end in view, as is explained by Alfarabi in his work 'On Sciences' (ii. 367). It seems probable, therefore, that it was from Alfarabi that Bacon derived part of his knowledge of the purport of the *Politics*. In 1271 he advises jurists to read the 'laws of Plato and Aristotle', adding that Aristotle 'in the book of the laws' begins to analyse the main ends of laws and of sects, or varieties of constitution, and shows that there cannot be more than six varieties, because there are six aims in view, namely, future happiness, or temporal good, that is, either pleasure or wealth or mastery or power or fame. On the next page he adds that Aristotle shows how different laws come into being, and which are bad, and how they ought not to be passed, or, if passed, should be repealed, so that, at last, one perfect law may be established and kept unimpaired. Subsequently, he says that Aristotle in the ten books of the *Ethics* shows that men should live in all virtue, and then adds to these the 'books of the Politic', in which he first institutes divine worship, declaring that he adores the triune God, and tracing a certain Trinity in all things created, which Trinity is first found in the Creator. Hence in all things he has appointed a beginning, a middle, and an end, &c.[1]

This last description has no correspondence with Aristotle's *Politics* in the form familiar to ourselves. Part of it, however, resembles the opening page of the *De Caelo*. It may, however, be simply a quotation from Averroes or Alfarabi.

In the first part of the *Opus Maius*, Bacon says that the modern doctors neglect the 'two better books on logic', one of which is translated with the commentary of Alfarabi, while Averroes' exposition of the other has been translated without the text of Aristotle.[2] By the former of these two 'books on logic' is meant the *Rhetoric*, expounded in Arabic by Alfarabi, who was born in A.D. 870, studied in Bagdad, and died in Damascus in 950. By the latter is meant the treatise on Poetry. In the third part of the *Opus Maius*, Bacon regrets the absence of the two best books on practical logic, one of which, the best of all (meaning the treatise on Poetry), is missing, while the other (the *Rhetoric*) has been badly translated.[3] The culprit was Hermann the German, who translated it from the Arabic with

[1] *Comp. Stud. Philos.*, pp. 421–3. [2] i. 31. [3] i. 71.

certain commentaries of Alfarabi. In the fourth part, after quoting Alfarabi on poetry, to the effect that the language of poetry should be elevated and decorous, and also adorned with prosaic, metrical, and rhythmical adornment, appropriate to place and time and persons and subject, he adds that Aristotle taught this in his work on Poetry, which Hermann did not dare to translate into Latin because of the difficulty of the metres (meaning probably the poetical quotations).[1] The absence of a knowledge of these 'logical' works in the Latin world is again regretted in the *Opus Tertium*,[2] for in these works we are told how language may be made sublime, both in sound and in sense, by means of the ornaments of language, whether in metre and rhythm, or in prose, so that the mind may unawares be carried away in the direction desired by the persuasive orator, and may suddenly fall into the love of good and the hatred of evil, as is taught by Alfarabi in his book on the Sciences. Taking all these references to the *Rhetoric* and *Poetic* into consideration, it is fairly clear that Bacon owed his knowledge of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry, and probably that of the *Rhetoric*, mainly, if not solely, to Alfarabi, who expressly includes 'rhetoric and poetic' as parts of 'Logic'.[3]

The pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Plantis* (i. 6) is quoted for the saying that 'the sun is the father of plants, and the moon their mother'.[4] Another spurious work here quoted is the *Liber de Causis*,[5] really compiled by David the Jew from the works of Aristotle, Avicenna, and Algazel. Another of the spurious works is variously called the *Liber de regimine principum* (or *regnorum*[6] or *vitae*[7]), or the *Liber secretorum*[8] or the *Secreta secretorum*,[9] addressed by Aristotle to Alexander the Great. These last titles may have been suggested by the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, where Aristotle is asked by Alexander to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to that work, while Aristotle on his part lays a corresponding duty of secrecy on Alexander. Bacon's commentary on the 'secretum secretorum' is preserved in a Bodleian MS. belonging to the close of the century in which Bacon lived.[10]

Of the current Latin translations of Aristotle Bacon declares that 'so great is their perversity and difficulty that no one is able to understand them'. On animal intelligence the text of the translation

[1] i. 101. [2] p. 304 f.

[3] Cousin, *Fragmens de Philosophie du moyen age*, p. 71, convinced Charles (p. 315) that Bacon knew both treatises.

[4] *Opus Maius*, i. 380. [5] Ibid., ii. 43. [6] ii. 235.

[7] ii. 204, 271. [8] i. 10, ii. 261. [9] ii. 273.

[10] A. G. Little, in *Appendix to Comp. Stud. Theol.* (1911), 73; *Opus Maius*, i. 68.

is unintelligible.[1] The *De Animalibus* and the *Rhetoric* have been badly translated.[2] In a passage of the *Problems*, either the translation is wrong or the text is corrupt.[3] In the account of the lunar rainbow in the *Meteorologica*, the translation is at fault.[4] On 'species' and 'accidents' the text of the *Metaphysics* has been perversely rendered.[5] Similarly, in the *Opus Tertium* (p. 24), we are told that the best works in philosophy are only known to the Latins through imperfect translations; and, again, in the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* (p. 471), 'though we have numerous translations of all the sciences by Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scot, Alfred the Englishman, Hermann the German, and William the Fleming, there is such a falsity in their works that none can sufficiently wonder at it. . . . Not one of these translators had any true knowledge of the languages or of the sciences. . . . All of them were alive in my time. Hermann the German is still alive, and a bishop. Hermann was unacquainted with Logic, nor did he understand Arabic, for he was rather an assistant in the translations than the real translator. He kept Saracens about him in Spain, who had a principal hand in the translations. Similarly, Michael the Scot claimed the merit of many translations, but it is clear that Andrew the Jew laboured at them more than he did; and even Michael did not understand either the sciences or the languages. And so of the rest, especially the notorious William the Fleming, who is now in such reputation, whereas it is known to all the men of letters in Paris that he is ignorant of the original Greek text, to which he makes such pretensions; and this is the reason why he translates falsely, and corrupts the philosophy of the Latins.'[6]

'If I had all the books of Aristotle in my power, I should cause every one of them to be burnt, because studying them is only a loss of time, and a cause of error, and a multiplication of ignorance, beyond what can be explained' (ibid., p. 469).

Aristotle, it will be remembered, had long been studied in Syria and Arabia, and the knowledge of his writings, which had passed from Constantinople to Syria, in the more distant East, had subsequently followed the course of Arab conquest along the Northern coast of Africa, until it reached the West in Spain, and thence found its way into France. The Arabic translations had been executed at Bagdad in the first half of the ninth century; it was in the middle of the twelfth century that they were translated into Latin at Toledo,

[1] *Opus Maius*, ii. 10 [2] Ibid., ii. 511; i 71. [3] Ibid., ii. 56.
[4] Ibid., i. 40, 212 f.; ii. 193.
[5] Ibid., ii. 420 For other mistranslations cp *Opus Tertium*, p. 77.
[6] Brewer's *Preface*, p. lix f.

and it was not until after that time that the translations reached Paris in the form of a Latin rendering of an Arabic version of a Syriac translation of a Greek original[1]—a rendering removed by as many as three degrees from the Greek text of Aristotle.

The varying fortunes of the study of Aristotle in Paris are recounted by Roger Bacon in his latest work, written in 1292. 'It was late before any part of the philosophy of Aristotle came into use among the Latins, because his natural philosophy and his *Metaphysics*, with the commentaries of Averroes and others, were translated in our own times, and were interdicted in Paris before the year 1237, because of the eternity of the world and of time, and because of the book on Divination by Dreams, which is the third book *De Somno et Vigilia*, and because of much else that was erroneously translated.'[2] Elsewhere, Bacon tells us that Aristotle had been attacked for a passage on the 'eternity of the world' at the end of the treatise *De Generatione et Corruptione*.[3] As the treatise was on a physical subject, this may have led to the condemnation of the *Physics* in general.

From other sources we learn that the date of the first interdict on the study of Aristotle in Paris was 1210, when 'the books of Aristotle on Natural Philosophy and his Commentaries' were forbidden to be read in Paris publicly or privately for the space of three years.[4] It is not known whether the work aimed at was the actual *Physics* of Aristotle, or one of the Arabic adaptations or commentaries, such as those of Avicenna or Averroes, or some pseudo-Aristotelian work. In any case, as pointed out by Renan, the condemnation fell not on the *Greek* text of Aristotle (for that was at present unknown to the West), but on Aristotle as translated by the *Arabs*, and as expounded by the *Arabs*.[5]

In 1215 the reading of the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* was again forbidden, and again in 1231, but with the reservation 'until they shall have been examined and purged of all heresy'. William of Auvergne, who flourished in 1228–48, makes free use of all the suspected books, and in 1254 nearly the whole range of the Aristotelian writings is prescribed among the text-books of the University.[6]

Let us now turn from Literature to Science. In the second part

[1] *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 562 f.
[2] *Comp. Stud. Theol.*, p. 33, ed. Rashdall.
[3] Bibl. Paris. 7440 *ap.* Charles, p. 315, n. 1.
[4] Rashdall's *Universities*, i. 356 f.
[5] Renan, *Averroes*, p. 221, ed. 1882.
[6] Rashdall, i. 357 f.

of the *Opus Maius* Roger Bacon has to define his attitude toward the great scholastic study of Theology. He calls Theology the queen of sciences, 'una scientia dominatrix aliarum'.[1] He holds that all knowledge is revealed in the Scriptures, but is there only implicitly;[2] thus theology finds its exponent in philosophy. 'The end of all true philosophy is to arrive at a knowledge of the Creator through knowledge of the created world'.[3] Theology, further, has need of philosophy to prove its principles.[4]

In the great controversy between realism and nominalism, Roger Bacon is a nominalist. 'One individual', he says, 'is of more account than all the universals in the world; for a universal is only a similarity of several individuals. . . . God has not created this world for the sake of the universal man, but for the sake of individual persons.'[5] The universal *ante rem* he entirely rejected: 'individuum est prius secundum naturam'.[6] On the question whether things were individualized by form or by matter, he maintains that the question is meaningless and foolish.[7]

Under the head of *Mathematics*, 'the gate and the key' of all the other sciences,[8] we find Roger Bacon often referring to Euclid, whose Elements had been translated into Latin early in the twelfth century by Adelard of Bath, and expounded in the thirteenth by Campano of Novara. He seldom mentions Archimedes and Apollonius of Perga; but, in his *Optics*, he shows his acquaintance with the properties of parabolic concave mirrors, being in this respect in advance of Euclid, Ptolemy, and Alhazen. In a fragment of his *Scriptum Principale*, he speaks of Arithmetic and Algebra, and, among branches of practical Arithmetic, he includes mensuration, the construction of astronomical tables, alloys, and coinage, and various commercial operations. He makes little display of mathematical knowledge, but he has much to say on mathematical method. He had made himself familiar with the highest mathematics of his time, but he does not appear to have contributed to the advance of the science. His interest lay less in abstract than in applied Mathematics. Thus, he was keenly interested in the reform of the Calendar.[9]

Under the heading of *Geography*, he considers the different ways in which different parts of the earth's surface are affected by the

[1] *Opus Maius*, i. 33. [2] Ibid. [3] i. 42, c. 7.
[4] R. Adamson, *Roger Bacon: the Philosophy of Science in the Middle Ages* (1876), p. 24.
[5] Charles, 383; Bridges, *Introd.*, pp. xli–xliii.
[6] Bridges, i. 42 n. [7] *Commun. Natur.*, II. ii. 9 (Bridges, p. xliii).
[8] *Opus Maius*, i. 97. [9] Bridges, *Introd.*, pp. lv–lix.

sun and the heavens, also the seven *climata* or zones of Ptolemy, followed by a descriptive survey of the known world, with the exception of Western Europe, which needs no detailed description.[1]

Astrology is, with Bacon, a speculative science, 'dealing with planetary motions, with the figure of the earth and of its various regions'. *Astronomy* is a practical science, having to do with the construction of tables and with the forecast of future events.[2] On the subject of *Astrology*, he shares the belief almost universally held by all instructed men from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. He is profoundly convinced of the influence of the stars on the life of man, but this conviction is, in his case, perfectly consistent with the freedom of the will.[3] He even held, with Albumazar, that the origins of all religions and of their several sects depended upon the conjunctions of the planets; and it has been surmised[4] that this was one of the 'novelties' of opinion for which he was condemned by the authorities of the Franciscan Order.

As to the *propagation of force*, he holds that radiant force proceeds independently of man's power of perceiving it. 'No substance is so dense as altogether to prevent rays from passing. . . . Rays of heat and sound penetrate through the midst of vessels of gold or brass. . . . There are many dense bodies which altogether interfere with the visual and other senses of man, so that rays cannot pass with such energy as to produce an effect on human sense, and yet, nevertheless, rays do really pass, without our being aware of it.'[5] This remarkable passage derives a new interest from modern scientific discoveries, for the writer's reasoning points to the 'correlation of radiant forces'.[6]

The study of *Optics* engaged his attention for ten years of his life.[7] The subject fills the fifth part of the *Opus Maius*. The optical works of Euclid, Theon, and Ptolemy had been translated into Arabic, and had been studied by Alhazen, whose own work, written perhaps in the eleventh century, was translated into Latin in the twelfth, and is here abridged by Bacon. As distinguished from his Arabian precursor, he gives proof of a steady purpose of turning the discovery of the laws of reflection and refraction to practical use. He has a clear conception of the simple microscope. He also plays with the possibility of bringing distant objects near, but this is no proof that he ever combined lenses to make a telescope. He surpassed Alhazen in his knowledge of the structure of the eye. To Bacon the radiation

[1] *Opus Maius*, i. 286–376. [2] Bridges, i, p. lviii.
[3] Ibid., pp. lix–lxv and i. 269 n. [4] Charles, p. 47.
[5] *Multiplicatio Specierum*, p. 478, cp. *Opus Maius*, ii. 478.
[6] Bridges, pp. lxv–lxix. [7] *Opus Tertium*, p. 38.

of light through space is a type of other radiant activities, such as those of colour, heat, sound, and odour.[1]

Alchemy, which may be regarded as the prescientific form of *Chemistry*, is treated in the extant portion of the *Opus Minus*. It falls into two great divisions, speculative and operative. Operative alchemy includes the metallurgy of the gold-seekers, and generally all the processes pursued with a view to the transmutation of metals, the discovery of the philosopher's egg, and the elixir of life. Speculative alchemy is practically identical with the science now called Chemistry. It treats (he says in the *Opus Tertium*[2]) 'of the generation of things from their elements, and of all inanimate things—as of the elements, and liquids simple and compound; common stones, gems, and marbles; gold and other metals; sulphur, salts, pigments, lapis lazuli, minium, and other colours; oils, bitumen, and very many other things—of which we find nothing in the books of Aristotle'. It is in his minor treatise 'on the marvellous power of art and nature' that he refers to an explosive mixture 'producing a noise like thunder and flashes like lightning',[3] and adds, that 'from saltpetre and other ingredients we are able to make a fire that shall burn at any distance we please'.[4] It has been held that this shows that he 'was in possession of an explosive which was a considerable advance on mere incendiary compositions', though he does not appear to have been aware of the projecting power of gunpowder.[5]

Experimental Science is represented by Bacon, in the sixth part of the *Opus Maius*, as a general method for the purpose of checking the results reached by mathematical processes, and also of prompting further researches in fresh fields of inquiry. He saw its bearing and its importance as a universal method of research. He was profoundly penetrated by the mathematical spirit and by the experimental method, whereas Francis Bacon, with all his approval of experimental science, failed to appreciate the importance of mathematical method.[6] It has been well said that 'Roger Bacon has come very near, nearer certainly than any preceding and than any succeeding writer, until quite recent times, to a satisfactory theory of scientific method'.[7]

In his *Moral Philosophy*, which fills the seventh part of the *Opus Maius*, we find a very summary treatment of the laws of civil and

[1] Bridges, pp. lxix–lxxiv.

[2] c. 12, p. 39, Brewer; cp. Bridges, i, pp. lxxiv–lxxviii.

[3] c. vi.

[4] c. xi

[5] Cp. Colonel Hime's work on the origin of Gunpowder (1904).

[6] Bridges, i, p. lxxix.

[7] R. Adamson, *Roger Bacon: the Philosophy of Science in the Middle Ages*, 1876, p. 33.

social life, a brevity probably due to the author's hostility towards the introduction of Roman Law.[1] In the third section of the work, personal morality is expounded with great fullness. 'In the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity, we can be conscious' (says Bacon) 'of things unknown even to the ancient philosophers. But, in the virtues needed for integrity of life, and for human fellowship and conversation, we are not their equals, either in word or deed.'[2] This part, accordingly, almost entirely consists of selections from Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and, above all, Seneca, including nearly the whole of the three Dialogues on Anger, rearranged from Bacon's own point of view. The final section is the earliest attempt towards a comparative study of the religions of the world. The work, in its present form, concludes with an impressive passage on the Holy Eucharist.

The fifth and sixth sections of this seventh part are now lost. The fifth section enlarged on the importance of oratory, style, and gesture to the moral and religious teacher; and the sixth on judicial decisions made with a view to the attainment of justice.[3]

We have now recalled the general outline of the life of Roger Bacon, and noticed some of his relations to the literature of the Greek and Latin world. We have also seen something of his study of the several sciences—Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics, Geography, Astronomy and Astrology, Physics, Optics, Chemistry and Alchemy, and Experimental Science. We have seen that he 'has come very near to a satisfactory theory of scientific method'. His scientific studies covered a wide range; he was interested in every one of the sciences, taken separately, but we know from his own testimony that he realized the close connexion of all the sciences with one another, and their mutual interdependence as parts of the same whole. He tells us in his *Opus Tertium* that 'all the sciences are connected, and foster one another with mutual aid. They are like parts of the same whole, every one of which accomplishes its own work, not for itself alone, but for the others also'.

Omnes scientiae sunt connexae, et mutuis se fovent auxiliis, sicut partes eiusdem totius, quarum quaelibet opus suum peragit non solum propter se, sed pro aliis.[4]

[1] Cp. *Opus Tertium*, pp. 84 f., and *Comp. Stud. Phil.*, p. 418, Brewer.

[2] ii. 323, cp. 255, and *Opus Tertium*, p. 50, 'sine comparatione sumus imperfectiores in moribus quam philosophi infideles'.

[3] *Opus Tertium*, c. 14, p. 52, Brewer.

[4] *Opus Tertium*, c. 4, p. 18, Brewer.

ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, 1914

HAMLET AND ORESTES

A STUDY IN TRADITIONAL TYPES

By Gilbert Murray, LL.D., D.Litt.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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I

I am no Shakespearian scholar; and if I have ventured, at the invitation of the Academy, to accept the perilous honour of delivering its Annual Shakespeare Lecture in succession to lecturers, and in the presence of listeners, whose authority on this subject is far greater than mine, it is for a definite reason. In studying the general development of Tragedy, Greek, English, French and Mediaeval Latin, I have found myself haunted by a curious problem, difficult to state in exact terms and perhaps impossible to answer, which I should much like to lay before an audience such as this. It concerns the interaction of two elements in Literature, and especially in Drama, which is a very primitive and instinctive kind of literature: I mean the two elements of tradition and invention, or the unconscious and the conscious. The problem has been raised in three quite recent discussions: I mention them in chronological order. My own note on the *Ritual Forms in Greek Tragedy*, printed in Miss Harrison's *Themis*; Mr. F. M. Cornford's book on the *Origin of Attic Comedy*; and a course of lectures given at Oxford by Miss Spens of Lady Margaret Hall on *The Scapegoat in Tragedy*, which I hope to see published next year. I am not proposing to-night to argue in favour of the theories propounded in any of these treatises. I am rather considering, in one salient instance, a large question which seems to underlie them. As for my own tentative answer to the problem, I will only mention that it has received in private two criticisms. One friend has assured me that every one knew it before; another has observed that most learned men, sooner or later, go a little mad on some subject or other, and that I am just about the right age to begin.

My subject is the study of two great tragic characters, Hamlet and Orestes, regarded as Traditional Types. I do not compare play with play, but simply character with character, though in the course of the comparison I shall of course consider the situations in which my heroes are placed and the other persons with whom they are associated.

Orestes in Greek is very clearly a traditional character. He occurs in poem after poem, in tragedy after tragedy, varying slightly in each one but always true to type. He is, I think, the most central and typical tragic hero on the Greek stage; and he occurs in no less than seven of our extant tragedies—eight if we count the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, where he is an infant—whereas Oedipus, for instance, only comes in three and Agamemnon in four. I shall use all these seven plays as material: viz. Aeschylus, *Choephori* and *Eumenides*; Sophocles, *Electra*; and Euripides, *Electra*, *Orestes*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and *Andromache*. And before any of these plays was written Orestes was firmly fixed both in religious worship and in epic and lyric tradition.

As for Hamlet, I note in passing the well-known fragments of evidence which indicate the existence of a *Hamlet*-tragedy before the publication of Shakespeare's Second Quarto in 1604.

These are, counting backwards: a phrase in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602, 'My name 's Hamlet: Revenge!'

1598. Gabriel Harvey's remarks about Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The true date of this entry is disputed.

1596. Lodge, *Wit's Miserie and the World's Madness*: 'he looks as pale as the ghost which cried so miserally at the theator like an oysterwife, Hamlet, revenge.'

1594. Henslowe's Diary records a play called *Hamlet* as acted at Newington Butts Theatre on June 9.

The earliest reference seems to be in Nash's *Epistle* prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*: it is dated 1589, but was perhaps printed in 1587. 'Yet English Seneca read by candle light yeeldes many good sentences, as Bloud is a beggar, and so foorth: and if you intreate him faire in a frosty morning, he will affoord you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of tragicall speeches.'

The play of *Hamlet* is extant in three main forms:

The First Quarto, dated 1603 but perhaps printed in 1602. It is entitled '*The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmark* by William Shake-speare, As it hath been at divers times acted by his Highnesse servants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniversities of Cambridge and Oxford and else-where'. It is much shorter than the *Hamlet* which we commonly read, having only 2,143

lines, many of them incomplete, as against the 3,891 of the Globe edition. It differs from our version also in the order of the scenes and to some extent in plot. For instance, the Queen's innocence of her husband's murder is made quite explicit: when she hears how it was wrought she exclaims:

> But, as I have a soul, I swear by Heaven
> I never knew of this most horride murder;

and thereafter she acts confidentially with Hamlet and Horatio. Also some of the names are different: for Polonius we have Corambis, and for Reynaldo Montano.

The Second Quarto, dated 1604, describes itself as 'enlarged to almoste as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfecte coppie'.

Thirdly, there is the Folio of 1623. This omits a good deal that was in the Second Quarto, and contains some passages which are not in that edition but have their parallels in the First Quarto.

Thus *Hamlet*, like most of the great Elizabethan plays, presents itself to us as a whole that has been gradually built up, not as a single definitive creation made by one man in one effort. There was an old play called *Hamlet* extant about 1587, perhaps by Kyd or another. It was worked over and improved by Shakespeare; improved doubtless again and again in the course of its different productions. We can trace additions; we can even trace changes of mind or repentances, as when the Folio of 1623 goes back to a discarded passage in the First Quarto. It is a live and growing play; apt no doubt to be slightly different at each performance, and growing steadily more profound, more rich, and more varied in its appeal.

And before it was an English play, it was a Scandinavian story: a very ancient Northern tale, not invented by any one, but just living, and doubtless from time to time growing and decaying, in oral tradition. It is recorded at length, of course with some remodelling, both conscious and unconscious, by Saxo Grammaticus in his great *History of the Danes*, *Gesta Danorum*, Books III and IV. Saxo wrote about the year 1185; he calls his hero Amlethus, or Amloði, prince of Jutland, and has worked in material that seems to come from the classical story of Brutus—Brutus the Fool, who cast out the Tarquins—and the deeds of Anlaf Curan, king of Ireland. But the story of Hamlet existed long before Saxo; for the Prose Edda happens to quote a song by the poet Snaebjørn, composed about 980, with a reference to 'Amloði'. And it must mean our Amloði; for our Amloði in his pretended madness was a great riddle-maker, and the

song refers to one of his best riddles. He speaks in Saxo of the sand as meal ground by the sea; and Snaebjørn's song calls the sea 'Amlođi's meal-bin'.

Besides Saxo we have a later form of the same legend in the Icelandic *Ambales Saga*. The earliest extant manuscripts of this belong to the seventeenth century.

Thus our sources for Hamlet will be (1) the various versions of the play known to us, (2) the story in Saxo Grammaticus and the *Ambales Saga*, and (3) some occasional variants of these sagas.[1]

II

Now to our comparison.

1. The general situation. In all the versions, both Northern and Greek, the hero is the son of a king who has been murdered and succeeded on the throne by a younger kinsman—a cousin, Aegisthus, in the Greek; a younger brother, Feng or Claudius, in the Northern. The dead king's wife has married his murderer. The hero, driven by supernatural commands, undertakes and carries through the duty of vengeance.

In Shakespeare the hero dies as his vengeance is accomplished; but this seems to be an innovation. In Saxo, *Ambales*, and the Greek he duly succeeds to the kingdom. In Saxo there is no mention of a ghost; the duty of vengeance is perhaps accepted as natural. In *Ambales*, however, there are angels; in the English, a ghost; in the Greek, dreams and visions of the dead father, and an oracle.

2. In all versions of the story there is some shyness about the mother-murder. In Saxo the mother is not slain; in Shakespeare she is slain by accident, not deliberately murdered; in *Ambales* she is warned and leaves the burning Hall just in time. In one of the variants the mother refuses to leave the Hall and is burnt with her husband.[2] In the Greek versions she is deliberately slain, but the horror of the deed unseats the hero's reason. We shall consider this mother more at length later on.

3. In all the versions the hero is in some way under the shadow of madness. This is immensely important, indeed essential, in his whole dramatic character. It is present in all the versions, but is somewhat different in each.

[1] There are, of course, numerous variants and offshoots of the Hamlet story. See *Corpus Hamleticum* by Professor Josef Schick of Munich. Only vol. i, *Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief* (1912), seems to be out.

[2] Halfdan is killed by his brother Frodi, who also takes his wife. Halfdan's sons Helgi and Hroar eventually burn Frodi at a feast. See Professor Elton's appendix to his translation of Saxo, edited by York Powell.

In *Hamlet* the madness is assumed, but I trust I am safe in saying that there is something in the hero's character which at least makes one wonder if it is entirely assumed. I think the same may be said of Amlodi and Ambales.

In the Greek the complete madness only comes as a result of the mother-murder; yet here too there is that in the hero's character which makes it easy for him to go mad. In the *Choephori*, where we see him before the deed, he is not normal. His language is strange and broken amid its amazing eloquence; he is a haunted man. In other plays, after the deed, he is seldom actually raving. But, like Hamlet, in his mother's chamber he sees visions which others cannot:

You see them not: 'tis only I that see

(*Cho.* 1061, cf. *Or.* 255–79); he indulges freely in soliloquies (*I. T.* 77–94, *El.* 367–90; cf. *I. T.* 940–78; *Cho.* 268–305 and last scene); especially, like Hamlet, he is subject to paralysing doubts and hesitations, alternating with hot fits. For instance, once in the *Iphigenia* he suddenly wishes to fly and give up his whole enterprise and has to be checked by Pylades (*I. T.* 93–103):

O God, where hast thou brought me? what new snare
Is this?—I slew my mother, I avenged
My father at thy bidding. I have ranged
A homeless world, hunted by shapes of pain. . . .
. . . We still have time to fly for home,
Back to the galley quick, ere worse things come.

PYLADES

To fly we dare not, brother: 'tis a thing
Not of our custom.

Again, in the *Electra* he suspects that the God who commands him to take vengeance may be an evil spirit in disguise:

How if some fiend of Hell
Hid in God's likeness spake that oracle?

(*El.* 979; cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2:

The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil).

At the moment before the actual crisis he is seized with horror and tries to hold back. In the *Choephori* this is given in a line or two: 'Pylades, what am I do? Let me spare my mother!'—or 'Shall I spare', if we put a query at the end of the line (*Cho.* 899). In the *Electra* it is a whole scene, where he actually for the moment forgets what it is that he has to do; he only remembers that it has something to do with his mother.

The scene is so characteristic that I must quote several lines of it. Aegisthus has just been slain: Clytemnestra is seen approaching (*Electra*, 962-87).

ORESTES

What would we with our mother? . . . Didst thou say
Kill her?

ELECTRA

What? Is it pity? . . . Dost thou fear
To see thy mother's shape?

ORESTES

'Twas she that bare
My body into life. She gave me suck.
How can I strike her?

ELECTRA

Strike her as she struck
Our father!

ORESTES (*to himself, brooding*)

Phoebus, God, was all thy mind
Turned unto darkness?

ELECTRA

If thy God be blind,
Shalt thou have light?

ORESTES (*as before*)

Thou, Thou, didst bid me kill
My mother: which is sin.

ELECTRA

How brings it ill
To thee, to raise our father from the dust?

ORESTES

I was a clean man once. . . . Shall I be thrust
From men's sight, blotted with her blood? . . .

Again he vows, too late, after the mother-murder, that his Father's Ghost, if it had known all, would never have urged him to such a deed; it would rather

have knelt down
And hung his wreath of prayers about my beard,
To leave him unavenged

(*Or.* 288-93). In Hamlet this belief is made a fact; the Ghost specially charges him not to kill Gertrude:

Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy Mother aught

(*Hamlet*, I. 5; cf. also the tone in III. 4).

Is it too much to say that, in all these strangely characteristic speeches of Orestes, every line might have been spoken by Hamlet, and hardly a line by any other tragic character except those directly influenced by Orestes or Hamlet?

Now what do we find in the sagas? Both in Saxo and in *Ambales* the madness is assumed, entirely or mainly, but in its quality also it is utterly different. Hamlet in both sagas is not a highly wrought and sensitive man with his mind shaken by a terrible experience, he is simply a Fool, a gross Jester, covered with dirt and ashes, grinning and mowing and eating like a hog, spared by the murderer simply because he is too witless to be dangerous. The name 'Amloði' itself means a fool. This side is emphasized most in *Ambales*, but it is clear enough in Saxo also and explains why he has combined his hero with the Fool Brutus. Hamlet is a Fool, though his folly is partly assumed and hides superhuman cunning.

4. The Fool. It is very remarkable that Shakespeare, who did such wonders in his idealized and half-mystic treatment of the real Fool, should also have made his greatest tragic hero out of a Fool transfigured. Let us spend a few moments on noticing the remains of the old Fool characteristics that subsist in the transfigured hero of the tragedies. For one thing, as has often been remarked, Hamlet's actual language is at times exactly that of the regular Shakespearian Fool: e.g. with Polonius in II. 2; just before the play in III. 2, and after. But apart from that, there are other significant elements.

(*a*) The Fool's Disguise. Amloði and Brutus and Shakespeare's Hamlet feign madness; Orestes does not. Yet the element of disguise is very strong in Orestes. He is always disguising his feelings: he does so in the *Choephori*, Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides' *Electra* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In two passages further, *Andromache* 980 and *I.T.* 956, he narrates how, in other circumstances, he had to disguise them:

> I suffered in silence and made pretence not to see.
>
> I suffered, Oh, I suffered; but as things drove me I endured.

This is like Shakespeare's Hamlet. It is also very like the saga Hamlet, who laughs in pretended idiocy to see his brother hanged.

Again, it is a marked feature of Orestes to be present in disguise, especially when he is supposed to be dead, and then at some crisis to reveal himself with startling effect. He is apt to be greeted by such words as 'Undreamed of phantom!' or 'Who is this risen from the dead?' (*Or.* 879, 385, 478 f.; *I.T.* 1361, cf. 1321; *Andr.* 884). He is present disguised and unknown in the *Choephori*, Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides' *Electra* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*; he is in nearly every

case supposed to be dead. In the *Choephori* and Sophocles' *Electra* he brings the funeral urn that is supposed to contain his own ashes; in the *Iphigenia* he interrupts his own funeral rites.

No other character in Greek Tragedy behaves in this extraordinary way. But Saxo's Amloði does. When Amloði goes to England he is supposed to be dead, and his funeral feast is in progress, when he walks in, 'striking all men utterly aghast' (Saxo, 95).

In *Hamlet* there is surely a remnant of this motive, considerably softened. In Act V. 2, the Gravedigger scene, Hamlet has been present in disguise while the gravedigger and the public thought he was in England, and the King and his confidants must have believed him dead, as they do in Saxo. Then comes the Funeral—not his own but Ophelia's; he stays hidden for a time, and then springs out revealing himself: 'This is I, Hamlet the Dane!' The words seem like an echo of that cry that is so common in the Greek tragedies: ''Tis I, Orestes, Agamemnon's son!' (*Andr.* 884; *I. T.* 1361; cf. *Cho.* 212 ff.; *El.* 220; also the recognition scenes). And one is reminded, too, of the quotation from the pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet* in Dekker's *Satiromastix* of 1602: 'My name's Hamlet! Revenge!' I suspect that these melodramatic appearances were perhaps more prominent in the tradition before Shakespeare.

(*b*) The Disorder of the Fool. This disguise motive has led us away from the Fool, though it is closely connected with him. Another curious element of the Fool that lingers on is his dirtiness and disorder in dress. Saxo says that Amloði 'remained always in his mother's house, utterly listless and unclean, flinging himself on the ground and bespattering his person with foul dirt' (Saxo, 88). Ambales was worse; enough to say that he slept in his mother's room and 'ashes and filth reeked off him' (*Ambales*, pp. 73–5, 77). We remember Ophelia's description of Hamlet's coming to her chamber

> his doublet all unbraced;
> No hat upon his head; his stockings fouled,
> Ungartered and down-gyvèd to the ankle,
> Pale as his shirt . . .

Similarly Orestes, at the beginning of the play that bears his name, is found with his sister, ghastly pale, with foam on his mouth, gouts of rheum in his eyes, his long hair matted with dirt and 'made wild with long unwashenness'. 'Poor curls, poor filthy face', his sister says to him (*Or.* 219–26). In the *Electra*, too, he is taken for a brigand (*El.* 219), which suggests some lack of neatness in dress; in the *I. T.* we hear of his foaming at the mouth and rolling on the

ground (307 f.). In both plays, it is true, Orestes carries with him an air of princely birth, but so, no doubt, did Hamlet, whatever state his stockings were in.

(*c*) The Fool's Rudeness of Speech. Besides being dirty and talking in riddles the Fool was abusive and gross in his language. This is the case to some degree in Saxo, though no doubt the monk has softened Amloði's words. It is much emphasized in Ambales. That hero's language is habitually outrageous, especially to women. This outrageousness of speech has clearly descended to Hamlet, in whom it seems to be definitely intended as a morbid trait. He is obsessed by revolting images. He does

> like a whore unpack his heart in words
> And fall a-cursing like a very drab,

and he rages at himself because of it.

(*d*) The Fool on Women. Now the general style of Greek tragedy will not admit any gross language. So Orestes has lost this trait. But a trace of it perhaps remains. Both Orestes and Hamlet are given to expressing violently cynical opinions about women (*Or.* 246–51, 566–72, 935–42). The *Orestes* bristles with parallels to the ravings of Hamlet's 'Get-thee-to-a-Nunnery' scene (III. 1). The hero is haunted by his 'most pernicious woman'. All women want to murder their husbands; it is only a question of time. Then they will fly in tears to their children, show their breasts and cry for sympathy. We may, perhaps, couple with these passages the famous speech (*Or.* 552 ff. based on Apollo's ruling in the *Eumenides*), where he denies any blood relationship with his mother; and the horrible mad line where he says he could never weary of killing evil women (*Or.* 1590).

Both heroes also tend—if I may use such an expression—to bully any woman they are left alone with. Amloði in Saxo mishandles his foster-sister—though the passage is obscure—and utters violent reproaches to the Queen. (The scene is taken over by Shakespeare.) Ambales is habitually misbehaving in this way. Hamlet bullies Ophelia cruelly and 'speaks daggers' to the Queen. He never meets any other woman. Orestes is very surly to Iphigenia (*I. T.* 482 ff.); draws his sword on Electra in one play, and takes her for a devil in another (*El.* 220 ff.; *Or.* 264); holds his dagger at the throat of Hermione till she faints (*Or.* 1575 ff.); denounces, threatens, and kills Clytemnestra, and tries to kill Helen. There are not many tragic heroes with such an extreme anti-feminist record.

The above, I think, are all of them elements that go deep down

into the character of the hero as a stage figure. I will now add some slighter and more external coincidences.

1. In both traditions the hero has been away from home when the main drama begins, Orestes in Phocis, Hamlet in Wittenberg. This point, as we shall see later, has some significance.

2. The hero in both traditions—and in both rather strangely—goes on a ship, is captured by enemies who want to kill him, but escapes. And as Hamlet has a sort of double escape, first from the King's treacherous letter, and next from the pirates, so Orestes in the *Iphigenia* escapes once from the Taurians who catch him on the shore, and again from the pursuers in the ship. Ambales has similar adventures at sea; and the original Amloði seems to have had nautical connexions, since the sea was his meal-bin, and the ship's rudder his knife.[1]

3. Much more curious, and indeed extraordinary, is the following point, which occurs in Saxo, *Ambales*, and the Greek, but not in Shakespeare. We have seen that the hero is always a good deal connected with the dead and graves and ghosts and funerals. Now in the sagas he on one occasion wins a great battle after a preliminary defeat by a somewhat ghastly stratagem. He picks up his dead—or his dead and wounded—and ties them upright to stakes and rocks, so that when his pursuers renew their attack they find themselves affronted by an army of dead men standing upright, and fly in dismay. Now in *Electra*, 680, Orestes prays to his Father:

> Girt with thine own dead armies wake, Oh wake,

or, quite literally, 'Come bringing every dead man as a fellow-fighter'. One would almost think here that there was some direct influence—of course with a misunderstanding. But the parallel may be a mere chance.

4. I would not lay much stress on the coincidence about the serpent. Clytemnestra dreams that she gives birth to a Serpent, which bites her breast. Orestes, hearing of it, accepts the omen: he will be the serpent. And at the last moment Clytemnestra so recognizes him:

> Oh, God;
> This is the serpent that I bore and suckled.

We are reminded of the Ghost's words:

> The serpent that did sting thy Father's life
> Now wears his crown.

However, Shakespeare abounds in serpents, and I have found no trace of this serpent motive in the sagas (*Cho.* 527–50, 928; *Or.* 479; *Hamlet*, I. 5).

[1] See also a pamphlet *Grotta Söngr and the Orkney and Shetland Quern*, by A. W. Johnston, 1912.

5. Nor yet would I make anything of the point that both Hamlet and Orestes on one occasion have the enemy in their power and put off killing him in order to provide a worse death afterwards. This is important in *Hamlet*, III. 3: 'Now might I do it pat, now he is praying', but only occurs as a slight incident in Sophocles' *Electra*, 1491 ff., and may be due merely to the Greek rule of having no violent deaths on the stage. Nor is there much significance in the fact that in both traditions the hero has a scene in which he hears the details of his father's death and bursts into uncontrollable grief (*Cho.* 430 ff.; *El.* 290; *Hamlet*, I. 5, 'Oh, all you host of heaven', &c.). Such a scene is in both cases almost unavoidable.

Let us now follow this Father for a little while. He was, perhaps naturally, a great warrior. He 'slew Troy's thousands'; he 'smote the sledded Polacks on the ice'. It is a particular reproach that the son of such a man should be so slow-tempered, 'peaking like John-a-dreams', and so chary of shedding blood (*El.* 245, 336 ff., 275 ff., 186 ff.). The old king was also generally idealized and made magnificent. He had some manly faults, yet 'He was a man, taking him all in all'. . . . He was 'a king of kings' (*El.* 1066 ff.). A special contrast is drawn between him and his successor (*El.* 320 ff., 917, 1080):

> It was so easy to be true. A King
> Was thine, not feebler, not in any thing
> Below Aegisthus; one whom Hellas chose
> Above all kings.

One might continue: 'Look on this picture and on this.'

We may also notice that the successor, besides the vices which are necessary, or at least desirable, in his position, is in both cases accused of drunkenness (*Hamlet*, I. 4; *El.* 326), which seems irrelevant and unusual.

Lastly, and more important, one of the greatest horrors about the Father's death in both traditions is that he died without the due religious observances. In the Greek tragedies, this lack of religious burial is almost the central horror of the whole story. Wherever it is mentioned it comes as something intolerable, maddening; it breaks Orestes down. A good instance is the scene in the *Choephori*, where Orestes and Electra are kneeling at their father's grave, awakening the dead and working their own passion to the murder point.

ELECTRA

Ah, pitiless one, my mother, mine enemy! With an enemy's

burial didst thou bury him: thy King without his people, without dying rites; thine husband without a tear!

Orestes

All, all, in dishonour thou tellest it, woe is me! And for that dishonouring she shall pay her punishment: by the will of the Gods, by the will of my hands: Oh, let me but slay, and then perish!

He is now ripe for the hearing of the last horror:

Leader of the Chorus

His body was mangled to lay his ghost! There, learn it all . . .

and the scene becomes hysterical (*Cho.* 435 ff.; cf. Soph., *El.* 443 ff.; Eur., *El.* 289, 323 ff.).

The atmosphere is quite different in the English. But the lack of dying rites remains and retains a strange dreadfulness:

> Cut off even in the blossom of my sin,
> Unhouselled, disappointed, unannealed.

To turn to the other characters; in both the dramatic traditions the hero has a faithful friend and confidant, who also arrives from Phocis-Wittenberg, and advises him about his revenge. This friend, when the hero is threatened with death, wishes to die too (*Or.* 1069 ff.; *I.T.* 675 ff.), but is prevented by the hero and told to 'absent him from felicity awhile'. This motive is worked out more at length in the Greek than in the English.

Also the friendship between Orestes and Pylades is more intense than between Hamlet and Horatio; naturally, since devoted friendship plays always a greater part in antiquity. But Hamlet's words are strong:

> Give me the man
> That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
> In my heart's core, yea, in my heart of hearts;
> As I do thee.

I find no Pylades-Horatio in the sagas; though there is a brother to Hamlet, sometimes older and sometimes a twin, and in some of the variants, such as the stories of Helgi and Hroar, there are pairs of avengers, one of whom is mad or behaves like a madman.

Next comes a curious point. At first sight it seems as if all the Electra motive were lacking in the modern play, all the Ophelia-Polonius motive in the ancient. Yet I am not sure.

In all the ancient plays Orestes is closely connected with a strange couple, a young woman and a very old man. They are his sister

Electra and her only true friend, an old and trusted servant of the dead King, who saved Orestes' life in childhood. This old man habitually addresses Electra as 'my daughter'—not merely as 'Child', παῖς, but really 'daughter', θυγάτηρ (*El.* 493, 563). She in return carefully avoids calling him 'Father'; that is to her a sacred name, and she will never use it lightly, at least in Euripides. But in Sophocles she says emphatically: 'Hail, Father. For it is as if in thee I saw my Father!' (*S. El.* 1361).

In the Elizabethan play this couple—if we may so beg the question—has been transformed. The sister is now the mistress, Ophelia; the old servant of the King—for so we must surely describe Polonius or Corambis—remains, but has become Ophelia's real father. And their relations to the hero are quite different.

The change is made more intelligible when we look at the sagas. There the young woman is not a sister but a foster-sister; like Electra she helps Amlođi, like Ophelia she is his mistress. The old servant of the King is not her father—so far like the Greek; but there the likeness stops. He spies on Amlođi in his mother's chamber and is killed for his pains, as in the English.

We may notice, further, that in all the Electra plays alike a peculiar effect is got from Orestes' first sight of his sister, either walking in a band of mourners or alone in mourning garb (*Cho.* 16; *S. El.* 80; *El.* 107 ff.). He takes her for a slave, and cries, 'Can that be the unhappy Electra?' A similar but stronger effect is reached in *Hamlet*, V. 1, when Hamlet, seeing an unknown funeral procession approach, gradually discovers whose it is and cries in horror: 'What, the fair Ophelia?'

Lastly, there is something peculiar, at any rate in the Northern Tradition—I will take the Greek later—about the hero's mother. Essentially it is this: she has married the murderer of her first husband and is in part implicated in the murder, and yet the tradition instinctively keeps her sympathetic. In our *Hamlet* she is startled to hear that her first husband was murdered, yet one does not feel clear that she is perfectly honest with herself. She did not know Claudius had poisoned him, but probably that was because she obstinately refused to put together things which she did know and which pointed towards that conclusion. At any rate, though she does not betray Hamlet, she sticks to Claudius and shares his doom. In the First Quarto she is more definitely innocent of the murder; when she learns of it she changes sides, protects Hamlet and acts in confidence with Horatio. In Saxo her attitude is as ambiguous as in

the later *Hamlet*; she is friendly to Hamlet and does not betray him, yet does not turn against Feng either.

A wife who loves her husband and bears him children, and then is wedded to his slayer and equally loves him, and does it all in a natural and unemotional manner: somewhat unusual.

And one's surprise is a little increased to find that in Saxo Amloði's wife, Hermutrude, does the same as his mother has done. On Amloði's death she marries his slayer, Wiglek. Again, there is an Irish king, historical to a great degree, who has got deeply entangled with the Hamlet story. His name is Anlaf Curan. Now his wife, Gormflaith, carried this practice so far that the chronicler comments on it. After Anlaf's defeat at Tara she marries his conqueror Malachy, and on Malachy's defeat marries Malachy's conqueror Brian. We will consider later the Greek parallels to this enigmatic lady. For the present we must admit that she is very unlike the Clytemnestra of Greek tragedy, whose motives are studied in every detail, who boldly hates her husband and murders him. There are traces in Homer of a far less passionate Clytemnestra.

III

Now I hope I have not tried artificially to make a case or to press my facts too hard. But I think it will be conceded that the points of similarity, some fundamental and some perhaps superficial, between these two tragic heroes are rather extraordinary; and are made the more striking by the fact that Hamlet and Orestes are respectively the very greatest or most famous heroes of the world's two great ages of tragedy.

The points of similarity, we must notice, fall into two parts. There are first the broad similarities of situation between what we may call the original sagas on both sides; that is, the general story of Orestes and of Hamlet respectively. But secondly, there is something much more remarkable; when these sagas were worked up into tragedies, quite independently and on very different lines, by the great dramatists of Greece and England, not only do most of the old similarities remain, but a number of new similarities are developed. That is, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Shakespeare are strikingly similar in certain points which do not occur at all in Saxo or Ambales or the Greek epic. For instance, the hero's madness is the same in Shakespeare and Euripides, but is totally different from the madness in Saxo or Ambales.

What is the connexion? Did Shakespeare study these Greek tragedians directly? No, all critics seem to be agreed that he did not. And, if any one should suggest that he did, I have further objections to urge, which would, I think, make that hypothesis unserviceable. Of course it is likely enough that some of Shakespeare's university friends, who knew Greek, may have told him in conversation of various stories or scenes or effects in Greek plays. Miss Spens suggests the name of Marston. She shows that he consciously imitated the Greek—for instance, in getting a special effect out of the absence of funeral rites—and probably had considerable influence on Shakespeare. This is a highly important line of inquiry. But such an explanation would not carry us very far with Shakespeare, and would be no help with Saxo.

Can it be indirect imitation through Seneca? No. Orestes only appears once in the whole of Seneca, and then he is a baby unable to speak (*Agamemnon*, 910–43). And in any case Saxo does not seem to have studied Seneca.

Will Scandinavian mercenaries at the Court of Byzantium help us? Or, simpler perhaps, will the Roman conquest of Britain? Both these channels were doubtless important in opening up a connexion between the North and the Mediterranean, and revealing to the Northmen the rich world of classical story. But neither explanation is at all adequate. It might possibly provide a bridge between the traditional Orestes and Saxo's Amloði; but they are not in any pressing need of a bridge. It does not provide any bridge where it is chiefly wanted, between the Orestes of tragedy and Shakespeare's Hamlet.

There seems to have been, as far as our recorded history goes, no good chance of imitation, either direct or indirect. Are we thrown back, then, on a much broader and simpler though rather terrifying hypothesis, that the field of tragedy is by nature so limited that these similarities are inevitable? Certain situations and stories and characters—certain subjects, we may say, for shortness—are naturally tragic; these subjects are quite few in number, and, consequently, two poets or sets of poets trying to find or invent tragic subjects are pretty sure to fall into the same paths. I think there is some truth in this suggestion; and I shall make use of something like it later. But I do not think that in itself it is enough or nearly enough to explain such close and detailed and fundamental similarities as those we are considering. I feel as I look at these two traditions that there must be a connexion somewhere.

There is none within the limits of our historical record; but can there be any outside? There is none between the dramas, nor even

directly between the sagas; but can there be some original connexion between the myths, or the primitive religious rituals, on which the dramas are ultimately based? And can it be that the ultimate similarities between Euripides and Shakespeare are simply due to the natural working out, by playwrights of special genius, of the dramatic possibilities latent in that original seed? If this is so, it will lead us to some interesting conclusions.

To begin with, then, can we discover the original myth out of which the Greek Orestes-saga has grown? (I do not deny the possible presence of an historical element also; but if history is there, there is certainly myth mixed up with it.) It contains two parts:

(1) Agamemnon, 'king of men', is dethroned and slain by a younger kinsman, who is helped by the Queen. (2) His successor, in turn, dreads and tries to destroy the next heir to the throne, who however comes home secretly and slays both him and the Queen.

The story falls into its place in a clearly marked group of Greek or pre-Greek legends. Let us recall the primaeval kings of the world in Hesiod.

First there was Ouranos and his wife Gaia; Ouranos lived in dread of his children and 'hid them away' till his son Kronos rose and cast him out, helped by the Queen-mother Gaia.

Then came King Kronos with his wife Rhea. He, too, feared his children and 'swallowed them', till his son Zeus rose and cast him out, helped by the Queen-mother Rhea.

Then thirdly . . . but the story cannot continue. For Zeus is still ruling and cannot have been cast out. But he was saved by a narrow margin. He was about to marry the Sea-maiden Thetis, when Prometheus warned him that, if he did so, the son of Thetis would be greater than he and cast him out from heaven. And, great as is my love for Thetis, I have little doubt that she would have been found helping her son in his criminal behaviour.

In the above cases the new usurper is represented as the son of the old King and Queen. Consequently the Queen-mother, though she helps him, does not marry him, as she does when he is merely a younger kinsman. But there is one great saga in which the marriage of mother and son has remained, quite unsoftened and unexpurgated. In Thebes King Laius and his wife Jocasta knew that their son would slay and dethrone his father. Laïus orders the son's death, but he is saved by the Queen-mother, and, after slaying and dethroning his father, marries her. She is afterwards slain or dethroned with him, as Clytemnestra is with Aegisthus, and Gertrude with Claudius.

What is the common element in all these stories? You will doubtless have recognized it. It is the world-wide ritual story of what we may call the Golden-Bough Kings. That ritual story is, as I have tried to show elsewhere, the fundamental conception that lies at the root of Greek tragedy; as it lies at the root of the traditional Mummers' Play which, though deeply degraded and vulgarized, is not quite dead yet in the countries of Northern Europe; as it lies at the root of so large a part of all the religions of mankind.

I must not encumber my argument by any long explanation of the Vegetation Kings or Year-daemons. But there are perhaps two points that we should remember, to save us from confusion later on. First, there are two early modes of reckoning: you can reckon by seasons or half-years, by summers and winters; or you can reckon with the whole year as your unit. On the first system a Summer-king or Vegetation-spirit is slain by Winter and rises from the dead in the Spring. On the second each Year-king comes first as a wintry slayer, weds the queen, grows proud and royal, and then is slain by the Avenger of his predecessor. These two conceptions cause some confusion in the myths, as they do in most forms of the Mummers' Play.

The second point to remember is that this death and vengeance was really enacted among our remote ancestors in terms of human bloodshed. The sacred king really had 'slain the slayer' and was doomed himself to be slain. The queen might either be taken on by her husband's slayer, or else slain with her husband. It is no pale myth or allegory that has so deeply dyed the first pages of human history. It is man's passionate desire for the food that will save him from starvation, his passionate memory of the streams of blood, willing and unwilling, that have been shed to keep him alive. But for all this subject I must refer you to the eloquent pages of Sir James Frazer.

Thus Orestes, the madman and king-slayer, takes his place beside Brutus the Fool, who expelled the Tarquins, and Amlođi the Fool, who burnt King Feng at his winter feast. The great Greek scholar Hermann Usener some years since, on quite another set of grounds, identified Orestes as a Winter God, a slayer of the summer.[1] He is the man of the cold mountains who slays annually the Red Neoptolemus at Delphi; he is the ally of death and the dead; he comes suddenly in the dark; he is mad and raging, like the winter god Maimaktes and the storms. In Athenian ritual, it seems, a cloak was actually woven for him in late Autumn, lest he should be too cold (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 712). Thus he is quite unlike the various bright

[1] *Heilige Handlung*, in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1904.

heroes who slay dragons of darkness; he finds his comrade in the Bitter Fool—may we say the bitter Amloði?—of many Mummers' Plays, who is the Slayer of the Joyous King.

But can we talk thus of Hamlet-Amloði? I mean, can we bring him into the region of myth, and myth of the same kind that we find in Greece? Here I am quite off my accustomed beat, and must speak with diffidence and under correction from my betters. But it seems beyond doubt, even to my most imperfect scrutiny of the material, that the same forms of myth and the same range of primitive religious conceptions are to be found in Scandinavia as in other Arian countries.

There are several wives in the Ynglinga saga who seem to belong to the Gaia-Rhea-Clytemnestra-Jocasta type For instance, King Vanlandi was married to Drifa of Finland, and was killed by her in conjunction with their son Visburr, who succeeded to the kingdom. (The slaying was done by witchcraft; but no jury could, I think, exculpate Visburr.)

Visburr in turn married the daughter of Aude the Wealthy. Like Agamemnon he was unfaithful to his wife, so she left him and sent her two sons to talk to him and duly, in the proper ritual manner, to burn him in his house. Just as the Hamlet of Saga burned King Feng, just as the actual northern villagers at their festival burned the Old Year.

Again, there are clear traces of kings who are sacrificed and are succeeded by their slayers. Most of the Yngling kings die in sacrificial ways. One is confessedly sacrificed to avert famine, one killed by a sacrificial bull, one falls off his horse in a temple and dies, one burns himself on a pyre at a festival. Another—like Ouranos and Kronos and the other child-swallowers—sacrifices one of his sons periodically in order to prolong his own life. I cite these cases merely to show that such ideas were apparently current in primitive Norse society as well as elsewhere. But the matter is really clinched by Saxo himself. He not only gives us the tale of Ole, King of the Beggars, who came in disguise, with one servant dressed as a woman, to King Thore's house, got himself hailed as king in mockery and then slew Thore and took the crown [254]. He definitely tells us, in a story about the Sclavs, that 'By public law of the ancients the succession to the throne belonged to him who should slay the king' [277].

So that when we find that the Hamlet of Saga resembles Orestes so closely; when we find that he is the bitter fool and king-slayer; when especially we find that Hamlet's mother, whatever her name, Gerutha,

Gertrude, or Amba, and Amloði's mother and Ambales' mother, and the mother of divers variants of Hamlet, like Helgi and Hroar, and Hamlet's wife, and the wife of Anlaf Curan, who is partly identified with Hamlet, all alike play this strange part of wedding—if not helping—their husband's slayer and successor, we can hardly hesitate to draw the same sort of conclusion as would naturally follow in a Greek story. Hamlet is more deeply involved in this Clytemnestra-like atmosphere than any person I know of outside Hesiod. And one cannot fail to be reminded of Oedipus and Jocasta by the fact, which is itself of no value in the story but is preserved both in Saxo and the Ambales Saga, that Amloði slept in his mother's chamber[1] (Saxo, 88; *Ambales*, p. 119 *et ante*, ed. Gollancz).

There is something strangely characteristic in the saga-treatment of this ancient King's Wife, a woman under the shadow of adultery, the shadow of incest, the shadow of murder, who is yet left in most of the stories a motherly and sympathetic character. Clytemnestra is an exception, and perhaps Gormflaith. But Gaia, Rhea, and even Jocasta, are all motherly and sympathetic. So is Gerutha, the wife of Ørvandil and the mother of Amleth, and Amba the mother of Ambales. And if Gerutha is the same as Groa, the usual wife of Ørvandil, 'Groa', says Professor Rydberg, 'was a tender person devoted to the members of her family'. The trait remains even in Shakespeare. 'Gertrude', says Professor Bradley, 'had a soft animal nature. . . . She loved to be happy like a sheep in the sun, and to do her justice she loved to see others happy, like more sheep in the sun.' Just the right character for our Mother Earth! For, of course, that is who she is. The Greek stories speak her name openly; Gaia and Rhea are confessed Earth-Mothers, Jocasta only a stage less so. One cannot apply moral disapproval to the annual re-marriages of Mother Earth. Nor yet possibly to the impersonal and compulsory marriages of the human queen in certain very primitive stages of society. But later on, when life has become more fully human, if once a poet or dramatist gets to thinking of the story, and tries to realize the position and feelings of this eternally traitorous wife, this eternally fostering and protecting mother, he cannot but feel in her that element of inward conflict which is the seed of great drama. She is torn between husband, lover, and son; and the avenging son, the mother-murderer, how is *he* torn?

English Tragedy has followed the son. Yet Gerutha, Amba, Gertrude, Hermutrude, Gormflaith, Gaia, Rhea, Jocasta—there is

[1] In the extant form of the Ambales Saga Amba's personal chastity is preserved by a miracle: such an exception approves the rule.

tragedy in all of them, and it is in the main the same tragedy. Why does the most tragic of all of them, Clytemnestra, stand out of the picture?

One can only surmise. For one thing, Clytemnestra, like Gertrude in some stories, has both the normal experiences of the primitive King's Wife. Married to the first king, she is taken on by the second and slain by the third; and both parts of her story are equally emphasized, which is not the case with the other heroines. Their deaths are generally softened or ignored. But, apart from this, I am inclined to lay most stress on the deliberate tragic art of Aeschylus. He received from the tradition a Clytemnestra not much more articulate than Gerutha; but it needed only a turn of the wrist to change her from a silent and passive figure to a woman seething with tragic passions. If Saxo had had a mind like Aeschylus, or if Shakespeare had made Gertrude his central figure instead of Hamlet, Clytemnestra would perhaps not have stood so much alone.

And what of Hamlet himself as a mythical character? I find, almost to my surprise, exactly the evidence I should have liked to find. Hamlet in Saxo is the son of Horvendillus or Ørvandil, an ancient Teutonic god connected with Dawn and the Spring. His great toe, for instance, is now the Morning Star. (It was frozen off; that is why it shines like ice.) His wife was Groa, who is said to be the Green Earth; he slew his enemy Collerus—Kollr the Hooded or perhaps the Cold—in what Saxo calls 'a sweet and spring-green spot' in a budding wood. He was slain by his brother and avenged by his son. The sort of conclusion towards which I, on my different lines, was groping had already been drawn by several of the recognized Scandinavian authorities; notably by Professor Gollancz (who especially calls attention to the part played by the hero's mother), by Adolf Zinzow, and by Victor Rydberg. Professor Elton is more guarded, but points, on the whole, in the same direction.[1]

Thus, if these arguments are trustworthy, we finally run the Hamlet-saga to earth in the same ground as the Orestes-saga; in that prehistoric and world-wide ritual battle of Summer and Winter, of

[1] Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, Introduction; Zinzow, *Die Hamletsaga an und mit verwandten Sagen erläutert*, 1877; Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology*, Engl. tr. by Anderson, 1889; Elton, Appendix ii to his translation of Saxo, edited by York Powell. Rydberg goes so far as to identify Hamlet with Ørvandil's famous son Swipdag. 'Two Dissertations on the Hamlet of Saxo and of Shakespeare' by R. G. Latham contain linguistic and mythological suggestions. I have not come across the works of Gubernatis mentioned in Ward, *English Dramatic Literature* [2], ii, p. 165.

Life and Death, which has played so vast a part in the mental development of the human race and especially, as Mr. E. K. Chambers has shown us, in the history of mediaeval drama. Hamlet also, like Orestes, has the notes of the Winter about him. Though he is on the side of right against wrong he is no joyous and triumphant slayer. He is clad in black, he rages alone, he is the bitter Fool who must slay the King.[1]

IV

It seems a strange thing, this gradual shaping and re-shaping of a primitive folk-tale, in itself rather empty and devoid of character, until it issues in a great tragedy which shakes the world. Yet in Greek literature, I am sure, the process is a common, almost a normal, one. Myth is defined by a Greek writer as *τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις*, 'the things said over a ritual act'. For a certain agricultural rite, let us suppose, you tore a corn-sheaf in pieces and scattered the grain; and to explain why you did so you told a myth. There was once a young and beautiful Prince who was torn in pieces.... Was he torn by hounds or wild beasts in requital for some strange sin? Or was he utterly innocent, torn by mad Thracian women or devilish Titans, or the working of an unjust curse? As the group in the village talks together, and begins to muse and wonder and make unconscious poetry, the story gets better and stronger and ends by being the tragedy of Pentheus or Hippolytus or Actaeon or Dionysus himself. No doubt history comes in as well. Things happened in antiquity as much as now; and people were moved by them at the time and talked about them afterwards. But to observe exactly, and to remember and report exactly, is one of the very latest and rarest of human accomplishments. By the help of much written record and much mental training we can now manage it pretty well. But early man was at the time too excited to observe, and afterwards too indifferent to record, and always too much beset by fixed forms of thought ever to take in concrete facts exactly. (As a matter of fact he did not even wish to do so; he was aiming at something quite different.) In any case, the facts, as they happened, were thrown swiftly into the same crucible as the myths. Men did not research. They did not keep names and dates distinct. They talked together and wondered and followed their musings till an historical king of Ireland grew very like the old mythical Amlodi, an historical king of Mycenae took on part of the story of a primitive Ouranos or

[1] I believe this figure of the Fool to be capable of further analysis, but will not pursue the question here.

Sky-King wedded to an Earth-Mother. And in later times it was the myth that lived and grew great rather than the history. The things that thrill and amaze us in *Hamlet* or the *Agamemnon* are not any historical particulars about mediaeval Elsinore or prehistoric Mycenae, but things belonging to the old stories and the old magic rites, which stirred and thrilled our forefathers five and six thousand years ago; set them dancing all night on the hills, tearing beasts and men in pieces, and joyously giving up their own bodies to the most ghastly death, to keep the green world from dying and to be the saviours of their own people.

I am not trying to utter a paradox, nor even to formulate a theory. I am not for a moment questioning or belittling the existence or the overwhelming artistic value, of individual genius. I trust no one will suspect me of so doing. I am simply trying to understand a phenomenon which seems, before the days of the printed book and the widespread reading public, to have occurred quite normally and constantly in works of imaginative literature, and doubtless in some degree is occurring still.

What does our hypothesis imply? It seems to imply, first, a great unconscious solidarity and continuity, lasting from age to age, among all the Children of the Poets, both the Makers and the Callers-forth, both the artists and the audiences. In artistic creation, as in all the rest of life, the traditional element is far larger, the purely inventive element far smaller, than the unsophisticated man supposes.

Further, it implies that in the process of Tradition—that is, of being handed on from generation to generation, constantly modified and expurgated, re-felt and re-thought—a subject sometimes shows a curious power of almost eternal durability. It can be vastly altered; it may seem utterly transformed. Yet some inherent quality still remains, and significant details are repeated quite unconsciously by generation after generation of poets. Nay, more. It seems to show that there often is latent in some primitive myth a wealth of detailed drama, waiting only for the dramatist of genius to discover it and draw it forth. Of course we must not exaggerate this point. We must not say that *Hamlet* or the *Electra* is latent in the original ritual as a flower is latent in the seed. The seed, if it just gets its food, is bound to develop along a certain fixed line; the myth or ritual is not. It depends for its development on too many live people and too many changing and complex conditions. We can only say that some natural line of growth is there, and in the case before us it seems to have asserted itself, both in large features and in fine details, in a rather extraordinary way. The two societies in

which the Hamlet and Orestes tragedies arose were very dissimilar, the poets were quite different in character and quite independent, even the particular plays themselves differed greatly in plot and setting and technique and most other qualities; the only point of contact lies at their common origin many thousand years ago, and yet the fundamental identity still shows itself, almost unmistakable.

This conception may seem strange; but after all in the history of religion it is already a proven and accepted fact, this 'almost eternal durability' of primitive conceptions and even primitive rites. Our hypothesis will imply that what is already known to happen in religion may also occur in imaginative drama.

If this is so, it seems only natural that those subjects, or some of those subjects, which particularly stirred the interest of primitive men, should still have an appeal to certain very deep-rooted human instincts. I do not say that they will always move us now; but, when they do, they will tend to do so in ways which we recognize as particularly profound and poetical. This comes in part from their original quality; in part, I suspect, it depends on mere repetition. We all know the emotional charm possessed by famous and familiar words and names, even to hearers who do not understand the words and know little of the bearers of the names. I suspect that a charm of that sort lies in these stories and situations, which are—I cannot quite keep clear of metaphor—deeply implanted in the memory of the race, stamped, as it were, upon our physical organism. We have forgotten their faces and their voices; we say that they are strange to us. Yet there is something in us which leaps at the sight of them, a cry of the blood which tells us we have known them always.

Of course it is an essential part of the whole process of Tradition that the mythical material is constantly castigated and rekindled by comparison with real life. That is where realism comes in, and literary skill and imagination. An element drawn from real life was there, no doubt, even at the beginning. The earliest mythmaker never invented in a vacuum. He really tried—in Aristotle's famous phrase—to tell 'The Sort of Thing that Might Happen'; only his conception of 'What Might Happen' was, by our standards, a little wild. Then, as man's experience of life grew larger and calmer and more intimate, his conception of 'The Sort of Thing that Might Happen' grew more competent. It grew ever nearer to the truth of Nature, to its variety, to its reasonableness, to its infinite subtlety. And in the greatest ages of literature there seems to be, among other things, a power of preserving due proportion between these opposite elements—the expression of boundless primitive emotion and the

subtle and delicate representation of life. In plays like *Hamlet* or the *Agamemnon* or the *Electra* we have certainly fine and flexible character-study, a varied and well-wrought story, a full command of the technical instruments of the poet and the dramatist; but we have also, I suspect, a strange unanalysed vibration below the surface, an undercurrent of desires and fears and passions, long slumbering yet eternally familiar, which have for thousands of years lain near the root of our most intimate emotions and been wrought into the fabric of our most magical dreams. How far into past ages this stream may reach back, I dare not even surmise; but it sometimes seems as if the power of stirring it or moving with it were one of the last secrets of genius.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

V

POETIC ROMANCERS AFTER 1850

By OLIVER ELTON

Read October 28, 1914

I

The mid-nineteenth century is receding, the great poetic romances are passing their jubilees. *Idylls of the King* were written gradually; the earliest, *Morte d'Arthur*, appeared in 1842. The real overture was in 1858, with William Morris's volume, *The Defence of Guenevere*. Hawker of Morwenstow's noticeable fragment, *The Quest of the Sangraal*, was published just fifty years ago. Within the next ten years that stage will have been passed by the First Series of Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads*, which contains *Laus Veneris* and *After Death*; by *The Life and Death of Jason* and *The Earthly Paradise*; and by Dante Gabriel Rossetti's first original volume, which contains *Stratton Water* and *Sister Helen*. *Rose Mary*, *The White Ship*, *The King's Tragedy*, are later; so are Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung* and most of his prose romances. These works are my material to-day; I shall shun formal judgements, and the quest for 'sources', and inquire into some stray characteristics. I keep to poetic narrative, and omit the lyric except when it is a story. In some sense all the examples can be called mediaeval, if not in subject, still in inspiration; at least, few of them would have existed, or would have been the same, without Chaucer, or Froissart, or *The King's Quair*, or Malory, or the old ballads, or the sagas. Their mediaevalism—a vague term—is one obvious clue to them. Another is their pictorial quality. It is present because many of the authors either were, or were in close alliance with, painters and designers, or simply had, like Tennyson, a picturing mind. Judged by favour, these stories are holding their own. They are flowers alive, they are not mere tombstones, in the cemetery of the literary histories. Many of them still attract those young minds and fresh, which do

not care for, but nevertheless help to constitute, the historical judgement. Still, the more hardened student, who has to resist the ill effects of larger information, comes forward from time to time to ask, supposing these works really bid fair to last, by virtue of what soul or quality in them they do so, and whether he really hopes that last they may. He cannot but glance back to the monuments that mark the territory won, peacefully or otherwise, in the campaign of Romance, that is, of the poetic story which does not belong to the real world; to *The Reliques*, *Ælla*, *The Ancient Mariner*, *The Border Minstrelsy*, *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, in poetry; and in scholarship, to the labours that unveiled older monuments still, Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer*, Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Ellis's *Specimens*. By these scholars the old stories were made known; they could not tell how the poets would enter into such labours and leave matter for the historians of the future. Thomas Warton, whose name I have the honour of saluting to-day, did more than write history; he was touched with the poetic spirit of one who was himself nourished on Romance, the youthful Milton. He too wrote his ode on *Arthur's Grave*, and cheerfully appreciated the Pleasures of Melancholy. It may be in keeping with the spirit of this foundation to recall some features of the narrative poets who continue the line.

It is possible to miss the plain fact that the age of Dickens and Morris was the great age of the story, as Edgar Allan Poe somewhere says that we miss the biggest signs over the fronts of the shops. For the term story includes both the novel and the romance. The eighteenth century had the novel, but it had the romance only during its latter half. The two preceding centuries had the *Arcadia* and its following, and also a broken line of poetic stories, some of great power and beauty, from *Hero and Leander* to *Theodore and Honoria*; but the novel was nascent. Compared with the age of Scott, the ampler mass and range of the novel in the later period, after 1850, may be thought to weight the scale. And it is not only the age of the story, but the story is its best product, unless the lyric be a rival; for the line of lyric from Tennyson to the present Laureate compares with the line from Spenser to Henry Vaughan. But the drama, the long speculative poem, are not such in the age of Tennyson and Rossetti as to compare with the story; and one of the new kinds, the dramatic monologue, implicitly contains a story. The time is rich in eloquent or coloured prose, and in essay and criticism; but these last are not primary imaginative forms, like the story, and cannot rival it. I omit the novel and keep to the romances. What works are denoted by that term and its deri-

vatives is plain from the instances given, from *The Defence of Guenevere* onwards ; what I would suggest it to mean, inwardly speaking, may appear later. The writers in question are all poets, and they are all tellers ; they have the gift that comes and goes as capriciously as the poetic gift. These two gifts are always getting divorced and always re-uniting, and their ties are worthy notice.

II

In one way verse is a separable accident of a story. Morris relates equally well, though in a different way, in verse and prose. There are few of whom this can be said. Crabbe, or Browning in *The Inn Album*, may relate well all the time, but the poetry is intermittent. The authors of *Endymion* or of *Tristram of Lyonesse* are poets all the time, but the press of imagery, or the poetic energy, easily swamp the telling, so that we ask what is really happening. The fastidious ballad audience, courtly or simple, would refuse to listen to these poems. A story that is not lucid or proportioned when it is *heard* is a bad story ; merely reading it is not a test. The splendour of *Tristram* is in the lyrical element, in the sea-elegy, where the poet triumphs. It is otherwise with the ballads of Rossetti, and with all but the earliest verse of Morris ; the poetry never fails, and the hearers can always follow. Doubtless, in *The Defence of Guenevere* and its companions, the poetic power, with its hold on what used to be called the 'language of passion', and its range from soft melody to noble discords, sometimes outruns the narrative power. But the story always struggles clear, and often is perfectly told ; it is needless to plead for *The Haystack in the Floods*. And the art of inlaying the author's own tale in a borrowed one is achieved. The setting, the particulars 'concerning Geffray Teste Noire', come from Froissart, who, as we are told, 'knoweth not' the history of the knight and lady whose bones William Morris himself found in a wood and buried, for pure pity, in 'a little chapel of squared stone'. There is no jar as we pass from one reporter to the other. Morris, especially when he used Greek legends, remained the most unforcedly mediaeval of the group, and I suppose that no considerable English poet has steered so clear of the Renaissance and all its works.

It may be noticed how the choice of mould and measure affects the march of a story, as a story. Coleridge has shown finally how the presence of metre acts on the language, 'paves the way to other distinctions', and 'medicates the atmosphere'. But metre also

acts on the events. Things happen, passions speak, and situations work out, differently in blank verse, couplet, and stanza. Our mental vision is affected by a special rhyme-arrangement.

These romancers, amongst them, use most of the possible story-measures, and we can sometimes compare the result with the prose original in Malory or a saga. Blank verse in Tennyson's hands, in *Morte d'Arthur* or *The Holy Grail*, 'tolls slowly'. This is the only thing that can be said against his noble passage from the *Iliad*. Every step in the action is counted aloud, like those of Bedivere going to the lake. Nothing could suit the scene better, but the movement is not so good for battle and wayfaring, despite all the varieties and modulations achieved. In *Morte d'Arthur* the original, where it is incorporated, is longer, sentence for sentence, than the verse, but it sounds shorter, and this is due to the metre. Malory has: 'And but if thou do not now as I bid thee, if ever I may see thee I will slay thee with my own hands'; which becomes:

> But if thou spare to fling Excalibur,
> I will arise and slay thee with my hands.

Malory has, '"Now put me in the barge", said the king'; the verse is but one syllable more, yet it sounds and therefore is much longer, with its four emphatic open vowels to two:

> Then murmured Arthur: 'Place me in the barge'.

Tennyson perfected this decorated quasi-epical style; as with Virgil's, its real unit is the long harmonized paragraph. There are traces of different epic style, not thus harmonized, but original and effective still, in that eccentric unequal fragment, *The Quest of the Sangraal*. The Vicar of Morwenstow's King Arthur is toasted in Old English, and his Merlin writes a Hebrew inscription on a 'runic stone'; but his blank lines have been unduly forgotten. The company is parting before they seek the Holy Grail. Nothing is etherealized, they are solid eaters and drinkers, as they must have been if they really existed.

> Now feast and festival in Arthur's hall:
> Hark! stern Dundagel softens into song!
> They meet for solemn severance, knight and king:
> Where gate and bulwark darken o'er the sea.
> Strong men for meat, and warriors at the wine:
> They wreak the wrath of hunger on the beeves,—
> They rend rich morsels from the savoury deer,—
> And quench the flagon like Brun-guillie dew!
> Hear! how the minstrels prophesy in sound,
> Shout the King's Waes-hael, and Drink-hael the Queen.

This manner is not only spirited, but it is so far Homeric that it discourages needless embroidery and reflection. But these things are almost enforced by a stave of three or four interlaced rhymes. Certainly Ariosto, broider as he may, makes everything move; in his octave he shoots forward, he varies the pace and the altitude, he dives and glides like an airship, and he gets on. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* verse is more like Cleopatra's barge, it keeps the coloured and pennoned story at a majestic rate of progress. But Morris prefers, what Spenser also used, Chaucer's verse of seven lines; it is not too hard, it can be swift, but it calls for much spacing-out with scenery, colour, and rumination. It is the secret of Morris, and Lessing would have approved, to unite these things with *movement*. In *The Story of Rhodope* there is this sure, not speedy, movement; not a tint or trait but is used to accompany movement:

> Now was her foot upon the gangway-plank;
> Now over the green depths and oars blood-red
> Fluttered her gown, and from the low green bank
> Above the sea a cry came, as her head
> Gleamed golden in the way that westward led,
> And on the deck her feet were, but no more
> She looked back then unto the peopled shore.

The same stanza can also hold a little poem, a speech uttered in a breath and a half, in which the sudden chime at the fifth line slightly changes the thought. The effect is not unlike that of a shortened or arrested sonnet. So Rhodope:

> 'Ah me!' she said, 'what thing do ye demand?
> Is it a little thing that I should go,
> Leaving my people and my father's land,
> To wed some proud great man I do not know?
> I look for no glad life: yea, it is so,
> That if a little love were left in me,
> In vain your keel had cleft our girdling sea.'

The measure, and in part the manner, go back to the greatest of our poetical romances, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Other things Morris learned, or learned the better, from his master, so modestly twice invoked: the use of colour, of costume, or variegation, but, still more the reciter's skill, the power of proportioning, the leisurely flower-like unfolding of emotions and events. He does not like Chaucer play with general ideas, such as the theory of free-will or of dreams, nor is he impatient with himself, nor has he Chaucer's bright digressions and back-eddies. There is more unity of mood in *The Earthly Paradise* than Chaucer ever wishes to attain. The Elders and Wanderers see the story's end in the beginning, an end

that is marked with melancholy even when prosperous; why hurry towards it? So the tale goes, gently, as we know: whether in stanza or couplet; and, so far, it is the mood that reacts on the versification, rather than this upon the action.

It is one thing to keep the reader delightfully going with the current of the story—overture, development, catastrophe—with the trappings, the landscape, the eloquence, and the melody, all perfectly managed, and it is another thing to take him by the throat in passing, by some sudden imaginative disclosure of God's truth. I will not quote passages about Sarpedon or Dido, but something simpler. In the old folk-ballad, *The Wife of Usher's Well*, the three drowned sons come back from the underworld to their mother's house, sit through the night silent, and take farewell at cockcrow, bidding her farewell. Who was the unrecorded genius who knew that the eldest son would further say:

> And fare ye well, the bonny lass
> That kindles my mother's fire?

When the old man, in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, cannot get Death to take him, he appeals to the Earth:

> I knokke with my staf, erly and late,
> And seye, 'Leve mooder, let me in.'

For these strokes I would give most of the *Earthly Paradise*, though there are traces of them in such grim versified anecdotes as *The Proud King*. Those single combats in Morris's verse and prose, so endless, so hearty—we know the soldierly temper of the man—who cares for their personages or their issue; are they not enacted in a kind of ghostly silence, like those of the warriors who sprang from the teeth sown by Jason? There is more in his first volume of what we lack. In *The Chapel in Lyonesse*, in the last speech of Sir Ozana, there is the piercing note that almost disappeared from Morris's work, no one knows why:

> Christ help! I have but little wit:
> My life went wrong; I see it writ:
> 'Ozana of the hardy heart,
>   Knight of the Table Round,
> Pray for his soul, Lords, on your part;
>   A good knight he was found.'
> Now I begin to fathom it.
>
> [*He dies.*

These effects Morris attained, it may be, more often in his lyrics than in his stories: *Mother and Son* and *The Message of the March*

Wind, which belong to the later years, are examples. And, to my apprehension, there is more sheer humanity, more even of an odd cunning psychology, in the prose tales like those of Birdalone, with all their superficial remoteness, than in the long poems. There the people are like people in an arras—like the tapestried huntsman in Matthew Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult*—and some one is calling upon them to come down out of it and live, and is lifting his magic pipe to do so; but he has forgotten the call, and they look down at him almost pathetically, in their shining dresses, with their large eyes, and they never come. This is not to unsay our praises of the exquisite pattern, the durable stuff, the fastness of the dye. Both kinds of art are good, if one of them is nearer to life. With all such differences, Morris is a great teller, a true follower of Chaucer, and sits near him in some region where there is time for long stories. Some of the shades, of dreamers or amorists, ask for new ones taken from the legendary upper room that was shelved with unpublished verses; Helen and Odysseus, for the missing *Scenes from the Fall of Troy*; others, the shades of the author of *Njala* or the historian Sturla, for something as strong, such as the Burning of Flugumyri, or the murder of Sigmund in the saga of the Faroese, done into the verse of *Sigurd the Volsung*, a poem which may be considered for a moment.

The verse and speech of *Sigurd*, there is little doubt, is the greatest invention of the last century for a long action of heroic stamp. It has shown itself equal to most of the things wanted in an epic recital. Never can we disparage the ballad-tune, the tune of *Adam Bell* or of *The Fire of Frendraught*. But this is an instrument that can hold out longer, and that rises to the call of harder matter. It is a nobly progressive kind of verse, with a thrust forward in the middle of almost every line. It is good for the decoration, which is part of the action, and for the speeches, which always move. It is good for the long level stretches of the story, and for passages of love and of war. It can sometimes break down, it can get too loose and fluid, like an improvisation, or again it can be too consonantal and rocky. And it is not salient, like the Latin hexameter; but it is undulant, as the Greek hexameter is in another way. The lines go in pairs, but the rhymes are unable to stop the action, they only define it. As ever, Morris amplifies, like Swinburne, while Rossetti packs. He had his own version of *Volsunga Saga* before him; the original is a late prose compilation rather dryly put together, but it keeps some of the great colloquies and all the great situations of the early Nibelung tale. Morris weaves in bits

of the older Norse poems which also refer to the legend. He makes words into sentences, and sentences into pages, and adds all the scenery and the costume; and, above all, he adds, he reads in, the fate-ridden emotion, the sense that the characters are working towards a half-known disaster; they are like projectiles that chance to meet in mid-air. He reads in what he thought to be the 'religion of the North'; it is really his own. He exalts the temper of the hero who faces and furthers such an ending, and he has also the sense that beyond the death of all the protagonists and of the present order 'the new sun beams on Baldur'. This foreshadows the social break-up and renovation which became his own article of faith. It gives a background to the legend, which almost carries through its dark and barbarous elements. His style, his versification, rise to such a design. If the poem were stronger in representing character, we might call it Homeric. But perhaps character is only the second thing in a story, as Aristotle says it is in a tragedy, compared to the fable. The actors are types, legendary figures, rather than individuals. As an instance of Morris's rich amplifying habit, and of the resource of his measure in pure description, any page would serve; I take the scene where Sigurd, under guidance of Odin, is choosing his horse. The original has:

> They drave the horses down into the deeps of the river, and all came back to land but one horse; and that horse Sigurd chose for himself; grey he was of hue, and young of years, great of growth, and fair to look on, nor had any man yet crossed his back.

Then the twain sped on together, and they drave the horses on
Till they came to a rushing river, a water wide and wan;
And the white mews hovered o'er it; but none might hear their cry
For the rush and the rattle of waters, as the downlong flood swept by.
So the whole herd took the river and strove the stream to stem,
And many a brave steed was there; but the flood o'ermastered them:
And some, it swept them downward, and some won back to bank,
Some, caught by the net of the eddies, in the swirling hubbub sank;
But one of all swam over, and they saw his mane of grey
Toss over the flowery meadows, a bright thing far away:
Wide then he wheeled about them, then took the stream again
And with the waves' white horses mingled his cloudy mane.

But I dwell no more on mechanism and its effects; the plea for having done so is the interest taken in mechanism by the poets themselves. Dante, Ronsard, and Dryden, take no objection to discussing it, and are not afraid of technical language. I pass to another point in this chapter of the progress of poesy, namely the renewal of the ballad by the romancers.

III

Their practice throws some light on the processes, so much disputed, by which ballad and romance were originally, mediaevally, intermixed. I am of those who believe that to confuse these two forms, historically or aesthetically, is to be deaf to the difference of the instrument. There was plenty of give-and-take between them, and there were plenty of intermediate types and formulae in common. But the origins, the essential conventions, the fashion of narrative, and the temper are different. To call the ballads, such as *The Wife of Usher's Well* or *Sir Patrick Spens*, the derivatives or débris of lost romances, or of the romance generally, is not only to say what lacks evidence, but is to confuse species; it is almost like saying that Drayton's lyric on *Agincourt* can only be the débris of a drama on Henry the Fifth. All the same, there was in the nineteenth century, as in the fifteenth, a good deal of contact between the species, and new varieties arise. In the later period, a vast amount of experimenting—more than can be guessed by those who have not looked into it—had been done in this direction, what with Percy, Chatterton, and the writers of Scotland. Ballad-study went on steadily after Percy, and continues; ballad-making by men of letters came in irregular waves, as Scott noted that it had done in his own time. The simplest kind, the mimic folk-ballad, of which the test is whether it could really deceive if the author so wished, had been managed well by the humorist Robert Surtees, who did deceive Scott, and, at least for several verses together, by Scott himself, Leyden, and James Hogg. It is a hard thing to do well, for it is to grow a plant out of its own soil. It is no paradox to say that the frankly literary ballad, of what Rossetti called 'the condensed and hinted order dear to imaginative minds', is less and not more artificial than the mimic ballad, for it really does grow in its own soil. Coleridge and Keats mastered it. It has (to change the figure) the folk-ballad for a more or less hidden base, out of which a lovely structure spires in a different style of architecture; it is, in fact, a romance. Before 1850, there had come a certain ebb in such production; afterwards both extremes, the simple-seeming and the confessedly elaborate, take new life. The poets of this second mediaeval Renaissance went back first of all to the true ballad, then to Coleridge and Keats, and they also had in their ears the tunes and themes of old romance. Ballads were made, not only by the chiefs, but by Hawker with his spirited Cornish ditties, and by William Bell Scott; there is poetic ore in his *Lady Janet* and his

Kriemhild's Tryste, with their studious intricate refrains. The unbroken series that can be made between a perfect popular echo like Morris's *Welland River* and a pure piece of trained imagination like Rossetti's *Rose Mary* tempts us to forget that the extremes are still of different kinds, and how a mediaeval poem like *Hind Horn* is a casual cross between them.

In *Welland River*, the forsaken Ellayne (not Lancelot's Elaine) watches Sir Robert ride up Stamford Street with another lady; she drops a lily-flower on his helm, bids him nurse-tend her, and regains him, the other lady being left stranded six fathoms from the Stamford Bridge:

> He had a coat of fine red gold,
> And a bascinet of steel;
> Take note the goodly Collayne sword
> Smote the spur upon his heel.
>
> And by his side, on a fair jennet,
> There rode a fair lady,
> For every ruby Ellayne wore,
> I count she carried three.

This is a perfect echo, not a parody; it has the drawl that we find in the old ballad-airs that are preserved. The literary poet, such as the author of the admirable *Keith of Ravelston*, Sydney Dobell, would not have 'taken note' or 'counted'; and the last line of the conclusion has the right sort of homeliness:

> He has kissed sweet Ellayne on the mouth,
> And fair she fell asleep,
> And long and long days after that
> Sir Robert's house she did keep.

This is not the favourite note of Morris in his youth; it is not like *The Blue Closet* or *The Chapel in Lyonesse*. Later, when he came to know the Northern ballad-store, he tossed off into English things like *Knight Aagen and Maiden Else*, but he did not excel *Welland River*. Mr. Swinburne showed all his skill, his virtuosity, in this kind of writing; but, in spite of his Border lineage, pieces like *The Bloody Son* or *The Brothers* strike us visibly as feats. Mr. Swinburne's real medium for a story was the lay—the lay as it came down from the fourteenth century through Scott's variations; the lay made to a tune not unlike those which Chaucer, in *Sir Thopas*, jested at without real disapproval. The story in question comes from Malory, and the story and the tune triumph together; an unexpected triumph; for, to judge not merely from *Laus Veneris*—

not, it is true, a story—but from *Tristram of Lyonesse,* we might have thought that any unlettered minstrel, or old sailor, could tell a tale better. But not so here. There are ballad-echoes, but the poem is a romantic lay.

> 'Alas', King Arthur said, 'this day
> I have heard the worst that woe might say;
> For in this world that wanes away
> I know not two such knights as they'.
> This is the tale that memory writes
> Of men whose names like stars shall stand,
> Balen and Balan, sure of hand,
> Two brethren of Northumberland,
> In life and death good knights.

The master of these fused or compound forms is Rossetti. Each of his half-dozen ballads or romances has a different march and build. In each of them is evident one of the great marks of all his poetry; he is an inventor of forms. Certainly the fusion of language is not always perfect. In *The King's Tragedy* the speaker is Catherine Barlass, who is capable of talking like the poet of *Down Stream*:

> That eve was clenched for a boding storm,
> 'Neath a toilsome moon half-seen—

and sometimes like herself, really much like a ballad-speaker:

> Like iron felt my arm, as through
> The staple I made it pass:—
> Alack! it was flesh and bone—no more!
> 'Twas Catherine Douglas sprang to the door,
> But I fell back Kate Barlass.

This mixture of styles does not help the poet, though each is good in itself. It suggests a literary person helping out a popular transmitter; a Percy, but a Percy of genius, imposing a thought-out diction, though a sound one, on a natural and instinctive diction, and on genuine old material. But it remains true that Rossetti commands both styles; everywhere he has a hold on a naked plain language, biblical if he likes, and also on a coloured elaborate language. And he harmonizes them; and this harmony of opposites in diction is a second characteristic. They are harmonized in *The White Ship*—the ship that took the son of Henry the First to drown. This might well have been an old ballad-theme, but it never was one. It is told *staccato,* in the rhyming pairs that occur in such ballads as *Earl Brand.* The effect is got by the silences between the couplets,

which allow the emotion within the silence to sink into the ballad audience, whose tension we are to imagine:

> But for a' sae wounded Earl Bran was,
> He has set his lady on his horse.
>
> They rode till they came to the water o' Doune,
> And then he alighted to wash his wound.
>
> 'O Earl Bran, I see your heart's blood!'
> 'It is but the gleat of my scarlet hood'.

It is the same when the survivor from the White Ship is struggling in the water; and the modern imaginative note and the simpler primitive one are harmonized, the first passes into the second:

> The ship was gone and the crowd was gone,
> And the deep shuddered and the moon shone:
>
> And in a strait grasp my arms did span
> The mainyard rent from the mast where it ran;
> And on it with me was another man.
>
> Where lands were none 'neath the dim sea-sky,
> We told our names, that man and I.
>
> 'O I am Godefroy de l'Aigle hight,
> And son I am to a belted knight'.
>
> 'And I am Berold the butcher's son,
> Who slays the beasts in Rouen town'.

Rose Mary is at the other extreme; it has least in it of the ballad, of unforced popular speech. Like the unfinished *Bride's Prelude*, it is romance, of the lineage of *Christabel*, though the kind of glamour represented in it is different from Coleridge's. It has not only a fuller magic than any of Rossetti's tales except *Sister Helen*, a feat—I do not say a masterpiece—on which I must not begin to speak; but *Rose Mary* has a freer pace than the rest, and less of that painful effect of hydraulic pressure which is the risk attending on Rossetti's third great quality, his economy. 'Probably', he says, 'the man does not live who could write what I have written more briefly than I have done'. This he could truly claim; the gift separates him from all of his companions except his sister. In *Rose Mary* he escapes the risks; what could be briefer, and yet freer, than this?

> The fountain no more glittered free;
> The fruit hung dead on the leafless tree;
> The flame of the lamp had ceased to flare;
> And the crystal casket shattered there
> Was emptied now of its cloud of air.

Made in 1871, this is the last long poem I can think of where the full deep glow of imaginative *belief* is sustained; not merely the 'willing suspension of disbelief', for Rossetti had enough folklore in his blood to carry him beyond that. His ballads, indeed, have every quality except the unforced quietude of nature.

But I pass to another trait of the romancers to which I briefly ask your attention—their attitude towards the emotions they portray, on which I merely make a note. As for their attitude, I shall call it romantic, but it matters less to find a word for it than to see that it is there. What is it?

IV

Those thought-confounding words, 'classical' and 'romantic', might be dealt with in the nominalist spirit of Hobbes, when he defines the terms of the schools, or the passions, in the *Leviathan*:

> Books made by the Greeks and Romans, and by others whom we feign to be like unto them—*classics*. The name *classical* signifieth the qualities that we imagine all such books to have in common. Tales told while the Kingdom of Darkness was universal, during the last five hundred years thereof, and other tales that we feign to be like unto these—*romances*. The word *romantic* is air; it meaneth what quality we will, other than *classical*; which is to say that it is not something, which itself we comprehend not.

I use the word all the same, not to add to the wreckage of definitions, but as at hand for describing one trait of the romancers. When we call *Samson Agonistes* or a dialogue of Landor 'classical', and *Isabella* or *Rapunzel* 'romantic', we think first of the difference between severity and profusion, or between economy and expense of imagery, or between rounded and sculptured with irregular overladen structure, or between clear definition and a lunar rainbow of suggestion. We may also half-think of a moral contrast, between a certain austerity of note and passion unrestrained. Or we may say that the romancer, like the classical artist, seeks indeed for beauty, but that, unlike him, he wants it of any kind and at all costs, as a thing self-justified when once it is really found. Well, remembering how much the romancers talk about beauty in their verse, as some talk about grace and salvation, we can, if we like, say that their conscious quest is beauty in nature, in the human form, and also, doubtless, in the soul—conveyed by beautiful words. This is true, but something more is wanted. The distinction is, at

bottom, not so much artistic or moral at all as psychological. If we get away from the form or measure employed; away from the theme, be it love, or ecstasy of devotion, or magic; away from the type or source of the story, be it that of Jason or of Tristram; and think of the artist's own state of mind when he speaks for Medea or Sister Helen;—then the distinction sought for may possibly be that he *surrenders himself*, as the classical writer does not, to the emotion or passion to which the creature of his dream is also surrendered. He does not hold himself apart, and look out, or let us look out, into the world beyond, or the larger order, any more than Iseult or Brynhild do so. I do not mean that his hand shakes or that his mastery fails; but that he seeks, not only dramatically but as it were really, to *be* the feeling that he portrays. When he speaks in person, as in Swinburne's *Ilicet*, and there is no *dramatis persona*, still he surrenders himself. Like the mystic, he tries to become the object desired in his own vision. It is a willing, head-over-ears self-identification without afterthought. Further, the romancer prefers, though not exclusively, subjects where the feeling is tragic. His note, indeed, is much the same when he exhibits happiness or religious rapture. But most of the great stories he tells are calamitous—perhaps most great stories are; and, more than that, they end in *unsolved* moods of trouble and dispeace, or of a milder melancholy unsolved: the trouble is not in the end overcome by Lancelot, or Tristram, or the scholar in *The Writing on the Image*, who 'found the end of all', as it is, or at least seems to be, overcome by Oedipus or Antigone or by Cordelia. The difference is like that between Lucretius and Tennyson's *Lucretius*. The classical poet has come through the fear of death which he disparages—

scire licet nobis nil esse in morte timendum;

and through the illusions of love which he portrays—

usque adeo incerti tabescunt volnere caeco;

who can doubt it? He is through, if only through. The tone is not simply ethical, it is that of the naturalist. He is aloof. But Tennyson, that notable pathologist, here at least is a true romancer. *His* Lucretius has not come through; the citadel of his mind is touched, his 'dire insanity' is but half-repelled, he surrenders himself to his mood, and so does the poet. On the other hand, Tennyson's *Ulysses* is, in the sense now suggested, classical, though the subject comes not from Homer but from Dante. Dante's Ulysses

in Hell repeats the last address that he had given to his mariners. I give it in John Carlyle's English:

> 'O brothers!' I said, 'who through a hundred thousand dangers have reached the West, deny not, to this the brief vigil of your senses that remains, experience of the unpeopled world behind the sun. Consider your origin; ye were not formed to live like brutes, but to follow virtue and knowledge.'

That is my notion of a classical utterance, and so is Tennyson's adaptation of it. The speaker gets out of his present suffering, out of himself, he stands away, he passes into a larger order, and he transfers his passion to that. Behind the different ethical mood there is a different vision of *things*. Keeping to Dante, I should incline to say that in Rossetti's pictures of Paolo and Francesca there was very little of this detachment; the painter is absorbed first in the passion and then in the pity of the case, and is in frank sympathy. That this does not represent any permanent limitation in Rossetti is plain enough from his various pictures of Beatrice, and from his verses on *Dante at Verona.*

I only throw out this idea, there are endless cases to consider. There is that of Dante himself; his intensity of feeling measures itself against his power to grasp it and hold it away, and his consummate style is the expression of the balance attained. There is Chaucer; over *Troilus and Criseyde* there hovers the spirit of humour, although the siege of Troy, the world without, are faint and decorative, and the lovers real, and Pandarus is real. Disconcerted romance is a difficult thing to deal with. The nineteenth-century poets do not burden themselves with it much; they are usually grave. I would not apply the trait I have described—the temper of self-abandonment—to mediaeval romancers at large; rather, it is just what the modern romancers have introduced. One could accumulate, not proofs, but instances that seem to tell. They tell equally in Rossetti's valediction to his Rose Mary:

> Thee, true soul, shall thy truth prefer
> To blessed Mary's love-bower:
> Warmed and lit is thy place afar
> With guerdon-fires of the sweet Love-star
> Where hearts of steadfast lovers are:

and in Morris:

> all for this,
> To part at last without a kiss
> Beside the haystack in the floods:

and in *Laus Veneris*:

> Inside the Horsel here the air is hot;
> Right little peace one hath for it, God wot;
> The scented dusty daylight burns the air,
> And my heart chokes me till I hear it not.

The examples come from love-poetry; others could be brought from the poetry of glamour, or that of combat. But these traits are by no means marked in the first programme or doings of the 'Pre-Raphaelite' band, who only announce 'an entire adherence to the simplicity of nature'; but in the event they became marked. They connect themselves naturally with another, to be seen in unequal degrees in the verse and paintings of the group. The artists, in their art, tend to keep away from the real world of things without, from the actual currents of history and society around them. Their dreams are the city of refuge in which they forget the war beyond. To the passions and troubles of the beings in these dreams they give themselves, in much of their best production. Even the time and place need not be actual; when and where did Pharamond live? The paintings of Burne-Jones are often an extreme and beautiful instance of this datelessness. The same artists, moreover, often fail to escape into, or to recognize, any sphere of thought, any larger independent order, the perception of which would set the tragedy in its place. This surely is of the essence of unadulterated romance. The permanent world of things, the permanent world of thought, are as though they were not, for the time.

Yet in none of the poets is such a severance complete. Each of them came back out of romance, as thus understood, in his own way. Rossetti had no special philosophy; yet he came back into the permanent world of poetic thought, he brought it under his art. His sonnets constantly muse on the Last Things, on Time, and Death, and Conscience. Because of his outlook upon them, in him alone of his company has Love, as a theme, the quality of intellectual grandeur; true metaphysical poetry results, as with Meredith, as with Shakespeare. But he also came back to the world about him more than once. His early *Burden of Nineveh*, his *Jenny*, his picture *Found*, like Holman Hunt's picture *The Awakening Conscience*, have a genuine reference to actual life. The sonnet *On Refusal of Aid Between Nations*, written in 1848, is valid permanently on all such occasions. Morris, too, came back to this world, by the long path so well traced in his biography, to the real present, to the past as he dreamed it really was, to the future as he dreamed it might be. In *A Dream of John Ball* he blended the two strains in a faultless

way. His prophetic vision is felt through all his romancing, at least as far back as *Love is Enough* (1873), at first sight the remotest of his works. Mr. Swinburne came back through his transcendental love for freedom, for France, for Italy, and for Mazzini. Thus these writers are on record as having taken a real share in the mental history of the nation—each of them is, like the hero of *Maud* when he went forth to war, 'one with his kind'; and this not merely by a loyalty to pure art, practised in the isolation of the 'ivory tower', and by upholding it against the distractions of Philistinism, but through an actual and passionate, however momentary, contact of their mind with events. And yet romancers, in the long run, they remained; true to themselves, as *The Tale of Balen* and *The Sundering Flood* show. They altered the mediaeval temper; they were not bound down to it; there was much in it, like the irony of a writer like Jean de Meung, that they never appropriated; but it never left them for good and all.

V

I confess, lastly, that some pictures have helped me to form this notion of the romancers' frame of mind. Charles Lamb said of Hogarth, 'his prints we *read*'; and, being no art critic, I try merely to read the pictures—often only reproductions. This is clearly one thing which the artists were not unwilling should be done. Look at the faces, the gestures, the emphasis, in the designs of Cruelty and Amorous Desire drawn by Burne-Jones from Spenser's Masque of Cupid; in Rossetti's *Sir Galahad at the Shrine*, or in his *Tristram and Iseult*; or even in Hunt's *Flight of Madeline and Porphyro*, or Millais's *Lorenzo and Isabella*—though in these two painters the phase passes; is not the absorbed, the self-abandoning, the world-repelling temper such as has been here indicated? Yet this is only one of the points suggested by the tangled interplay between the poetry and the painting of sixty years ago. I will only note some of the facts and problems. There is matter for a chapter in the history of the English imagination, only to be written by some one versed both in fine art and in letters. This is but a remark.

The give-and-take between the two arts varies curiously. The four elements to consider are the mediaeval stories, like Malory's; the poetry of the earlier romancers, from Chatterton to Tennyson; the pictures and designs produced by the so-called Pre-Raphaelites and by those in any connexion or affinity with them; and lastly,

our romancers and their inventions. Many things may happen. The final fruit may be mediaeval at two removes. It may be a picture on a scene in Keats which Keats got from Boccaccio. It may be a poem, such as Morris's *King Arthur's Tomb*, well called by his friend F. G. Stephens a 'fiery-hearted poem', inspired by a picture of Rossetti's, itself inspired though not actually suggested by Malory. Or it may be a picture made on a poem of the age preceding, and yet not quite upon it, like the illustration in the 'Moxon' Tennyson of St. Cecily, which is said to have puzzled Tennyson, because the angel was not doing what he supposed. Or it may be a true counterpart of such a poem, like Rossetti's drawing of Coleridge's *Genevieve*. Or a poem and a picture may spring up together from the same hand, and no one can say which is first. A little-known and beautiful instance is the etching by James Collinson, in *The Germ*, of the *Child Jesus*, attended by verses called *A Record of the Five Sorrowful Mysteries*; the child is being crowned with hawthorn by his companions, and the verses show 'an entire adherence to the simplicity of nature'. Rossetti made sonnets first on the Old Masters and afterwards on, or for, his own paintings. Once, in *The Blessed Damozel*, he made a picture on the poem that he had been retouching for many years. To work out such relationships, and embark on the question what verbal picturing really can and cannot do, would be to attempt a fresh *Laocoon* in the light of modern examples. It would be attractive to ask to what stage in a story, to what stanza, perhaps, in a poem, the moment chosen by the painter may correspond; to the most impassioned or critical moment, which shuts out past and future, as in Rossetti's picture of Paolo and Francesca and the fallen book? or to an earlier moment than that, one which leaves the imagination still reaching forward, like the design by Rossetti of *Sir Launcelot Escaping*? or to a moment, as in *The Blessed Damozel*, where the imagination has no future but is carried back to the earthly past? Again, another chapter would discuss the use of symbolic detail, usually crowded and emphasized both in poetry and painting, and speaking in both cases to the colour-sense; such as the flashing of the 'great eyes of her rings' in Rossetti's poem of *The Card-Dealer*, who is Life or Death as we may interpret; or the emblematic calf in his picture *Found*. But, not to embark on this, let us remember that though the mediaeval and cognate tales are for the moment out of fashion, they have not been exhausted, and they await future artists and poets for their re-creation. The storehouse of Warton and his band contains legends which will always come up again,

like the more famous ones of classical antiquity. One of the romancers, writing on the history of Locrine, overpities, it may be, such tales and their fortunes, which have not been so ill; but his cry is a noble one nevertheless:

> No part have the eswan legends in the sun
> Whose glory lightened Greece and gleamed on Rome.
> Their elders live; but these, their day is done.
> Their records, written of the wind on foam,
> Fly down the wind, and darkness takes them home. . . .
>
> Yet Milton's sacred feet have lingered there,
> His lips have made august the fabulous air,
> His hands have touched and left the wild weeds fair.

The closing words are true of the writer himself, the last survivor, Mr. Swinburne; and they are true of the other romancers who flourished after 1850, and who have touched these fables.

SOME RESULTS OF RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND; WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS CONTINUANCE AND EXTENSION

By ARTHUR F. LEACH

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It is not necessary to show the necessity or defend the utility of the study of history before the British Academy; especially is this so before its present President, who owed his first success to his excursus into the ancient history of that fortuitous concourse of atoms, the Holy Roman Empire, the last remaining fragment of which is now, we hope, to be broken up; and who owes his mature fame to his contemporary history of the latest activities of the greatest political entity which the world has yet seen. Truly has he verified the saying of Euripides, ὄλβιος ὅστις τῆς ἱστορίας ἔσχε μάθησιν: 'Blessed is the man who has a knowledge of history' and knows how to use it.

An apology may, however, be necessary for bringing before this highly educated assembly the history of education. What need, it may be asked, have the professors and readers, the pastors and masters, the dons and deans, now or formerly, actively or otherwise, engaged in teaching, who form the predominant partners of the British Academy, to learn as regards education? The writer can only answer, What indeed? His only excuse is that as no two professors or educationists 'ever agree in the smallest degree' as to what education consists in, or should consist in, or how it should be given, in general or particular, it is possible that a knowledge of what education has been in the past may be some help in considering proposals which generally represent as the last new discovery methods and maxims as old as Methuselah, and may throw some light on problems of the future. Having spent a whole generation, devoting during thirty years every moment which, to adapt the Master of Trinity, I could spare from the neglect of my duties, to research into the history of education, I venture to put forward some of the results and the methods by which they were reached, in the hopes of interesting

this Academy in the prosecution of these researches and the publication of the results. I venture to do so with less diffidence because, to judge from the remarks on the subject still made by many learned Thebans, most of them remain in blissful ignorance of the facts and are still prepossessed by the guesses that did duty for history forty years ago. In this paper I shall confine myself to the history of education in England before and at the Reformation, because though there are egregious myths current as to the later history, even down to those which have grown up around Dr. Arnold and the 'public' schools, it is better to begin by clearing away those which poison the well of knowledge at its source and distort the whole stream of educational history.

It is strange that no attempt has yet been made at any history of education in England. Until quite recently all the efforts at histories of education were in the German tongue, and, so far as they are founded on facts at all, are founded on German facts, and still more on German theories. In America several attempts have lately been made, but they are largely adaptations from or expansions of the German, and repeat German facts and reproduce German generalizations; and we are now beginning to recognize what sort of substratum of fact German generalizations have when German patriotism and the praise of German culture are concerned. English writers, so far as they have dealt with the subject at all, have done their best to support the cult of German culture, and have ignored alike their own educational history and educational institutions. Turn, for instance, to the article on education in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* the ninth edition published in 1877, which was the latest and paramount authority on the subject when my researches began. The writer of that article jumps from Greece and Rome, on the schools of which he is excessively vague, to the schools of the monasteries, which he supposed were the only schools of the Middle Ages, the creation of which he imputes to Charlemagne, and the curriculum of which he limits to reading, writing, singing, and arithmetic. He then leaps to Deventer and the schools of the brethren of the Common Life in the fifteenth century, which he appears to think were the only schools in Europe giving any secondary education at all; thence to Sturm and the school of Strasburg in 1520, so to the Jesuits and Commenius in the seventeenth century, to Rousseau and to Pestalozzi in the eighteenth. Except for a casual reference to Eton and passing mentions of Mulcaster's *Elementarie,* of Milton and Locke, one would not suppose that England had ever produced a university or school

or a writer on education worth considering. Yet the author of that article had spent the greater part of his life in the practice of education, and was even credited with theories, which he tried to put into practice.

Other British writers who have incidentally dabbled or ducked —we cannot say dived—into the history of education, have gone on the same lines. They have all assumed and enlarged on the fact that education in Europe was due to German kultur and began with Charlemagne, and as our Gallic neighbours regarded Charlemagne as a Frenchman instead of a Teuton, they backed the Germans up. Yet our writers speak by no means respectfully of the educational system thus inaugurated or the institutions which supported it. Thus, Mr. J. Bass Mullinger in his *Schools of Charles the Great*, published in 1877, and quoted as *the* authority in the article just mentioned, writes of the schools: 'They were designed mainly for the monastic life; boys were taught to read that they might study the Bible and understand the services; to write that they might multiply copies of the sacred books; to understand music that they might give with due effect the Ambrosian chant. Even arithmetic found a place in the course of instruction, mainly on the plea that it enabled the learner to understand the computus and to calculate the return of Easter and the festivals.' It would be difficult to cram more misleading statements into a sentence. Mullinger was but repeating the accepted view that there were no schools in England before the Reformation except in monasteries, and they were merely elementary. We see this in J. R. Green's *History of the English People*, a new edition of which was published the same year. This history purported to substitute the story of the 'intellectual and social advance' of the nation for a drum-and-trumpet record of kings and wars. Yet education was barely mentioned in it; when it was, the old superstitions were repeated. Green speaks of Colet as the pioneer of the whole system of English schools, 'by the foundation of his own Grammar School beside St. Paul's, an example followed by a host of imitators. The Grammar Schools of Edward VI and of Elizabeth—in a word, the system of middle-class education which by the close of the century had changed the very face of England'—were 'its direct results'. When Green comes to Edward VI himself, he says of him, that while 'the intellectual impulse of the New Learning had died away, one noble measure, the foundation of eighteen grammar schools, was destined to throw a lustre over the name of Edward'.

That is, he voiced the current and common view that English

schools and any education in England worthy of the name dated from the Reformation, and particularly from Edward VI.

My researches have led me first to doubt, then to deny, and finally to disprove the authorized version, and to revise, recast, or perhaps rather to create *de novo* the history of English education, through that of the schools in which it was given. These researches were not in the first instance undertaken through any doubt of the traditional creed, if traditional it can be properly called, when it is no older than the end of the seventeenth century. It is due chiefly to two authors, the Rev. John Strype in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* and his edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, and Knight in his *Life of Colet*, published in 1724; who founded themselves on the reckless assertions of the reactionary antiquaries and church historians of the Restoration—Fuller, Heylyn, Dugdale, and Aubrey. I must admit that I was fully imbued with it, when my researches began, in a strictly official way for a directly practical object connected with one particular school. In December 1884, when I became an Assistant Commissioner under the Endowed Schools Acts, then administered by the Charity Commission, for the reform of what would now be called the Endowed Secondary Schools, the earliest case assigned to me for investigation and report was that of the Prebendal School, Chichester. This school was one of 35 grammar schools which the Endowed Schools Commissioners had reported as founded before Henry VIII's reign, viz. in 1497;—to the confusion of the accredited doctrine if any one had drawn the inference from the facts. It was called the Prebendal School because its endowment consisted of a prebend or canonry in Chichester Cathedral; the master being a prebendary or canon and member of the greater chapter of the cathedral. This should have given it a good status and made it well endowed. For the prebend consisted of lands and tithes estimated to be worth £1,036 10*s*. a year. In fact, it was in a deplorable condition of poverty, owing to the tithes being let on the ancient 'beneficial leases', at the 'ancient and accustomed rent', which had not varied since the year 1291. So that while the income of the prebend was £26 13*s*. 4*d*. in 1291, it had, in spite of then recent sales, only risen to £134 in 1885. The school building consisted of a single large room built in the fourteenth century. Now the Endowed Schools Act contained a section specially empowering the Commissioners to make proposals to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the augmentation of the endowment of any school 'which forms or has formed part of the endowment of a cathedral or collegiate church', and which 'received

assistance out of the endowment' of such church. The clause had been inserted mainly in view of what are called the cathedrals 'of the new foundation'; new, that is, in the reign of Henry VIII, which before had monastic chapters, monks instead of canons, like Canterbury and Rochester, or which had been abbeys and not cathedrals at all, like Gloucester and Peterborough. In them it was well known that the schools were an essential part of the foundation. It was not generally supposed that the same was true of the cathedrals of the old foundation, like York, St. Paul's, Lincoln, and Salisbury, in which the foundation was lost in the mists of antiquity; and which were really the models for the new cathedrals.

It behoved me to show that Chichester school fell under this clause. The difficulty of this was not diminished by the Dean and Chapter asserting that it was not an educational endowment at all, but an ecclesiastical benefice; seemingly preferring that the school should be starved under their auspices rather than grow prosperous by the secular agency of the Charity Commission and the Ecclesiastical Commission. Hence considerable delay in my inquiries. Before they were completed another case had been assigned to me, that of Southwell Grammar School, in Nottinghamshire, which also involved the question under the same clause, whether this school formed part of the collegiate church known as Southwell Minster and could claim assistance from the Ecclesiastical Commission accordingly.

At Chichester very few ancient documents remained to throw light on the relations of the church and school. That it received, or ought to have received, assistance from the church, that is the Chapter, besides the prebend, was proved by my finding at the Record Office, in the Chantry certificates, the return made with a view to the dissolution of Colleges and Chantries in 1548, under the heading 'The Gramer Scole in Chichestre'. Besides a statement that the prebend was 'impropried for a gramer schole for ever', and that £4 was paid by the prebendarie 'of his benevolens' toward the finding of an Usher yerely, there was an entry that since Michaelmas 1547 the Dean and Chapter 'had graunted to the finding of the Usher 52*s.* 4*d.* to continewe out of the livinges of the said Deane and Chapiter for ever'. Also the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 showed that the Chapter then 'yearly paid £2 a year for the annual and perpetual stipend of the Under master of the grammar school'. The Chapter said that the school was not part of the foundation because no school existed before the Prebendal School of 1497, or if one did, it was only a choristers' school. The earliest Chapter book

now extant at Chichester, beginning in 1554, tended to negative this as it shows a payment 'for the stipend of Richard Basse, teacher (*informatori*) of the choristers, £4 13*s*. 8*d*. statutable with £1 augmentation'. But the foundation deed or statutes of the Prebendal School, dated 18 February, 1497–8, made by Bishop Edward Storey, ex-master of a Cambridge College, lent some colour to the suggestion that there had been no grammar school there before. 'Having not seldom before our eyes', he says, 'the immeasurable ignorance of our subject priests and the excessive promotion too often heretofore of wicked priests in our diocese through the scarcity of good ones,' after divers quotations from the Canon Law on the ill effects of ignorance, especially to be avoided in the priests of God, he says that at length he had come to the conclusion that 'an increase of the knowledge of grammar would be the best remedy for the ills aforesaid. For grammar, which hath but little flourished hitherto in these shores, as Peronius bears witness, is profitable for eternal salvation, as in the Canon Law, Distinction 37, "But the teaching of grammar masters is able to profit for life eternal". Therefore for the purpose of constituting an everlasting grammar school in this city of Chichester, we have proceeded as follows.' He then, with the consent of the Chapter, proceeded to annex the prebend of Highley to the schoolmastership by providing that on all future vacancies in it the Dean and Chapter should nominate to the bishop 'a priest well and sufficiently instructed in grammar and other literature and apt and expert in teaching, who shall well and sufficiently and eloquently, freely and without charge, instruct and inform and chastise all grammar scholars and others whomsoever coming to our said school for the sake of learning; not taking any sum of money whatever or gifts or presents of any kind from the scholars, their parents or friends'. In thus annexing a prebend to the mastership, Storey, a learned canonist, was well aware that he was following a precedent in his own cathedral set 250 years before, when Bishop Ralph, between 1224 and 1244, annexed the prebend of Wittering to a theological lectureship by statutes which on appeal were confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1259, and afterwards by the Pope himself, and that Bishop Ralph was only carrying out a decree of the Lateran Council in 1215, that in every cathedral and collegiate church of sufficient means a prebend should be assigned to a grammar school master who should teach the clerks of the church in the faculty of grammar and other things gratis, and in every metropolitical church a theological lectureship should be established and also endowed with a prebend.

Though Bishop Storey thus talked as if he was creating a new school, he knew, and his hearers or readers must have known, that the only thing really new was the conversion of the prebend into an educational endowment, and, probably, from the insistence on no fees being charged or gifts received, the fact that it was thenceforth to be a free instead of a fee school.

In the absence of Chapter registers before the seventeenth century the bishop's registers appeared to be the only source of evidence of the school before Storey's day. Wading through a mighty folio of Bishop Robert Read's register of some four hundred pages, just one passage was found bearing on the subject.

At a visitation in 1402 it was complained and proved 'that the chancellor [of the cathedral, not the bishop's chancellor of the diocese] does not find a master diligent in teaching the choristers grammar'. The chancellor appeared in person and protested that he was 'prepared to do his duty in the premises as he ought and is bound to do'. This of itself was enough to show that even if the grammar master taught only choristers, at all events they learned grammar and not merely reading and singing. But his answer referred undoubtedly to the statutes of the cathedral in which the duties of the chancellor and the other three chief officers were defined. Among the 'ancient and approved customs' ordered on 23 July, 1247, to be reduced into writing and published, a clear distinction was drawn between teaching singing and teaching school. 'The cantor [precentor or chief singer] ought to teach the choir singing. The chancellor ought to teach the school or present [some one else] to it [*debet regere scolas aut dare*]'. In addition, a new statute in 1232 had enlarged on the chancellor's duty to hear those assigned to read the lessons read them beforehand. Now the readers of the lessons were not the choristers, but the vicars choral, priests, the deputies-in-choir of the canons, and deacons and clerks. So this statute alone is sufficient to show that 'the school' was not merely a choristers' school.

I could not at the time definitely show that the school was the grammar school. But the missing links were supplied later by two wills at Somerset House found by Mr. L. Salzmann.

By his will on 16 November, 1384, the Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral, John Bishopstone, gave to 'Master Thomas Romesey, rector of the grammar school of Chichester', his 'green robe of taffity covered with moons, to pray for him'. The name is of interest, as this Master Thomas of Romsey was no less a person than the second Head master or Informator of Winchester College,

the first after the College entered on its present buildings, in March 1394, being appointed at Michaelmas 1394. His selection for the mastership of the new foundation, which was reported in contemporary chronicles as an event of great national importance, is sufficient evidence that the school at Chichester was no inferior or merely elementary school. About a century later, William Jacob, mayor of Chichester, by will of 28 October, 1479, gave the Dean and every canon present at his funeral a shilling; 'and I will that the morrow mass preste and the scoolemaster of the Grammer Scole, if it please them to be present at my dirge and say masses for me . . . that ayther of them have 6*d.* for their labour, and ayther of them to have 2*s.* for saying of Dauied sauter, if it please them'.

Even these records, however, might be considered to leave unsettled the question of whether the grammar school was more than a choristers' school. But by applying the comparative method, the true solvent of historical questions, and investigating the records of other cathedrals of the old foundation, the statutes, Chapter Act-books, accounts, and other records of Salisbury, York, Lincoln, Wells, Hereford, this is put beyond doubt.

The statutes of the cathedrals are found only in thirteenth- or fourteenth-century codes; the earliest copy of those of Lincoln being preserved, oddly enough, at Elgin in Scotland, having been sent as a model when that cathedral was founded about 1230. But at Salisbury a thirteenth-century document, stated to be copied from a book then old, professes to give the very words of the 'Institution of St. Osmund', the foundation statutes given by William the Conqueror's chancellor, Osmund, to the new cathedral which he built on the hill in the castle of Old Sarum, when he removed the see of Wiltshire there from Sherborne, in 1091. 'The Precentor ought to rule [or teach] the choir as to chanting. The Chancellor is pre-eminent in ruling [or teaching] the school and correcting the books. The Archischola ought to hear and determine the lessons . . . and mark the readers on the table [the orders of the day], and the Precentor in like manner the singers.' At Salisbury itself the earliest document showing the school in operation is a grant to the schoolmaster (*ad opus magistri scolarum*) of the church of Odiham in Hampshire in 1138. But at St. Paul's a thirteenth-century deed-book contains a copy of a deed of about the year 1111, whereby the Bishop of London confirmed to Hugh the schoolmaster (*magistro scolarum*) 'in right of the dignity of the mastership and to his successors in the same dignity the station of Master Durand in the angle of the tower', and also granted to him the librarianship, 'the

custody of all the books of our church '. Better still, the original deed-poll itself is also still preserved, with the bishop's seal still attached to it, by which the same Bishop of London, Richard de Belmeis, in the year 1127, addressing the Dean and the whole assembly of his brethren, i. e. the canons (*fratrum conventum*) and his steward and all his men, says, ' I make known to you my best beloved that I have granted to Henry my canon, the pupil (*nutrito*) of Master Hugh, St. Paul's school, as the church ever best and most honourably held it, and the land in the court (*atrio*, quadrangle, or close) which the said Hugh enclosed for his house (*ad se hospitandum inclusit*) ', and some lands and tithes specified, outside London, which formed the endowment. It is interesting to find the pupil, or perhaps even foster-son (*nutrito*) of Master Hugh thus succeeding to his school and house, for all the world as, while I was at Winchester, Dr. Moberly was succeeded in the mastership by his old pupil and son-in-law, Dr. Ridding. Some eleven years later another original document is preserved—a tiny slip of parchment some four inches long by one and a half broad, in which Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and acting as Bishop of London in 1138 during a vacancy in the see, directed the Chapter of St. Paul's and the Archdeacon of London ' that after three summonses they should pronounce sentence of excommunication (*anathematis*) on those throughout the whole city who without the licence of Schoolmaster Henry should presume to teach [or lecture, *legere*], except those who teach the schools of St. Mary-le-Bow (*de àrcha*) and St. Martin's-le-Grand '. These schools were both grammar schools.

In these documents the word for school at all three churches is in the plural, a way of speaking like that of ' Master of the Schools ' at Oxford, in a single school of arts or history, which gave rise to many mistakes. But in a statute made about 1250, in which certain additional details about the chancellor's duties are given, it is said: ' Under him too are all scholars living in the city except the scholars of a school (*unius scole*) of the Arches and a school in the basilica of St. Martin-le-Grand, who contend that they are privileged in this and other matters.'

In the Statutes of St. Paul's, written down about 1300, a clear distinction is drawn between the Choristers' School and the Grammar School. In these statutes, in addition to the clause used at Salisbury, we find among the Precentor's duties, ' to order the chants on the table for the day by the master of the Song School ; . . . on the greater feasts himself to begin the anthems after the Benedictus and Magnificat, the processional chants and sequences; . . . to examine the

boys to be admitted to the choir and entitled to chant; to appoint (*preficere*) the master of the Song School'.

On the other hand, the chancellor's duty (the schoolmaster had changed his title to chancellor only in the year 1205) is to 'set out the table [i. e. the persons who were to read] for lessons, masses, epistles, and gospels for the week, to hear the lessons, to minister [that is, hold the book for] the last lesson to the bishop, and to read the sixth lesson himself; to introduce the clerks of the lower grade [i. e. lower than canons] for ordination, and after having examined them in the school to present them to the bishop for ordination; and to render justice to any one who complains of any misdeed of theirs. Under him are all scholars living in the city, except those of the schools of the Arches and St. Martin the Grand, who claim to be privileged in this and other matters. The chancellor also appoints a Master of Arts to the Grammar School, and is bound to keep the Grammar School in proper repair. He is chief custodian of all school-books in the country. The Grammar School master writes or gets written the table of readings as vice-chancellor, when necessary. He attends choir in a proper habit and himself reads the first lesson, and hears and corrects at least the lesser persons, who are going to read. Also according to custom he holds disputations on dialectic (logic) and philosophy at St. Bartholomew's on St. Bartholomew's Day, and determines [i. e. sums up and gives judgement] on the disputations at Holy Trinity [the Priory in Aldgate, the Prior of which was *ex officio* an Alderman of London].' Contemporary and later documents at St. Paul's show that when the schoolmaster changed his title for chancellor he ceased to teach the Grammar School himself, and confined himself to the Theological School. This more clearly appears in documents at York, where, moreover, there is still a window of about 1330 in the nave, which shows Robert of Ripplingham the Chancellor, who was an ex-Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, sitting in his chair in a blue robe lecturing in his Theological School. So little was it the case that the Grammar School was a Choristers' School, that the Almoner of St. Paul's, to whom in 1263, and perhaps earlier, the custody of the choristers was assigned in a house provided for the purpose and called the Almonry, made in the Almoner's Register, still extant, in the fourteenth century, this entry: 'If the Almoner does not keep a clerk to teach the choristers grammar, the Schoolmaster of St. Paul's [i. e. the Grammar School master] claims 5*s*. a year for teaching them, though he ought to demand nothing for them, because he keeps the school for them, as the Treasurer of St. Paul's once alleged before the Dean and

Chapter is to be found in ancient documents.' In this probably the Treasurer was romancing, or he would have produced the documents. The very fact that in the fourteenth century the master claimed pay for teaching the choristers is sufficient proof that at all events the school was not confined to them; they were not even an important part of it, being only eight in number, afterwards raised to ten.

Owing to the destruction of Chapter Act-books at St. Paul's there are no notices recoverable of the Grammar School between these statutes and Colet's day; though some have transpired from other sources, such as, from the Oxford University Register, the taking of a degree in Grammar by the Schoolmaster of St. Paul's in 1449, and from the public records evidence of organized attacks on the monopoly enjoyed by the three privileged London schools in 1393 and 1446.

At York and Lincoln, on the other hand, where the Chapter Act-books exist from 1307 and 1304 downwards, a stream of notices of the Grammar School and of the Song School appear. The former have been published by me in a volume on *Early Yorkshire Schools* in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's Record Series. From the latter a summary of relevant extracts appears in the *Victoria County History of Lincolnshire.* The most interesting items which emerged at York, were that a York historian, himself formerly the *Scholasticus* or schoolmaster, writing about 1137, asserted that the first Norman archbishop had established a Schoolmaster before he established a Dean or Precentor; that the third Norman archbishop was educated in the school; that a separate endowment consisting of £5 a year charged on the Pentecostals, or fees paid at Whitsuntide when processions from all the churches in the diocese attended at the cathedral, the mother-church, was given to the school between 1154 and 1181; that about 1190 the Schoolmaster changed his title to Chancellor and thenceforth confined himself to teaching theology only; and that in 1289, when the old school-house was demolished for the extension of the present nave, the Chapter provided a new school at their own expense. It was stated in 1307 that the Chancellor was bound to appoint to York School an M.A. to hold office only for three years unless by special grace extended to a fourth year, and that he also appointed all the Grammar School masters throughout the Chapter's jurisdiction. In 1344 the Chancellor was arraigned by the Chapter for not appointing a Grammar School master, and excused himself on the ground that the late master had gone off to a monastery to become a monk, but had not finished his year of novitiate and so might return; an entry, important as showing that so far from the schoolmasters being normally

monks, to become a monk was *ipso facto* a disqualification for being a schoolmaster. In 1368, owing to the scarcity of M.A.'s caused by the Black Death and other plagues, the Chancellor appointed and the Chapter confirmed a master for life instead of for three or four years. In 1369 an advocate of the Court of York gave 2*d.* apiece to sixty poor scholars of the Grammar School, selected by the master, to say, not sing, the psalter at his funeral—showing a large school, since sixty and those poor were to be selected. Between 1426 and 1472 three successive masters of the Grammar School were married men. In 1535 a return was made to the Ecclesiastical Commission that, as the monks said, from the time of William Rufus, St. Mary's Abbey, close by the cathedral, had maintained a boarding-house under a lay tutor for fifty poor scholars (not monks or novices) who attended the Cathedral Grammar School. Finally, in 1557 Cardinal Pole in substitution for this annexed to the Chapter of the Cathedral a decayed hospital for poor priests to maintain fifty boarding scholars, after the model of Henry VIII's cathedral of the new foundation at Canterbury, and the endowment of this hospital still forms the main endowment of the school. It is noteworthy that throughout the school is called indifferently the Grammar School of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter of York, or the Grammar School, or the School of the City of York; that the Precentor maintained a distinct Song School; and that while the Chancellor put down by excommunication any schoolmaster setting up a school which infringed the monopoly of the Cathedral or City Grammar School, the Precentor did the same to any one interfering with the monopoly of his Song School.

At Lincoln, where the school occurs in some statutes sent in 1232 as a precedent for the new cathedral at Elgin, similar assertions of the monopoly of the Cathedral Grammar School by the Chancellor and of the Song School by the Precentor are found from 1311 downwards. By an odd chance I found William Wheatley, the first Lincoln master whose name is known, through one of his books, a commentary on Boethius, being at New College, Oxford. It contains two hymns addressed to St. Hugh of Lincoln, which 'a certain young clerk [himself], master of Lincoln Grammar School in the year 1316, composed for a play on Christmas Day, in which year there was great scarcity and mortality among men and animals, intending to comfort himself and others in their misery'. So the production of plays by schoolmasters, of which the Westminster Play to-day is the only survival, was equally prevalent in the fourteenth as it had been in the twelfth

and was to be in the sixteenth century. In 1329, the Chancellorship being vacant, the Chapter appointed masters to no less than six grammar schools in Lincolnshire, Barton, Partney, Grimsby, Horncastle, Boston, and Grantham, and two years later at Stamford and Bourne in addition. At Lincoln as at York the scarcity of M.A.'s produced by the Black Death made itself felt, and in 1351 the Chapter appointed one John Muscham Grammar School master, subject to the condition that if an M.A. should come along and ask for the school he should have it, as by custom the teaching of the school belonged to an M.A. In 1349 a boarding-house for six scholars attending the Grammar School was established by the Chapter out of the surplus funds of a chantry for five priests established by Lord Burghershe to pray for the soul of his brother, Bishop Burwash; and forty years later Bishop Buckingham made like provision for two more boys in his own chantry.

But the most illuminating entry at Lincoln is that which appears in the Chapter Act-book in 1406, a copy of which heads the Liber Albus of the city begun by a mayor of Lincoln in 1480.

The attendance of the choristers at the Grammar School was then as now a difficulty owing to the conflict between their choir and their school duties. As early as 1263 the twelve choristers at Lincoln had been placed under the charge of a clerk in a boarding-house. In August 1389 the Chapter, apparently for the first time, appointed a pedagogue or tutor to teach the choristers grammar. A month later they appointed one Henry of Repham, who a year before being 'undermaster and secondary of the high (*magnarum*) grammar school of Lincoln' was acting as master of the Cathedral or City Grammar School in the absence on pilgrimage of the master, to the new office of master of the choristers, the master of the Grammar School having meanwhile returned.

On 23 December, 1406, new masters were appointed both to what is called 'the general grammar school of the city of Lincoln' by the Chancellor and to 'the grammar school of the college of choristers' by the Precentor, who bestowed on the latter the title of Informator, generally confined to grammar school masters *par excellence*.

The former was Mr. John Bracebridge (Bracebrigg), M.A., who had in 1390 been appointed by the Chapter to the mastership of Boston Grammar School, so that he was a man of some scholastic experience and standing. The latter was Thomas Prescot, priest. This formal appointment of a choristers' school master as a rival to the master of the ancient school evidently produced remonstrances. For after the Christmas holidays, on 8 January, 1406–7, the Chapter

ordered that the choristers and their commoners (*commensales*) should go down to the general grammar school as had been customary in past times. A week later, 15 January, they agreed that the master of the choristers and their teacher (*petagogus*) might admit commoners, and might teach relations and boys of the canons in the school (*scolis*) of the college freely (*libere*), but that boys from outside leaving the general school, whether they belonged to the city or to the country round, he was on no account to admit or teach, but to remit and send them to the general school, and the choristers and commoners were to go down to the general school whenever the precentor and their teacher thought it expedient.

This ruling was, apparently, so far as it admitted any one but the choristers to the choristers' grammar school, an innovation, and as such was resented by the city, by the grammar school master, and by the chancellor. On 12 February, 1406–7, a Chapter Act, headed 'Ordinance of the grammar school', states that 'after a treaty (*tractatu*) between the chancellor and the mayor and citizens on one side, and the precentor and the dean and chapter on the other, as to the government of the choristers' grammar school in the close, and the admission and reception, as well of outside scholars and others as of the choristers and commoners with them, in derogation of the rights and regimen of the general grammar school of the city, on the complaint of Mr. John Bracebridge (Bracebryg), the master, this and previous disputes were capitularly ended'. The pedagogues or teachers (*petagogi seu informatores*), or masters of the choristers, were to be at liberty 'to teach grammar to the commoners with them, also to the relations (*consanguineos*) of the canons and vicars of the church, or those living at their expense and charity, or dwelling in their family, on every day and time at which lessons are given, freely and quietly without opposition, on condition that once in each of the Michaelmas, Christmas, and Easter terms, they are bound to go down at the ordinary and accustomed hour to the general school under its own master, and at these times to be under the teaching and chastisement of its master, unless of his own free will some other arrangement is made'. Otherwise the masters of the choristers and others above named were to be exempt from all punishment, demand (*exaccione*), or payment of collection or salary (*collecte seu salarii*), and all other charges usual in such schools, and were privileged from the obligation of attending the same general school of the church of Lincoln except on the three occasions specified. But no others were to be admitted to the choristers' school. Every one else, whether living in chantries, or outside or inside the close, who wanted to learn, was bound to go

down to the general school, unless by voluntary arrangement of the chancellor and head master (*principalis magistri*) of the school.

Most interesting is the way in which the ancient school is spoken of indiscriminately as 'the school of the church' and 'the school of the city', as the 'great grammar school', 'the general grammar school', and the 'public school'. Curious is the evidence of the separation already existing between the dwellers on the mountain and the plain, uphill and downhill, which still plays, or did till quite lately, no small part in Lincoln politics, educational and other. The remarkable fact that the chancellor's school, the ancient cathedral school, was down in the city and not up in the close, strongly suggests that the school was older than the cathedral, and was there before Remigius built the cathedral on the hill by the Norman castle.

A similar though not so continuous or interesting stream of notices of the grammar and song schools is found at Wells, beginning with a deed witnessed by Peter of Winchester, schoolmaster, between 1174 and 1185. At Hereford an entry of the appointment of a grammar school master by the bishop in 1384, when the chancellor, a non-resident Italian, had failed to make one, often cited as the foundation of the school, clearly witnessed to its previous existence, which also appears in 'Customs' of the thirteenth century.

Collating the evidence from the various cathedrals, it is clear that the proposition is justified that every cathedral was bound to maintain a grammar school; and, conversely, that a grammar school as well as a song school was a part of the foundation of every cathedral of the old foundation. This means that in the greatest towns of England—for the cathedrals were planted in what at the time were the chief towns—public grammar schools were provided by law: and were carefully looked after by the Chapter and efficiently maintained to the satisfaction of the town.

If the Chichester case established the doctrine that grammar schools were an integral part of cathedrals, the Southwell case showed that the same was true of collegiate churches. Indeed, the older and greater collegiate churches, such as Beverley and Crediton, were little less than subsidiary cathedrals. At Southwell Minster, which in 1548 is expressly called *sedes archiepiscopalis*, an archbishop's see, the Archbishop of York's cathedral for Nottinghamshire, there were fortunately three ancient records, the Liber Albus, a chartulary begun in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, ancient statutes in an Elizabethan copy, and a Chapter Register beginning in 1470. A statute of 1248 shows that schools were very ancient there, as it provides that 'No schools of Grammar or of Logic shall be held on

the prebends of any of the canons except according to the custom of York'. Until 1830 Nottinghamshire was in the diocese of York. The Liber Albus contains a more informing document of 1238, in which an absentee canon or prebendary of Normanton, Stephen, Cardinal Priest of St. Mary across the Tiber, by his proctor compromised a legal dispute with the Prior and Convent of St. Catharine of Lincoln, the owners of Newark Church, over the patronage of Newark School. It was settled that the Prior might present to the Canon of Normanton a clerk fit to instruct boys in the art of grammar, and the Canon was to admit him; and if the Canon or the Chapter wanted him removed for neglect of duty or other good cause, the Prior was to remove him and present another. In the margin of this entry is a note in a fourteenth-century hand, 'that whereas the patronage of all grammar schools throughout the archdeaconry of Nottingham [which was coterminous with the county] belongs wholly and solely to the Prebendary of Normanton in the collegiate church of Southwell as chancellor of the church, notwithstanding the pretended agreement as to the patronage of the grammar school of the town of Newark exists, it cannot be of any authority, as appears from its tenor which errs in many points'.

The Chapter Register of 1470 supports this note. It shows the chancellor of the church acting as supervisor of all the schools of the county and also exhibits Southwell Grammar School itself at work. Thus we find the chancellor, John Danvers, prebendary of Normanton, on 20 November, 1475, presenting his beloved son John Barre to the grammar school of the town of Southwell then vacant; and the Chapter, 'finding him fit and able in character and learning', admitted him. So on 8 September, 1477, on the presentation of the same chancellor, the Chapter admitted Thomas Blackburn, B.A., to the school of the town of Nottingham; Thomas Lacy having been removed for negligence after trial duly held. On 5 May, 1485, Sir Robert Harcourt was on the chancellor's presentation admitted to Newark School; the foundation of which, by the way, existing, as we have already seen, in 1238, was attributed by all the historians and the Schools Inquiry Commission to the year 1532, when Archdeacon Magnus gave it new endowments.

For the first ten years of his mastership Master John Barre must have done his work diligently and effectively. In the searching visitations of the Minster held by the residentiary canons every three years and reported in the Register, during which every variety of complaint against the inferior members of the church is put forward, from adultery and attempted murder to breakfast

before Mass and excessive blowing of the nose in choir, no word is said against him. On 31 July, 1484, a charge is recorded which is of itself enough to blow out of the water the accepted view of the medieval school. It is: 'Note generally. The ministers of the church do not attend the grammar school. The grammar master does not attend during the prescribed hours to the teaching of his scholars in school, and often gives indiscriminate remedies to his scholars on whole school days, so that for the time they learn nothing, spending their parents' money for nothing; and they do not talk Latin in school but English.' 'Remedies,' by the way, does not mean black draughts or anything medical, but is the word still in everyday use at Winchester for an extra holiday not being a holy-day—*remedium laboris*. The complaint as to the ministers of the church shows that the school was not a mere choristers' school, for a specific complaint is made as to three clerks of the church by name that they 'do not attend the school scarcely throughout the year', and these clerks were young men from eighteen to twenty-four on their promotion to be priests.

It has been long known, from injunctions to the Fellows of Merton in 1290 and otherwise, that graduates and undergraduates at the University were expected to talk Latin even at dinner; but it was a revelation that the same requirement, which is quite incompatible with their learning nothing but elementary grammar, reading, and singing, was imposed on schoolboys. It is delightful to find, too, that the complaint that the boys spend their parents' money in learning nothing at school is at least four hundred years old; and that the requirement of talking Latin was as hard to enforce then as that of talking French is found to be in young ladies' schools now.

At the same visitation one of the priests of the many chantries established in the Minster made a complaint against the schoolmaster which shows how it came about that in spite of frequent orders in the canon law that schools should be free, fees were in fact charged. A chantry, it may be remarked, was merely an endowment to sing masses for somebody's soul to get him out of purgatory, with generally a little chapel either built on to the church or an enclosure inside it, to do it in. There were fifteen chantries at Southwell and fifty at St. Paul's. William Barthrop, priest of the chantry of St. Cuthbert at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, otherwise called Booth's chaplain, founded to pray for the soul of Archbishop Booth, complained that Barre received £2 a year for teaching the grammar school and did nothing for it nor shared it with him, though he had the burden of teaching grammar for him. It is not clear whether Barthrop was usher or deputy master, but probably the latter. For when he died

twenty years later one of the vicars choral claimed to be presented to the chantry he vacated, but at the request of the Chapter waived his claim so that they might give it to one Sir William Babyngton on condition of his teaching the grammar school; and they made an order on Barre, who was still nominally master, to pay Babyngton half his salary of £2 a year, for devilling the mastership. The smallness of the sum accounts for the fact that the school was not free. No doubt the sum had been fixed in the thirteenth century, when the value of money was much greater and the school probably was free. As the value of money fell the stipend became inadequate and was eked out by fees.

It is a curious fact that the endowment of the chantry thus converted into an educational endowment is still applied as such. Babyngton held office and taught the school from 1505 to 1540, when the Minster and all the chantries were surrendered to Henry VIII, to be re-established by Act of Parliament three years later. But it was dissolved again and the chantry endowment confiscated to the Crown in 1548 under the Chantries Act of Edward VI. When Guildford Grammar School became one of the so-called Free Grammar Schools of King Edward VI by being chartered and additionally endowed in 1553, the endowment of the Southwell chantry was made part of its endowment; because it consisted of a rent-charge of £13 6*s*. 8*d*. on the manor of Battersea, which had belonged to the Archbishops of York, and so was payable to the same Crown Receiver for Surrey as the rent of another chantry, of Stoke d'Abernon, also made part of the school endowment. Four years later, when Nicholas Heath was made Archbishop of York and Chancellor by Queen Mary, Southwell Minster was re-established as a collegiate church by a collusive action in the Exchequer, which adjudged that it had never been dissolved. The judgement set out all the property belonging to it, but did not include the chantry, which was a separate corporation and was undoubtedly dissolved under the Act even if the Minster itself was not. Heath tried but failed to make the Guildford Corporation, who were governors of Guildford Grammar School, surrender their charter and restore the chantry to Southwell. So he then actually falsified the record of the Court and withheld the £13 6*s*. 8*d*. from the school, according to the Town Clerk of Guildford, who wrote a history of the school in 1596. I could hardly believe this, though it was recited in an Act of Parliament under Elizabeth, until I looked up the original (K. R. Mem. Roll 339, Easter, 4 & 5 Ph. & M., Communia, Roll xx), and lo and behold, in one place three lines had been erased and a statement of the chantry income written

in, and in four other places words referring to the chantry property interlined. The holy father had deliberately committed forgery and fraud. In 1562 the chantry endowment was restored to the school by a Private Act of Parliament obtained by the Corporation of Guildford. The rent-charge was duly paid by the St. Johns, to whom the manor of Battersea was granted by the Crown, and their successors until about ten years ago, when an attempt was made to stop this 420-year-old payment by challenging proof of the lands on which it was charged, but it was defeated through knowledge of the historical facts just related.

Meanwhile, Southwell Grammar School itself was endowed with a payment of £12 a year charged by Edward VI on the Minster property, continued when the Minster was restored.

Further to elucidate the case of Southwell School the cases of the sister collegiate churches of Beverley and Ripon were investigated, and in both of them ample evidence found of the maintenance of a Grammar School as part of the foundation of the church under the governance of the chancellor of the church. At Beverley in particular a Chapter Act-book or minute-book, preserved at the Society of Antiquaries, beginning in 1286, was found to contain copious entries showing the school in full working, more than one of which was highly illuminating as to its status and entirely disproved the allegation that it was a choristers' school. For in 1312, when Master Roger of Sutton, rector of Beverley Grammar School (*rector scolarum gramaticalium Beverlacensium*), wished to restrict the number of the chorister boys in the school to seven, which was the original number both of canons and choristers, and make all the choristers beyond that number pay fees (*salarium*), the Succentor, the Precentor's deputy, contested the matter. The Chapter, after a full inquiry from the oldest members and having considered the ancient customs of the church, decreed that all the choristers should be admitted free, but the Succentor was not to defraud the Schoolmaster by colourably admitting boys to wear the choristers' habit in choir for the sake of getting admitted free. This book and the Southwell Register proved so interesting that I spent a great deal of time in copying out and printing them both, one in a Camden Society's volume and the other in a Surtees Society's volume, and if any one wants to see the sort of morals and manners that prevailed among the priests and clerics of the ages of faith, he cannot do better than read these somewhat racy records. At the collegiate church of Warwick, in 1316, a contest, somewhat like that at Beverley, took place. It was a contest between the Grammar School

master and the music master as to the Donatists and petties learning their letters and the psalter, which should have them, and, of course, the fees arising from them. After due inquiry it was held by the canons that the grammar master should have the Donatists, those learning their Donatus or elementary grammar as far as the parts of speech, as well as those learning the art of grammar and dialectic or logic; but the music master might teach and inform those learning to read, the psalter music and singing.

This comparative study of these and other collegiate churches made me realize and propound that a grammar school and a song school were integral parts of the foundation, inseparable accidents of every collegiate church as well as of every cathedral church. This proposition indefinitely extended our estimate of the number of schools in the country. For almost every borough and town of any size, as well as some quite small places from which some eminent ecclesiastic, especially such as had come to high office in the Court of Chancery or the Exchequer or the diplomatic service, had come, possessed such churches. Before the completion of their dissolution in 1548 there were well over 200 of them scattered about the country, providing secondary education in their grammar schools, as well as elementary education and musical training in their song schools, for all and sundry and not merely for their choristers or sucking priests, to an extent not only undreamed of by those who have dabbled in the history of education, but to an extent far greater than was provided in post-Reformation England till the end of the seventeenth century. Moreover, an examination of the colleges of the Universities showed that they too were essentially collegiate churches, in which the educational part instead of being subsidiary and secondary was primary and predominant; or as I have ventured to put it, while the collegiate church generally was *ad orandum et studendum*, the university college was *ad studendum et orandum*. So ingrained apparently was the idea that a collegiate church or college should keep a grammar school, that the two earliest Oxford colleges, namely, Merton and Queen's, provided besides education for the fellows, who sat in the place of canons in the college church, also grammar schools for boys, at Merton for 12 founder's kin, at Queen's for a possible 70 boys. With the foundation of Winchester College in 1382 (not 1387 or 1393 or any other of the years vaguely and erroneously assigned to it by the Rev. William Hunt, President of the Royal Historical Society, and others), the University type of collegiate church was extended beyond the University, and the education of boys in grammar, not of men in arts, made the principal object. Wye

College, Kent, in 1432, Eton College in 1440, Acaster College, Yorkshire, *c.* 1460, Jesus College, Rotherham, in 1480, and Cardinal College, Ipswich, in 1528, were among those founded in direct imitation of Winchester. In the three last mentioned the further step was taken of making the schoolmasters fellows of the college and not merely stipendiary officers. This would have enabled education to share in the rising revenues of the colleges and the growth in the value of money, whereas alike in the old and the new cathedrals and at Winchester and Eton, the governing body divided the increase among themselves and the masters were left with their statutable £10 or £20 a year, long after such sums had become merely nominal payments. Another feature of the later colleges was that there was a disposition shown to extend the subjects of instruction. At Acaster and Rotherham, besides the two masters of grammar and of song there was added a third master of writing and arithmetic, the earliest known anticipation of the writing-master who became common in grammar schools in the eighteenth century and onwards. At Acaster this third master was 'to teach to write and all such things as belonged to Scrivener craft'. At Rotherham the founder, Archbishop Rotherham, one of the earliest scholars of King's, nominally admitted to Eton for the purpose of election, said that 'as Yorkshire produced many youths endowed with the light and sharpness of ability, who do not all wish to attain the dignity and elevation of the priesthood, that these may be better fitted for the mechanical arts and other worldly matters, we have ordained a third fellow learned and skilled in the art of writing and accounts'. At Rolleston in Staffordshire, founded in 1520 by Bishop Sherborne of Chichester, an old Wykehamist and New College man, elaborate instructions were given for the conduct of the school, even to the *preces* or prayers copied from those of Winchester. Among them the master was directed 'to press on the clever boys so that they may act as pupil teachers to teach small boys the alphabet and first rudiments of grammar, while the stupid, lazy, or those in human judgement incapable of learning [i.e. classical learning] he is to sharpen as far as he can by reading, writing, and casting accounts, lest they should seem to have come to our school for nothing'. Alas! for two centuries this school has taught little else than the three R's, because Sherborne was unable at the moment to find lands available for its endowment, and instead gave it a rent-charge of £10 a year only, the salary of the head masters of Winchester and Eton at the time. In the same spirit Wolsey directed that the boys of his magnificent college at Ipswich were to be taught to write Roman hand, and the first master in 1528 sends Wolsey specimens of their

writing, 'who as they now write so I hope they will soon be able to speak Italice, as they ought'. Wolsey was introducing the modern round Roman hand which he himself wrote instead of the crabbed Gothic script of the older generations, such as even Cranmer wrote and which German kultur still preserves. The contrast may be excellently seen in the draft charter re-founding Sedbergh school, signed by Edward VI and the Protector Somerset in a bold round hand legible by anybody to-day, while Cranmer and the Chancellor and two bishops sign in the medieval characters, much neater-looking in a way, but illegible to any one not trained in the old handwriting.

But to revert to the collegiate churches. The study of them revealed that they were divisible historically into two distinct classes. There were the ancient ones which, like Southwell, Beverley, and Warwick, were of immemorial antiquity, for most of which no foundation deeds are forthcoming; and another set of later date, beginning in the second half of the thirteenth century, in which, if not the foundation deed, at all events the royal licence in mortmain or papal bull or other documentary evidence of date is discoverable. An interval of from 100 to 150 years separates the two classes, during which very few, if any, collegiate churches were founded and scores were destroyed. The great interest of the first class was that they mostly dated from before the Conquest. Thus Southwell was imputed to King Edgar, and Ripon and Beverley were definitely traceable to King Athelstan, while Warwick, Stafford, Bedford, Derby, Crediton, and others appear in Domesday Book or are otherwise shown to be of Anglo-Saxon origin.

In the case of Warwick we have definite evidence that in Saxon times as in later times the church maintained the school of Warwick. This is contained in copies of documents belonging to the year 1123 contained in the fifteenth-century chartulary of the college fortunately preserved at the Record Office. The first of these is a deed poll of Earl Roger of Newburgh, who became Earl in 1123, addressed to his faithful people of Warwick: 'Know that I have granted and given in alms for myself and my ancestors to the church of St. Mary of Warwick the school of the same church of Warwick that the service of God in the same church may be improved by being frequented by scholars. We order therefore that the said church may hold it quietly and freely and that no one may by any violence take the school from the church.'

The Earl is evidently speaking of an existing school. Now St. Mary's was only in course of being made into a collegiate church by Earl Roger's father Henry, the first Norman earl, made

such by William Rufus. For the church appears in Domesday some thirty-eight years earlier, as possessor of a hide of land only (120 acres), and a single hide would not have supported a college of canons, and there are deeds extant of Earl Roger's father granting prebends to St. Mary's as new gifts. But there was in the castle of Warwick an earlier collegiate church of All Saints, the canons of which must have appealed to the Crown against the Earl's action in taking away the school from them and handing it over to the new college. For there is in the chartulary a royal writ headed 'King Henry's confirmation of customs and the ordeal of iron and water and school of Warwick'. Addressing the Bishops of Worcester and Chester (between whose sees Warwickshire was divided), the Earl and the Sheriff and all barons of the county, the King said: 'I order that the Church of All Saints of Warwick have all its customs and the judgements of iron and water as well and justly as it used to have them in the time of King Edward and my father and brother, and in like manner the school.' The upshot was that Earl Roger, who wanted to clear the collegiate church of All Saints out of the castle, instead of starving it out illegally, proceeded legally. With due royal and episcopal licence he transferred the canons of All Saints with their own consent to St. Mary's and united the two churches and their possessions there. In the long deed by which this is done, dated in 1123, the possessions of the united church are set out, including 'the School of Warwick'. Here then is proof positive that our Saxon ancestors, decried as they were by their Norman slanderers and conquerors, as uncivilized beer-drinkers, very much as the Germans now are covering their own barbarities by charging the Belgians with acts of barbarism, maintained schools in connexion with collegiate churches. There is no evidence when this church of All Saints was founded, but as it was evidently ancient with established customs in the days of Edward the Confessor, there is every reason to suppose that it was one of the series of churches planted by Ethelfled and her brother King Edward the Elder in the land of the Mercians, in the great series of boroughs erected in the course of their conquest of the Danes, the erection of which appears to be commemorated by the great church seen on some of Edward's later coins. If so, it dates from the year 914, in which, according to the Saxon Chronicle, the Lady built a burh towards the end of harvest at Warwick.

We have an authentic account of the foundation on 3 May, 1060. by Queen Edith's brother, the last English—and he was half Danish, —king Harold, when he was Earl, of a school at Waltham, Essex,

attached to and forming part of the collegiate church of the Holy Cross. The church had been built by Tovi the Proud, at whose wedding-breakfast King Harthnacnut got drunk and died, with endowments for two clerks or secular priests. To them Earl Harold added eleven others, 'wise, learned, selected from the commons or carefully chosen from the highest in the land. Among them was a certain Dutchman (*Teutonicum*), Master Athelard, born at Liège, brought up in the school of Utrecht, who came to him by a divine and unexpected gift, that he might establish in Waltham church the laws, statutes, and customs, both in ecclesiastical and in secular matters, of the churches in which he had been educated, since he [Harold] had heard from many people that the Dutch churches were governed by most carefully devised rules. So if anything needing punishment or rebuke arose among the clerks it was punished by the Dean or Master Athelard himself, mere excess by a sharp word, breaches of order by the birch, and serious offences even by deprivation of the prebend'. The story is told by one of the canons, who was driven out of his canonry when in 1177 Henry II converted the college into a priory of Augustinian canons as a cheap way of fulfilling his vow to found monasteries in expiation of the murder of Thomas à Becket. The expelled canon had been nominated a canon at the age of five by Queen Adaliza, in whose gift the prebends were, and was fostered in the church for fifty-three years. So that he knew it from 1123. He says he had no doubt that what had been customary in the times of his predecessors had lasted down to his own day. For 'the first rudiments of learning he was sent to Master Peter, the son of Master Athelard, the organizer of the Church'. The fact that Master Peter was the son of Master Athelard is one of the many instances which show that marriage, which the monks chose to call *luxuria* or *lechery*, was the real crime for which the secular canons were superseded in the twelfth century by regular canons, as under Dunstan they had been superseded in the tenth century by monks. The canon gives a striking picture of the school under Master Peter: 'A most copious spring of learning and instruction flowed from that Peter, after the Dutch fashion, for besides reading and the composition of letters and verses, singing was no less learnt and practised in the church; and a well-devised difference from the usual habit of boys was, that they walked, stood, read, and chanted, like brethren in religion [i. e. monks], and whatever had to be sung at the steps of the choir or in the choir itself they sang and chanted by heart, one or two or more together, without the help of a book. One boy never looked at another, when they

were in their places in choir, except sideways, and that very seldom, and they never spoke a word to one another; they never walked about the choir to carry copes or books or for any other reason, always remaining in the choir unless sent on an errand by the master. As if walking in procession, from school they go to choir, and on leaving the choir go to school, like canons getting up in the night [for service].' Such good little boys were surely never seen before or since.

The Dutch practice of combining the grammar and the song school was in fact old-fashioned and retrograde compared with the English or Frankish method, which separated the grammar from the song school; and fortunately for learning, the Dutch method did not prevail.

It might, however, be objected that all that these instances show is that in the reign of Edward the Confessor there were schools attached to the collegiate churches. This objection can be easily met by citing St. Dunstan, usually credited to a monastic school at Glastonbury, whereas in point of fact a Life of the saint written within twenty-five years of his death, by a Saxon from the Continent, speaks of Glastonbury, not as a monastery, but as a church, so ancient that it was regarded 'as not built by any human art' perhaps because it was of Celtic architecture. Here his parents sent Dunstan, who was born about 925, to school, or, as the pedantic biographer puts it, 'as a student in the sacred leisure of letters (*sacris litterarum otiis*)', a characteristic translation of grammar school, which shows that the writer knew that the original meaning of school (σχολή) was leisure. 'In which God deigned to give him such grace that he excelled all his contemporaries, and easily outstripped them in the easy course of his studies. Then seeing the excellence of their son, his parents imposed on him the tonsure,' not of the monks but 'of the clerkship or clerical order, and made him a fellow in the famous college of Glastonbury Church (*inque famoso Glastoniensis ecclesiae sociaverunt coenobio*)'. There he extended his studies even to 'books of Irish pilgrims, who visited it as the burial-place of Patrick junior, which books, philosophizing on the path of the true faith, he diligently studied, as also those of other wise men'—a somewhat long-winded way of saying that he read theology. In 943, having in the interval contemplated matrimony, he returned to Glastonbury as its head, 'the king leading him to the priestly' (not, be it observed, monkish) 'chair'. Here he had many clerks (not monks) as pupils, conspicuous among them being Ethelwold, destined to succeed Dunstan as Bishop of Winchester, who, according to his pupil and biographer Ælfric, 'after some years spent at the king's court was tonsured and went

to Glastonbury as a clerk and there learnt grammar, music, and theology'. It was only after Dunstan's exile in 955, when he fled to Flanders and there imbibed the Benedictine rule, that he converted Glastonbury from a college into a monastery, and built the monastic buildings and imported monks.

Ethelwold himself afterwards taught the school of Winchester, when Winchester Cathedral was still a college of secular canons, as it was when Alfred sent one of his sons to school there, as told in Asser's Life. Since after the elaborate special pleading which Mr. Stevenson has expended in asserting the authenticity of this Life, he admits that it is so self-contradictory and in conflict with known facts that it is at the best an unfinished draft, the Life must be adjudged to be a historical romance, a piece of hagiography, written, as its only MS. is admitted to have been written, about the year 1001. It is therefore really evidence only of what a writer of that date thought probable about Alfred.

After giving an account of Alfred's children so inaccurate that it could not have been written by a contemporary, he says: 'Ethelward the youngest of all . . . was sent to the grammar school (*ludis literariae disciplinae*) with nearly all the children of noble birth and many also not noble, under the diligent care of masters. In that school (*scola*) books in both languages, Latin and Saxon, were read continually. They also had leisure for writing, so that before they had strength for manly arts, namely hunting and other pursuits proper to gentlemen, they were seen to be studious and clever in the liberal arts. Edward and Elfthryth were brought up in the King's Court with great care on the part of their male and female tutors and governesses. But even they were not allowed to pass their time in the worldly pursuits proper to those of noble birth, without a liberal education. For they diligently learnt the psalms and Saxon books, and especially Saxon poems, and very often use books [now].' Mr. Stevenson comments on the school to which Ethelward was sent: 'It is evident that this was not a school in the modern sense, but that it resulted from Alfred's causing the young nobles who were brought up, according to custom, in the Court, to be educated with his own children, and that he had added a sprinkling of promising youths of lowly origin.' But this is a mere *parti pris* assertion. The words used are the appropriate words used long before and long after this time for sending a boy to a grammar school. The very words *traditus litteris*, or *scolae*, are the stock phrase used of Augustine of Hippo, of Ordericus Vitalis, of William of Wykeham, and of scores of medieval saints and bishops.

The words *ludi litterariae disciplinae* can only be construed as grammar school. The very point of the passage is the contrast between the elder children who were brought up at Court and only learnt English and studied English literature, and the youngest son who was sent to school to learn Latin.

Ælfric, who in 995 wrote his famous English-Latin grammar, mainly a translation of Priscian, and his still more famous Latin-English Colloquy or First Latin Book a year or two later, was probably in the school shortly before Ethelwold in 964 turned out the canons of Winchester and put in monks. He shows us that it was no mere song school. 'I Ælfric,' he begins, 'as not very learned, have been zealous to translate these excerpts from the smaller and larger Priscian into your tongue, my little boys, so that when you have read through the eight parts of Donatus, by this book you can implant both tongues, Latin and English, in your tender years till you come to more advanced studies. I know many will blame me for having occupied my mind with such studies, as turning the art of grammar into English, but I intend them for lessons (*lectionem*) for ignorant small boys, not for their elders.' Many, he proceeds, will blame this simple translation, as there are many ways of construing the same passage, 'but let any one say what he likes about it, I am content to do it as I learnt it in the school of Ethelwold, the venerable prelate, who taught many for their good'. He then expresses his wonder that some pronounce words like *pater* and *malus* short in prose, because they are counted short in verse. 'To me it seems better to invoke God the Father honourably with a long syllable than to make it short like the Britons, as God is not subject to the art of grammar.' This is a very ancient jest, first told by Suetonius, in the opposite way, of a grammar school master who, when the Emperor Tiberius made a mistake in grammar and a courtier said, if it was not Latin it would be, replied, 'Not so, Caesar; you can naturalize men, but not words'. Gregory the Great in the preface to his *Moralia* apologizes in advance for any bad grammar by saying that he considers it below the dignity of the subject 'to keep the language of the divine oracles in subjection to the rules of Donatus'.

The Colloquy shows that the school was neither elementary nor monkish. It begins by representing a mixed lot of boys, headed indeed by a young monk, but including ploughboy, shepherd, fisherboy, huntsman, merchant, and so on, ending with a baker, coming to the master and asking to be taught to speak Latin. They then, by way of getting a copious vocabulary, are each made to give an account

of their day and their occupation. After all have told their tales the 'wise counsellor' of a neighbouring monastery is called in and asked which occupation is the first and best. He determines formally in favour of the monk, on the authority of the dictum 'seek first the kingdom of God'. But he decides really in favour of the ploughman, who provides food, the *sine qua non* of society. At this all the rest cry out that their work is equally necessary, and an interesting debate follows, in which they all give reasons. The debate is wound up in scholastic style by the counsellor, who determines by a sort of compromise that every one does good who does his own work well. 'Oh, all you good fellows and good workers, let us end this dispute and have peace and harmony among us, and let each help the other by his craft, and let us all meet at the ploughman's, where we find food for ourselves and fodder for our horses. And this is the advice I give all workmen, that each of them should do his work as well as he can, as the man who neglects his work is dismissed from his work. Whether you are a priest or a monk, a layman or a soldier, apply yourself to that, and be what you are, as it is a great loss and shame for a man not to be what he is and what he ought to be.' The children are asked how they like the speech, and say, 'Very much, but what you say is too deep for us and beyond our age'. The youthful monk is then interrogated as to his life. He relates how he gets up at night to sing nocturns, sometimes of himself if he hears the bell, but often he is woken up by the master with his 'yard': how he eats meat and has good dinners, and drinks beer, or water, but not wine, because he is too poor to buy it, and wine is 'not for children but their elders and "wisers"'. Asked if he was flogged to-day, he says, 'No, for I held me warily'; asked whether his fellows were flogged, says, 'Why ask me that? I cannot open our secrets. Each one knows whether he was flogged or not'. Finally, the master advises the young monks to behave discreetly, to sing in tune 'and go out without disorder to cloister or school (*gimnasium*)', which is translated '*leorninge*'.

Proceeding backwards we find the veritable Alfred the Great a hundred years earlier, about 893, putting forth a programme of general education in the preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. 'If we have peace,' he says, 'all the free-born youth of England who are rich enough shall be set to learning as long as they are not fitted for any other occupation, and further, let those who afterwards will continue in learning, learn Latin and go to a higher rank.' It is not a violent inference, therefore, that the colleges of priests established in the boroughs, the building of which,

as Professor Oman was the first to point out, was begun by Alfred and imitated by his children, Ethelfled and Edward the Elder, all kept grammar schools, and it is certain that these schools were on precisely the same lines as those we find in the same places in the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. Moreover, the provision of these schools was only carrying out the canon law. In a Council held by Pope Eugenius II in 826 complaints were made that in some places no masters or endowment for a grammar school (*studio literarum*) were found, and it was therefore ordered that all bishops should bestow all care, and diligence should be taken that masters and teachers should be established among their subjects [i.e. apparently cathedral cities] and in other places, to teach assiduously grammar schools and the principles of the liberal arts, because in these chiefly the commandments of God are manifested and declared.

In England at least there is evidence that the bishops already did their duty to education. Thus we have an account of the school of York, about a hundred years earlier, from Alcuin, who has become famous, not as he ought to have been for his mastership of York School but for his translation to the Teutonic Court of Charlemagne.

Alcuin's own education has been credited to Bede, and he has been dubbed a monk. But there is not the smallest authority for this. He was a secular clerk, a pupil of the secular clerk Archbishop Ethelbert. In his poem 'On the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York' he recounts 'the doings of my own master Albert the wise, who took the insignia of the venerable see of York, after Egbert, and was ruler, doctor, defender, and pupil of the Church'.

'Bear with me for a while, I pray, ye youth of York, while I proceed with poetic steps to treat of him, because here he often drenched your senses with nectar, pouring forth sweet juices from his honey-flowing bosom. Fairest Philosophy took him from his very cradle and bore him to the topmost towers of learning, opening to him the hidden things of wisdom. He was born of ancestors of sufficient note, by whose care he was soon sent to kindly school, and entered at the Minster in his early years that his tender age might grow up with holy understanding. Nor was his parents' hope in vain; even as a boy as he grew in body so he became proficient in the understanding of books. Then pious and wise, teacher at once and priest, he was made a colleague of Bishop Egbert, to whom he was nearly allied by right of blood. By him he was made advocate of the clergy, and at the same time preferred as master in the city of York.

'There he moistened thirsty hearts with diverse streams of teaching and the varied dews of learning, giving to these the art of the

science of grammar, pouring on those the rivers of rhetoric. Some he polished on the whetstone of law, some he taught to sing together in Aeonian chant, making others play on the flute of Castaly, and run with the feet of lyric poets over the hills of Parnassus. Others the said master made to know the harmony of heaven, the labours of sun and moon, the five belts of the sky, the seven planets, the laws of the fixed stars, their rising and setting, the movements of the air, the quaking of sea and earth, the nature of men, cattle, birds and beasts, the divers kinds of numbers and various shapes. He gave certainty to the solemnity of Easter's return; above all, opening the mysteries of holy writ and disclosing the abysses of the rude and ancient law. Whatever youths he saw of conspicuous intelligence, those he joined to himself, he taught, he fed, he loved; and so the teacher had many disciples in the sacred volumes, advanced in various arts. Soon he went in triumph abroad, led by the love of wisdom, to see if he could find in other lands anything novel in books or schools, which he could bring home with him. He was received everywhere by kings and princes as a prince of doctors, whom great kings tried to keep that he might irrigate their lands with learning. But the master hurrying to his appointed work, returned home to his fatherland by God's ordinance. For no sooner had he been borne to his own shores, than he was compelled to take on him the pastoral care, and made high priest at the people's demand.'

Almost as if to demonstrate in advance the false claims of the monastics, he tells us that at the end of his life Ethelbert retired to a sequestered cloister. Between his two pupils Eanbald and Alcuin 'he divided his wealth of different kinds: to the one, the rule of the church, the ornaments, the lands, the money; to the other, the sphere of wisdom, the school, the master's chair, the books, which the illustrious master had collected from all sides, piling up glorious treasures under one roof'. And then follows the far-famed catalogue of the York Library, from Virgil, Statius, and Lucan, through the Latin Christian poets Sedulius and Juvencus to the native works of Aldhelm and Bede. What need of any further witness of the intellectual advancement of our English ancestors?

A century further back than Bishop Ethelbert of York, and passing over the Greek Archbishop Theodore, wrongly credited with founding the school at Canterbury, we come to the earliest account of the foundation of a school in England, told by Bede.

'At this time, after Redwald's successor Erpwald, Sigebert his brother presided over the kingdom of the East Angles, a good and

religious man; who some time before, while in exile in Gaul, flying from the enmity of Redwald, received baptism. After his return home, as soon as he obtained the throne, wishing to imitate what he had seen well ordered among the Gauls, he set up a school in which boys might be taught grammar. He was assisted therein by Bishop Felix, who came to him from Kent, and provided them with pedagogues and masters after the fashion of the Canterbury folk.'

The date of Sigebert's foundation is fixed to the year 631, by Bede's latest editor, Mr. C. Plummer. If by 631 Canterbury School was famous enough to be taken as a model for a new school to be founded on approved Gallic models, by whom could it have been founded except by Augustine, when King Ethelbert endowed the first English bishop and first English Cathedral in 598?

The whole of Western Europe had been Romanized first and Christianized long afterwards. Hence the Roman service had been naturally performed in the Roman, which had become the official, if not the vernacular, tongue. When the barbarians in successive hordes invaded Gaul they adopted the language as well as the religion of the conquered. It never seems to have occurred to St. Augustine or Gregory the Great that in this respect England differed from Italy and from Gaul; that, in a word, England was no longer Britain. Augustine therefore imported and was successful in imposing on the English the Roman ritual and the Roman religious books in 'the veray Romain tongue', as Dean Colet called it, as it was spoken, or supposed to be spoken in the days of St. Paul, of Jerome, and of Gregory.

To do this, the missionaries had to come with the Latin service-book in one hand, and the Latin grammar in the other. Not only had the native priests to be taught the tongue in which their services were performed, but the converts, at least of the upper classes, had to be taught the elements of grammar before they could grasp the elements of religion. They could not profitably go to church till they had first gone to school. So the grammar school became in theory, as it often was in fact, the necessary ante-room, the vestibule of the church.

A need for Latin was not confined to the church and the priest. The learned professions required a competent knowledge of Latin far more directly then than now. The diplomatist, the lawyer, the civil servant, the physician, the naturalist, the philosopher, wrote, read, and to a large extent spoke and perhaps thought in Latin. Nor was Latin only the language of the higher professions. A merchant, or the bailiff of a manor, used it for his accounts; every town

clerk or gild clerk needed it for his minute-book. Columbus had to study for his voyages in Latin; the general had to study tactics in it. The architect, the musician, every one who was neither a mere soldier nor a mere handicraftsman, wanted, not a mere smattering of grammar, but a living acquaintance with the tongue as a spoken as well as a written language.

Hence, while from the very first schools were a necessary part of the Cathedrals, of the missionary and mother churches in the capital cities, and of the collegiate churches in the county and borough towns, so as population spread and new towns sprang up, the churches of which, founded as manorial or rural churches only, made no provision for secondary education, new schools were needed.

So from the fourteenth century onwards there were added to the partly ecclesiastical, partly and mainly educational foundations of the country, by people who were not great enough or rich enough to found whole colleges of priests, ecclesiastics who only attained to archdeaconries or canonries instead of bishoprics and chancellorships, and as time went on, by well-to-do laymen, mayors, merchants, and the like, chantries attached to parish churches. A chantry was the endowment of one or more priests to sing masses or services for the soul of the founder and such of his friends and benefactors as he chose to specify, to get it or them out of purgatory. Generally, but not always, a chapel was built, either an independent building, or more commonly an appendix to, or merely an enclosure in a larger church, in which these services were to be performed. Not having enough work to occupy his whole time the chantry priest was frequently given other duties to perform, e.g. to act as curate to the parish priest, or assistant in the choir of a collegiate church. Fairly often, the duty thus added was that of teaching, two priests being founded to sing for the soul of the founder, and teach respectively a grammar and a song school, or in small places a single priest to teach grammar, or grammar and song, or singing and reading. Of about 2,500 chantries that were dissolved in the first year of Edward VI, probably not less than 10 per cent., or upwards of 250, were also schools, or perhaps it would be more correct to put it that in that number of cases the schoolmaster was also chantry priest. He did not as a rule teach in the chantry, but a schoolhouse, generally in or near the churchyard, was built for him to teach in.

A good specimen of this is the Grammar School, still surviving, of Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, founded two years after Winchester College by Katharine Lady Berkeley

by a deed and statutes which echo the language of William of Wykeham. For Katharine, like Wykeham, 'closely and attentively considering that the purpose of many wishing to be taught grammar, which is the foundation of all liberal arts, is daily diminished and brought to naught by poverty and want of means', therefore caused her two chaplains to acquire lands and newly build a schoolhouse in Wotton for the habitation and maintenance of a master and two poor scholars in the art of grammar, to teach all scholars coming to the same house or school for instruction without taking anything for their pains from the scholars or any of them. John Stone, priest, M.A., was admitted as first master with two 'poor and needy clerk-scholars' (*scolares clerici*, the words used at Winchester), who were to act as pupil-teachers under him for six years. A precisely similar school was founded by subscription in 1390 at Bredgar in Kent; where the brass of Sir Thomas Coley, 'formerly Warden of the college of Holy Trinity of Bredgar, who died 5 December 1518', may still be seen. The school has completely disappeared.

At Wotton the master was to pray for the soul of Lady Berkeley and her deceased lords and others. An inquiry held by the Court of Chancery in Elizabeth's reign gives a rather pathetic picture of the chantry part of the business. Several 'old boys' testified how in the days of 'old Sir Robert'—Robert Caldwell, B.A., the last Catholic master, appointed in 1511—they used to assist him in his masses, and found it a very popular and profitable incident of the foundation. They helped 'in his masses especially in the parte of the *Confiteor*, and in the *Oramus pro animabus*. When he came to the *Memento* then they that helped in the said masses did take to their master a libell or paper wherein was the names of such dead persons sett downe as their frendes or kyndred desired there should be prayed and remembered in the said masses, for every of which named they gave a penney, the odd penney whereof this deponent or his fellows most commonly had. Theire saide master standing before the altar and the waxe tapers that were allwayes kept burninge standinge thereupon, also this deponent and his fellows in their surplices kneeling there one on the one side of the said master and the other on his other side uppon 2 cusheyns which were theire left'. Another old 'old boy' said that 'it was thought to bee a place of good learninge, and a kynde of frendship to the parents to have their children admitted to help the preiste especiallie upon All Souls day when was remembrance of souls most cheifly and in the richest robes'. The boys, learning the Latin in which the remembrance was made, 'made their fathers and mothers a great deal the more to esteeme of

him and his masses' . . . 'for that the best sorte of the schollars did soe by turnes', and there were commonly twenty or thirty boys in the school who stayed seven or eight years 'and were then placed abroade'—an interesting piece of evidence, by the way, that the school was not only or mainly for intending clerics but for lay boys. Sir Robert, though he was over sixty on the dissolution of chantries, continued to hold office till Queen Mary's time. He was rather a naughty old gentleman, but wily. 'He kept him only to the schoole all King Edward's days as much as his troubles would give him leave, being much questioned about keepinge a yonge woman secretly in the schoole house.' So no wonder the Chantry Commissioners report him as 'being unweldy, and neither mete in desciplyne nor behavioure'. The masses were 'restored againe in Q. Mary's time not longe before he dyed'. His popularity was witnessed to by a yeoman aged eighty-seven, 'at whose buriall this deponent was amongst a great many other people and all or moste of his scholers'.

It is strange that though most of the results now given have been published in *English Schools at the Reformation* and in the *Victoria County Histories*, scholars of eminence, particularly it would seem at Cambridge under the influence of their local University historian, continue to assert that all these schools before Edward VI were schools of no moment and gave nothing which could be called a liberal education.

Mr. Bass Mullinger, the historian of Cambridge University, laid it down in *Social England* in 1892: 'We hear but little concerning schoolboy life in mediaeval times, but that little is generally unfavourable. . . . The average attainments were limited to reading and writing, to which in the cathedral schools there were added chanting and an elementary knowledge of Latin.' Sir Richard Jebb repeated this long after its falsity had been demonstrated in *English Schools at the Reformation*, in the *History of Winchester College*, in *Early Yorkshire Schools*, and other works—in the *Cambridge Modern History* in 1902: 'The schools of the monasteries and those attached to the cathedrals alone tempered the reign of ignorance. The level of the monastic schools was the higher. In the cathedral schools the training was usually restricted to such rudiments of knowledge as were indispensable for the secular clergy, viz. reading, writing, arithmetic, and elementary music.' No evidence was adduced that the level of the monastic schools, confined as they were to the monastic inmates, was the higher. The evidence, as in the case of York and St. Paul's, is all the other way. However, the Rev. T. A. Walker, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of

Peterhouse, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* in 1908 repeats the same misstatement with added error: 'The early education of the generality of English youths in the Middle Ages was found in a school attached to some cathedral or convent. In the old grammar schools reading, writing, and elementary Latin constituted, with singing, the subjects of instruction. The "litel clergeon, seven yeer of age", of *The Prioress's Tale*, learned in school "to singen and to rede, as smale children doon in hir childhede". He had his primer. A schoolfellow translated and expounded for the inquiring child the *Alma redemptoris* from the antiphoner of an older class. The prioress, doubtless, here indicates the teaching of the conventual schools of her day.'

Thus, the whole of the schools of the Middle Ages, that is, from 450 to 1550, are judged and condemned by the standard of a small song-school described in a fifteenth-century work of fiction. Chaucer makes it perfectly clear that the 'litel schole' on the borders of the Jewry which, though said to be 'in Asie', is manifestly drawn from London or Lincoln, was not a grammar school, but a song, or elementary school, and, so far from being a 'conventual school', in a cloister or monastic precinct, was at the bottom of the open Jewry Street in the middle of 'a greet citee'. There were 'children an heep'

> That lerned in that scole yeer by yere
> Swich maner doctrine as men used there,
> This is to seyn, to singen and to rede,
> As smale children doon in hir childhede.

The 'litel clergeon' (*clericulus*), seven years old, sat 'in the scole at his prymer', i. e. learning his A B C, learning to spell and read, and heard his elders singing the *Alma redemptoris*. He asks the elder to 'expounden this song in his langage', 'and preyde him to construe it'. The elder boy says he has heard that it meant to invoke the aid of Our Lady, but he could not tell him any more.

> I can no more expounde in this matère;
> I lernè song, I can but smal grammère,

which means that he learnt singing, but no grammar, and simply learnt the music and the words, without understanding them, as the little clergeon himself then proceeded to do,

> . . . til he coude it by rote,
> And then he sang it wel and boldely
> Fro word to word, according with the note.

This is almost worse than the claim put forward by another Cantabrigian, a Fellow of Trinity, Mr. John Kerr, an ex-inspector

of schools to boot, in his *Scottish Education*, published in 1910, of the superiority of the position of the Scotch over the English schoolmaster, and of Scotch over English schools, even in point of antiquity, proved by Ayr Academy being 150 years older than Winchester, the oldest of the most famous English schools. Even if he had not taken the trouble to look at the history of Winchester and its grammar or high school under Alfred the Great and Ælfric, which was the subject of a suit before John of Salisbury in 1154–1158 and to which King John sent a royal ward in 1205, he might at least have heard of Canterbury under Theodore and York under Alcuin, ages before Ayr made its first bow in the arena of history.

How can these misrepresentations be repeated by one writer after another, when the smallest consideration must show their impossible absurdity ? For if the schools were nothing but choristers' schools to teach psalm-singing, where did people like John of Salisbury or Alexander Neckam, Wycliffe and Chaucer, Skelton and Wolsey, get the education which enabled them to write the books which still remain to show us their skill in writing Latin prose and Latin verse, their literary powers, their ability and wit, and their knowledge, not only of the Scriptures, but of classical authors ? It may be said they got them, not at school, but at the university. But a university, that is, a school of the higher faculties for grown-up or growing men, could not flourish if it was fed only by schools in which boys had learnt nothing more than to stumble through a few psalms.

We need not, however, press the general argument. It is enough to quote one single passage descriptive of the schools in the capital of England, which has been in print in English for at least 300 years in one of the best known and most quoted of Elizabethan books, John Stow's *Survey of London*, published in 1596, and should have saved Mr. Mullinger and his congeners from the absurdities current on this subject. This is the famous *Description of London* with which William Fitzstephen, cleric and judge, prefaces his biography of his former master, Thomas à Becket, speaking of the first quarter of the twelfth century.

'In London,' says Fitzstephen, 'the three principal churches have famous schools privileged and of ancient dignity, though sometimes through personal favour to some one noted as a philosopher more schools are allowed. On feast days the Masters celebrate assemblies at the churches, arrayed in festive garb. The scholars hold disputations, some argumentatively, others by way of question and answer. These roll out enthymemes, those use the forms of perfect syllogisms. Some dispute merely for show, as they do at collections ; others for

the truth which is the grace of perfection. The sophists and those in training in sophistry are pronounced happy because of the mass and volume of their words ; others play upon words. Those learning rhetoric in rhetorical speeches speak to the point with a view to persuasion, being careful to observe the precepts of their art, and to leave out nothing that belongs to it.'

So much for the elder scholars. Their feats in logic and rhetoric have been thought to show that the schools of London at this time were really a teaching university, eight centuries in advance of our new one. The mention of 'collections', the term still in use at Oxford for the college examinations at the end of term, might be supposed to point the same way. The medieval school term ended, as church services end now, with a collection, for the benefit of the presiding genius, the schoolmaster. School fees, like barristers' fees, were *honoraria* and supposed to be voluntary offerings, and 'collections' came to be a sort of Speech Day, at which the pupils showed off their accomplishments; and they, or their parents, bestowed their bounty on the master.

Rhetoric and logic, however, were not then university subjects, but school subjects, and were begun at a much earlier age than now. With grammar, rhetoric and logic formed the *trivium*, which was the domain of the grammar school, while the *quadrivium* with theology and law became the domain of the university. A London University might, however, well have been developed from these three schools, as one had just been developed at Paris from the two schools of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and the collegiate Church of Ste. Geneviève. If London had been the political capital only, as Paris was, and the courts of law had settled there and not outside it at Westminster, and if it had not been the chief port and commercial emporium of the country, its schools might have run the same course as those of Paris, and Oxford would never have been the seat of our chief university. As it was, commerce proved more lucrative and attractive than learning. Though the mention of philosophy shows that there were scholars of the University age and type at the London schools in 1118, they were probably in the minority. The stress laid on rhetoric suggests that the elder scholars were no older than the boys in the top forms of St. Paul's School now.

At all events, besides the votaries of philosophy and logic there were the younger pupils, those under fourteen, who only in the strict language of the time were called 'boys', whose studies were purely grammatical. They 'hold contests in verse, or pose each other on the principles of grammar or the rules of preterites and supines. Others in epigrams, rhymes, and metres use the old street eloquence,

with Fescennine licence scourging their schoolfellows, without mentioning names; hurling abusive epithets and scoffs at them: with Socratic salt girding at the failings of their fellows, or perhaps of their elders; and in bold dithyrambics biting them with the tooth of Theon.' 'The audience ready to laugh with crinkled noses double their shrill guffaws.' The last words are a quotation from Persius by this twelfth-century author, who, according to the theory we are demolishing, had only learnt at a choir-school to stumble through the Psalms. But the whole passage is a satire on that sort of notion of our ancient schools. It demonstrates, in a way the more effective that it is incidental, and not written for the purpose of educational advertisement, that they were giving precisely the same kind of classical education as the great public schools gave in the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and perhaps even more effectively.

Nor were athletics and games neglected in these schools. Every year on Shrove Tuesday, the Carnival, 'to begin with the boys' games, for we were all boys once', says the learned judge, 'all the boys in the schools bring their game-cocks to the masters', and the holiday is devoted to looking on at the cock-fights in the morning, after which in the afternoon the whole youth of the city goes into the 'suburban level', as he calls Smithfield, for 'a solemn game of ball', presumably football. 'Each school has its own ball'; and nearly all the holders of civic offices each provide one. 'The grown-up people, the fathers and rich men of the city, come on horseback to see the struggles of the young, and in a way grow young with them'; and get hot with excitement, by looking on at so much exercise, and sharing the enjoyments of the free-born youth. We are also told how, when it froze, the boys and the whole population went out and skated on Smithfield marshes on those bone skates of which many specimens may be seen in the British Museum and at York. 'On summer evenings,' on the other hand, 'the schoolboys and other young men of the city go out to take the air at the three principal suburban springs, where the transparent stream goes bubbling over the bright pebbles, namely Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's Well', just as the modern youth resorts to the river at Richmond or Hampton Court. Clerkenwell, in particular, took its name from this resort of the clerks or scholars, just as did the Pré aux clercs at Paris, the Smithfield of that city.

If it be said that this is all very well for London and the twelfth century but is no criterion for smaller places and later times, let us pass to Oxford and the thirteenth century. At uncertain dates between 1264 and 1306 divers statutes were made for the grammar

schools at Oxford, where, as in the schools of arts and theology, there was no monopoly and any number of schools were allowed. One of these statutes provides that no one shall teach (*legat*) grammar without the Chancellor's licence, nor get that licence without being first examined and found fit in verse-making and writing prose (*de modo versificandi et dictandi*) and in books (*auctoribus*), 'lest the saying of Isaiah might apply, "thou hast multiplied the people but hast not increased joy".' On being licensed the masters were to swear to be diligent in teaching their scholars, and not for greater gain let them run about outside the school or play in school, and to teach them good conduct as well as learning. Every fortnight the boys were to be set verses to make, and letters to compose 'in fitting terms, not in six-feet-long words and swelling phrases, but in succinct clauses, apt metaphors, clear sentences, and as far as may be, full of good sense'. These verses and letters the boys were to write on parchment on the next holiday, and on the next school-day to recite them by heart to the master and give him what they have written. The masters were also to make them observe the rule in Latin or in French according to their status, i. e. to talk either in Latin or in French according to their age and advancement. This is an apt illustration of the passage in Higden's *Polychronicon*, written in 1327, commenting on the corruption of the English language. It 'comes to-day', he says, 'chiefly from two things, viz. that boys in school, contrary to the custom of all other nations, since the first coming of the Normans, abandoning their own tongue are compelled to construe in French; and also that noblemen's sons from their very cradles are taught the French idiom; and country men, wishing to be like them, that so they may appear more respectable, endeavour to Frenchify themselves with all their might'.

If it be said Oxford, the seat of a University, is no guide for smaller places, turn we to St. Albans, an important royal borough at one time, but later overshadowed and stifled in its growth by the abbey. St. Albans was the seat of a school already famous about the year 1100.

Geoffrey, abbot in 1119, 'was summoned while still a secular from his native Maine by Abbot Richard (who became abbot in 1097) to keep the school at St. Albans. But when he arrived the school had been granted to another master, as he did not come in time. He taught school (*legit*) therefore at Dunstable, while waiting for St. Albans school, which was again promised him. There he made a play of St. Katharine, which we call, in the vulgar (i.e. French) tongue, a miracle play (*miraculum*). To present it more gorgeously,

he borrowed some choir copes from the sacrist of St. Albans. The following night Master Geoffrey's house was burnt down by accident, with his books and the borrowed copes. So not knowing how to repair the loss to God and St. Alban, he offered up himself as a burnt-offering to God and took the religious habit in the house of St. Alban. And this was the reason why after he was promoted to be abbot he was so diligent in making precious choir copes for it.' Here then we have incidental evidence, not only of a school at St. Albans, kept, of course, by a secular, and as there is ample evidence in later times to show, not in the abbey but in the town, but also of a school at Dunstable in Bedfordshire, another royal borough, which was afterwards granted to a monastery.

The school of St. Albans appears again in about 1164 as the school in which its most famous master, Master Alexander Neckam, punningly Latinized as Nequam, had been taught as a boy and himself taught as a man. A school-book of his, *De Utilensibus*, a Latin-French word-book, written no doubt for the boys of St. Albans, has been printed. Neckam was born at St. Albans in September 1157, on the same night as Richard I was born at Windsor, and his mother became wet-nurse to the king. Neckam was himself brought up in St. Albans School.

> Hic locus etatis nostre primordia novit,
> Annos felices leticieque dies.
> Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
> Artibus, et nostre laudis origo fuit.

> St. Albans knew me when I was a boy,
> Those years of happiness and days of joy.
> The liberal arts St. Albans taught me then,
> The first beginning of my fame 'mongst men.

Thence he went to Paris, though he tells us he did not like the rough sea, and he knew his Paris well, where he was a slender pillar of the school of Little Bridge, i. e. Adam du Petit-Pont, also an Englishman.

> Scarce any place is better known than that,
> Where as an arch of Petit-pont I sat.

In the encyclopaedic fashion of the day,

> There faithfully I learnt and taught the arts,
> While reading Scripture added to my parts;
> Lectures on canon law and medicine,
> On civil law, too, I did not decline.

Neckam's coming somewhere about 1185 to be schoolmaster of St. Albans school is the subject of a rather untranslatable anecdote. For Alexander Nequam having taught school for a year at Dunstable,

asked urgently for the school of St. Albans, and Abbot Warren (1183–95) invited him in this terse and witty letter: 'If you are good, you may come; if bad, by no means come' (*si bonus es, venias, si nequam nequaquam*). To which Alexander wrote back equally tersely and wittily: 'If you wish it I will come, but if not, pardon me' (*si velis, veniam, sin autem, tu autem,* after which we must suppose *veniam* understood), as if he had said, 'I don't much care'.

Neckam was master till about 1195, when he retired to a monastery. He became Abbot of Cirencester in 1213 and died 31 January 1216–17, and his effigy in stone lies in the cloister of Worcester Cathedral, where he was buried.

The next master was Warren, nephew of Abbot Warren, who is recorded as having been himself, before taking the habit, a secular well known both for his literary attainments and his good looks. Warren sen. with his brother Master Matthew, who had been well trained in medicine at (the University of) Salerno, and their nephew Master Warren and two of their pupils and companions, Fabian and Robert of Salerno—a curious example of the cosmopolitan character of the Universities of those days—'warned by a special and spiritual vision, vowed to take the habit of religion of St. Albans'. All did except the nephew, Master Warren, and 'he fulfilled by an honourable life what he lost in the habit', and died a secular at St. Albans, having 'taught the school in the borough of St. Albans for many years, than which there could scarcely be found in England any school better or more fruitful, or more useful to or fuller of scholars, and this, Master Nequam, who had preceded Warren in teaching it, saw and bore witness of'. The mention of the school as being in the borough, and of Warren as remaining a secular and keeping the school, shows that, here as elsewhere, the school was not a monastic school in the sense of being in the monastery or taught by monks.

About 1286 Master Richard of Nantes gave a new school and master's house on Hokerhill in the town of St. Albans to the scholars and their successors (as if they were a corporate body) for the use of poor scholars for a grammar school there to be held and kept freely and quietly for ever; in trust that 'whoever shall be master of the scholars of the said school for the time being shall take no fees (*contribucionem*) from the sixteen poorest scholars of the said school, but the same sixteen poorest scholars shall, as regards the master aforesaid, be wholly quit of all fees; but the rest of the scholars shall pay fees to the aforesaid master according to ancient custom'. The fees were probably 4*d.* a term, if the payments for the Merton College Grammar School boys may be cited as evidence.

On 16 September, 1309, new statutes were made for the school, in consequence, no doubt, of some dispute. They were 'issued with the unanimous consent of the Master and all the Bachelors', and were confirmed with the seal of the Official (i.e. the official principal or chief ecclesiastical judge of the liberty) of St. Albans, and reduced to a 'Public Instrument' by 'William Henrison of St. Albans, Public Notary'. The statutes run in the name of the master himself, who is described as 'by lawful prescription competent judge of the rights of the Grammar School of St. Albans'.

'In the name of God. Amen. The master forbids any one hereafter to enter the school, unless his name has been placed on the Master's Register (*matricula*). If he does, he shall be turned out and not enjoy the privileges of the school.'

The next articles of the statutes also concern the bachelors, and very interesting they are:

'The master, on pain of excommunication hereby pronounced, forbids any one henceforth to take or attempt to take a bachelor's place, except such as have studied in a University or can prove their status by legal proof. Also if any one wishes to ascend to the degree of bachelor he must take a proverb from the master and make verses, letters, and a rhyme (*versus, litteras, rithmum*) on it and read them publicly in school (*in scolis*) unless the master shall graciously relax any of these requirements, and must offer 6*d*. or more according to his means on the Sunday of St. Nicholas (the Sunday nearest to 6 December); otherwise they shall not enjoy the privileges of bachelors. Potations and other customs of this sort are to remain in full strength. Also the master forbids any one, bachelor or other, whoever he may be, to keep a seat in school, without licence, on pain of excommunication, unless he has first been examined by those whom the master [has deputed] to examine him in grammar rules, and he shall have been ready publicly to answer in school on them and other matters brought forward against him, and have done so.'

A century later the part played by the chantry priests in education with the recognized distinction between the curriculum of the song or elementary school and the grammar or secondary school is exemplified in the small market-town of Saffron Walden in Essex.

On 23 December, 1423, Sir John Bernard and William Brynge, chaplains, were summoned before John Hatfield, abbot of Walden, to show why and on what authority they practised the exercise of teaching small boys of Walden, and instructing them in the alphabet, the graces, and other higher books, without asking or obtaining leave from the abbot, though they had previously been reproved for their

presumption in doing this, and though according to the statutes and customs of the monastery the faculty of granting and conferring schools on grammar masters in the town of Walden and preferring masters to such schools belonged wholly and solely to the abbot and convent. The two chaplains confessed their offence and submitted themselves to the abbot, who interdicted them from teaching any boys of Walden in the alphabet or graces or other higher books. But eventually, on the instance of the vicar and the approved and more substantial men of Walden then present who wished their boys to be taught the alphabet, they were allowed to teach one boy of each inhabitant the alphabet and graces but no higher books. This passage was misread by Lord Braybrooke in his *History of Audley End* into a statement that Greek (*alphabeticis graecis*) was already taught in Saffron Walden School, forty years before Grocyn learnt Greek at Oxford: while a learned lady was barely prevented from citing the correct version of *graciis* for *graecis* as evidence of a school of deportment, the cultivation of airs and graces by the middle classes of Essex in the fifteenth century. The 'graces' in question were the graces before and after meat, usually included with the alphabet in primers and horn-books. The higher books belonged to the grammar school. The licence granted to the chaplains, who were no doubt the priests of some of the town gilds, was a limited licence, confining them to the function of a song or elementary school master, to teach reading and singing only, and intended to prevent their poaching on the preserve of the grammar school master, whose existence, guessed from this incident, is now capable of exact demonstration, thanks to the researches of Mr. E. and Mr. C. H. Emson. The transcripts by the former from the records, till now tossed about in dust and confusion in the room over the church porch, show 'Walter scolemayster' witnessing a deed in 1401, and a Walter, clerk of Walden, a grantee with others, evidently as a trustee, of land in Walden, while a croft conveyed in 1407 is described as abutting on a messuage of Walter, scolemayster, and others. He is probably the same person who in 1416, 1418, 1425, 1436, and 1440, appears as Walter Payn of Walden, scolemaister, in 1431 as scolemeaster, and in 1447 as Walter Payn of Walden, scolmayster, deceased. Walter Payn then was the master who in 1423 instigated the abbot to suppress the chantry priests who were trespassing on his domain of grammar. Nor was he the first of his tribe. In the Walden Abbey chartulary in the British Museum there appears as witness of many deeds from December 1317 to 20 April, 1337, Master Reginald of the school (*de scolis* and *de scola*) or, as he is more

usually called, Reginald Schoolmaster (*magister scolarum*) of Walden; while in the municipal records from 1342 to 1345 the same person appears as Reginald of Crek, probably Creyk, Norfolk, schoolmaster of Walden. It is probable that both Creyk and Payn drew the deeds they witnessed, as is certainly the case with James Rogerson, who in a deed of 6 July, 1511, in which with a number of others he was grantee of land in the market-place, is described as 'instructor of the grammar school and notary public'.

The darkness of our ignorance of the detailed curriculum in our ancient schools is lightened for us first in 1528 by Wolsey's statutes for his short-lived college and by the Eton time-table, set out for the use of Cuckfield Grammar School, in the same year, and a year or two later by the curricula of Eton and part of that of Winchester as preserved at Saffron Walden.

Wolsey ordered his school to be divided into eight forms, the lowest learning the parts of speech and pronunciation. In the second form the boys were to talk Latin and turn into Latin 'some common proposition, not dull or inappropriate'. Their books, 'if any', were to be Lily's *Carmen Monitorium*, and the so-called Cato's *Precepts*, better known as the *Moralia*. In Form III they were to read 'Aesop, who is wittier? Terence, who is more useful?'—for talking Latin be it understood—and Lily's Genders. In Form IV they went on in Lily's Grammar to preterites and supines, and in authors to Virgil, whose verses they were 'to give out with sonorous voice'. Form V was to read Cicero's *Select Letters*; VI, Sallust or Caesar; VII, Horace's *Epistles*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or *Fasti*; VIII, Valla's *Elegantiae*, Donatus's *Figurae*, and any ancient authors in the Latin tongue, while Terence was to be studied, with lectures on the life of the day, style, and so forth. The boys were also to learn précis-making and to write essays.

At Eton in 1528 Stanbridge's *Accidence* was the first thing learnt, then, 'after repeating the rules the Master shall cause them to make small and easy Latins, proper and such as the children may understand and delight in'. In the second form they read Whittington's Genders and Heteroclites besides doing Latins with the first form. Whittington was the master of Lichfield Grammar School, augmented by Bishop Smith, in connexion with St. John's Hospital there, about 1495. He re-edited and improved Stanbridge's grammar. 'After their breakfast a lecture of Cato after the new interpretation shall be read to them, which they shall construe again at afternoon.' In the third form Whittington's Preterites, Supines, and Defectives were learnt by heart. Their 'books' were Terence,

Erasmus's *Similitudes* or *Colloquies*, and Virgil's *Eclogues*. The fourth form did their ' Latin constructions and other things, except rules, with the third form, to the intent that the better learned may instruct the less learned ' ; ' Their rules were the Regiments of Whittington which he called Concinnitates Grammatices '. In the fifth they learnt the Versifying Rules ; and for books read Sallust, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid's Epistles, and every week made verses and epistles. Horace and Cicero were added to these in the Sixth, which ' have for their rules Copiam Erasmi '. From the ' Rule ' sent to Cuckfield it would seem that there were only six forms at Eton in 1528, but in that sent to Saffron Walden only two years later, seven forms are mentioned both at Eton and Winchester. In some of the great schools in Germany, which were rather universities than schools, and numbered hundreds of scholars, there were nine forms.

The curricula of Winchester and Eton sent in 1530 for the guidance of the newly endowed school of Saffron Walden, printed in my *Educational Charters* (Cambridge University Press, 1911), show the same classical authors read, and prose and verse composition done, with school books of English, French, Italian, German and Dutch schoolmasters in use, demonstrating the open-minded and progressive views of the educational authorities.

The truth is that alike in title and substance the schools of England before the Reformation were much the same as those after it up to 1860. The very term grammar or public school was used indiscriminately, as it was until the nineteenth century, for all grammar schools. The public school dates from Quintilian, the great Roman school author of the first century, who discusses the eternal question whether home education or school education is better ' utiliusne sit inter privatos parietes studentem continere an frequentiae scolarum et velut publicis preceptoribus tradere '. Quintilian himself is described by St. Jerome as the first public school master, because he received a stipend from the Emperor. Vespasian made all the schools of Italy public schools by giving the masters stipends from the public purse. In 829 a Council suggested to the Emperor Lewis the Pious the establishment of at least three public schools to be maintained out of the exchequer instead of by bishops. In England the first use of the word is by the historian of Bury, Carlyle's Abbot Sampson, who, writing *c.* 1180, says King Canute was so charitable that in the cities and town he visited he established public schools (*scolas publicas*), appointing masters and paying them from the fiscus and sending to them to be taught grammar clever boys, including even the freed sons of slaves. The grammar school of

Kingston-on-Thames in 1364 is called *scolas publicas* in a letter from the Bishop of Winchester. At Lincoln in 1437 the clerks of the cathedral were ordered to attend better 'the public school', usually called *generales* or *magnas* (high) school. Eton in 1445, when given a monopoly of grammar school teaching for ten miles round, was called a 'general grammar school'. In Italy the term 'public' became more common at the Renaissance. Vittorino da Feltre's public school at Mantua is called '*publicae*'. In Germany the new universities and schools established by municipalities were called '*Academiae Publicae*', as distinguished from the cathedral schools, which were dubbed by the Reformers '*privātae*'. This distinction was never made in England, where the cathedral and college schools were essentially 'public'. Cardinal Pole in 1558 directs all grammar school masters, 'whether public or private', especially those who in the more famous places keep public schools with salaries, to observe the uniform method of teaching prescribed by the Council. Queen Elizabeth's Council ordered schoolmasters who teach either in public schools or private houses to be examined by the bishops. James I in 1603 forbade any one to keep school except in some publike or free grammar school. In 1626 the school list of Oundle School calls it the Public School of the Grocers Company. New College, Oxford, in 1663, appointing a master of Bedford Grammar School, call it 'the publique Free Grammar Schoole' of Bedford. Bishop Berkeley includes all grammar schools as 'our public schools and universities as nurseries of men for the service of Church and State'. At Sherborne an inscription put up in 1712 speaks of the 'Edwardi Schola publica Sexti'. The modern distinction between the larger boarding schools and other grammar schools was only established as the result of the Public Schools Act, 1865, and that officially speaks of the nine schools included in it, not as 'the public schools' but as 'some public schools'.

Now, though a great deal of information has been collected about our old schools, much more remains to be done before the collection can be considered complete. There are whole counties which still await investigation. Northumberland and Cumberland, Norfolk and Staffordshire, Kent and Dorset, Devon and Cornwall have hardly been touched, and certainly have not been thoroughly examined. One hoped one might trust to local historians. But they are broken reeds. They lavish labour over dead-and-gone monasteries; they pay little attention to the living and often far more ancient schools. Moreover, they cannot be trusted when they do. One zealous local historian found an ancient school in a certain village because

a Preceptor was mentioned in the thirteenth century, and he did not know that the place belonged to the Templars, whose houses were called preceptories. At another place an antiquary of considerable reputation found a notice which in fact gave a very much greater antiquity than had been supposed to an ancient and still flourishing school, a *hypodidasculus* being admitted a member of the gild in the thirteenth century. But as he entered him with some notes of admiration as a 'Master of the Horse', the significance of the entry was not perceived. In another place another local antiquary, finding a *ludi magister* in the fourteenth century, records him as an early playwright or sportsman, director of the play or of sports. We have already noticed the way in which Lord Braybrooke imputed Greek teaching to Saffron Walden in 1423, by misreading *graciis* into *graecis*.

The investigation of the history of education requires an adequate knowledge of Latin and adequate preparation in reading ancient writings. We should not then have people finding 'grand schools' in divers places, through misreading the word 'gram', not noticing the usual twiddle for the 'er'; or putting forward garbled and unintelligible stuff under the impression that they are 'rendering monkish Latin'. It also requires a great deal of persistence and of time. Over and over again have I been told at different places that there was nothing which threw any light on the history of the school and that there were no ancient documents; only to find on opening some old chest in the church, old account-books or old deeds regarded as 'illegible' because in Gothic script, or insignificant because of their small size, which yielded evidence of the antiquity of the school. At one very old town I was told there was nothing at the town hall. I asked to see the muniment-room. It was thick in dust, with ancient documents thrown about on the shelves, floor, and everywhere, in disorder. The first thing I picked up was a fourteenth-century foundation deed of a chantry; the next was a fifteenth-century book of gild ordinances of such value that I printed them for the Selden Society; and the third, a fifteenth-century book of the town governors, containing divers references to the school and showing the schoolmaster acting as chief governor of the town and making the largest contribution of any one to benevolences to the king and taxes for setting out soldiers for the wars.

To get a complete notion of the history of education down to the eighteenth century, not only must the registers of bishops and deans and chapters and the chartularies and deeds of collegiate churches and monasteries be searched, but gild records, city company books, town records, mayors' books, town-court books, and in later times church-

wardens' accounts and minute-books. Education was a matter of public concern to all sorts and conditions of men before the decadence and decay that overtook the schools at the end of the eighteenth and in the early years of the nineteenth century. So the public records also need searching for evidence of schools. I regret to say that several schools have first come to light in assize rolls or court rolls, in the records of prosecutions of schoolmasters for riot, arson, brawling, murder, and theft. The Year-books produce little because schools, as such, were a matter for cognizance by the ecclesiastical and not the secular courts, as was settled in a famous reported case in 1410. But early Chancery proceedings, court rolls of manors, and State papers furnish varied notices of schools.

Besides the need of obtaining more light is the need of shedding the light which has been found. It is a disgrace that we have no work approaching the splendid chartulary of Paris University, of which one volume is before you, due to the industry of a German friar. Even in the fourteenth century Oxford University claimed from the Pope equal treatment with that of Paris, in regard to the recognition of its degrees or licence to teach anywhere and the claims of its masters to ecclesiastical preferment, because Paris University was founded by the English Alcuin and Oxford University was earlier. Without resorting to fictions of this kind, we have educational records in England that put those of Germany or France into the shade. But they remain under a bushel instead of being placed on a candlestick to give light to the world.

Some records were printed in my *Educational Charters and Documents* (Cambridge University Press, 1911). But a small octavo book of 569 pages, covering the whole period from 598 to 1909, though nearly 500 were devoted to the period up to Queen Elizabeth, could give only samples. My *Schools of Medieval England*, published by Methuen & Co. since this paper was written, endeavours to condense all that is known of their early history. But except for the barest references, the Universities were ruled out. Moreover, the series of *Antiquary's Books*, to which it belongs, excludes references to authorities, while the size of the book allowed but scanty excerpts from documents.

An ample and, up to a certain date, exhaustive chartulary of all records illustrating the history of education in all its branches is needed. Such a work is, I submit, a worthy object for the activities of the British Academy.

FIRST ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

CERTITUDE ET VÉRITÉ

PAR M. ÉMILE BOUTROUX

MEMBRE DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE ET DE L'ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES MORALES ET POLITIQUES; MEMBRE CORRESPONDANT DE L'ACADÉMIE BRITANNIQUE

December 9, 1914

LORD BRYCE, MY LORD CHANCELLOR, MESDAMES, MESSIEURS,

En tout temps l'honneur de parler dans cette enceinte m'eût été très précieux: dans les circonstances actuelles, il m'est infiniment cher. Ma présence au milieu de vous, en effet, est une manifestation, entre tant d'autres, de l'accord moral et de la sympathie qui président à la collaboration militaire de nos patries. Non, ce ne sont pas seulement des intérêts communs, c'est la cause de la justice, de la liberté et de la dignité humaine, du droit des peuples, en un mot, de la vraie civilisation, qu'en ce moment nous servons ensemble: digne sujet de fierté pour les nations alliées, et solide motif de confiance dans le succès final.

Pénétrées de ces pensées, l'Académie française et l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques, auxquelles j'ai l'honneur d'appartenir, m'ont donné mission d'offrir à l'Académie britannique leur salut fraternel. J'ai confiance que ce salut sera accueilli dans un sentiment semblable à celui qui l'a dicté, et que vous me permettrez d'assurer à mes confrères de Paris que l'Académie britannique est, dans ces jours tragiques, unie de cœur à nos Académies et à notre pays.

MESSIEURS,

Certitude et Vérité: ne sont-ce pas termes équivalents? Ne disons-nous pas quasi indifféremment: Je suis certain, cela est certain, cela est vrai? Peut-on être réellement certain d'autre chose que de la vérité? Et la vérité, dès qu'elle est perçue, n'engendre-t-elle pas la certitude? Faut-il voir autre chose qu'une subtilité de philosophe dans l'idée de considérer comme un problème la relation de ces deux termes?

Nul doute que les philosophes n'aient parfois créé des problèmes factices. Ils voudraient, non seulement savoir, mais comprendre. Et ce besoin, au fond très difficile à définir, les met à la torture. Mais souvent aussi les concepts, en apparence très voisins les uns des autres, qu'ils confrontent de la sorte, sont comme des statues qui ne s'étonnent pas de voisiner dans un musée, tandis que les originaux, dans le monde des réalités, se combattent et s'entre-détruisent. Considérez les mots: foi et croyance: ils semblent synonymes. Mais ceux qui, dans la religion, mettent la foi au-dessus des croyances ne peuvent s'entendre avec ceux qui posent les dogmes avant la foi. Qui sait s'il n'en serait pas de même de ces mots: 'Certitude et Vérité,' qui, dans le dictionnaire, semblent ne différer entre eux que comme le côté concave et le côté convexe d'une même courbe.

I

Il faut reconnaître que le premier mouvement des hommes n'est pas de se poser ce problème. Dans la vie ordinaire nous nous appuyons sur notre certitude, dont nous avons un sentiment très net, et nous admettons, sans trop nous demander si nous en avons le droit, qu'à une conviction ferme correspond la possession d'une vérité. On entend souvent donner comme preuve d'une affirmation cet argument: 'Je suis intimement persuadé, je suis fermement convaincu qu'il en est ainsi.' En Allemagne, notamment, cette formule revient à chaque instant dans le discours: *Ich bin fest überzeugt.*

Cependant il arrive que des affirmations également énergiques soient, en fait, contradictoires, et, par suite, engendrent des disputes. Alors les hommes s'efforcent de justifier leur certitude par des arguments moins personnels que leur conviction pure et simple: ils cherchent à prouver que leur certitude se fonde sur la vérité. On sait que, dans l'ordre pratique, et spécialement dans l'ordre moral, il nous est souvent très difficile de faire agréer nos raisons par l'adversaire. Enserré dans des arguments dont il ne peut se défaire, réduit au silence, celui-ci, souvent, persiste dans son sentiment, non toujours par obstination, mais parce qu'il croit, de bonne foi, que les objections qui lui sont faites ne portent pas.

La croyance à la valeur propre de la conviction paraît avoir été très répandue au siècle dernier, à l'époque où le romantisme exaltait la vie intérieure, la foi dans l'intuition, comme plus sûre et pénétrante que la démonstration. On ne s'effrayait pas, alors, d'être seul de son avis. On considérait plutôt comme un signe de supériorité, et presque comme un devoir, de penser pour son compte, à sa manière, autrement que les autres. On était fier de posséder des convictions personnelles,

et on mettait son honneur à y persévérer, quelles que fussent les révolutions qui se produisaient dans la société. Et volontiers on trouvait très normal que la plus grande diversité régnât dans les opinions des hommes : à chacun d'eux on reconnaissait le droit de penser par lui-même, et de défendre ses idées par la parole et par la plume.

L'humanité, cependant, ne peut se contenter d'une vie de dilettante. La doctrine de la conviction individuelle, qui, dans les salons, engendre de brillants tournois oratoires, se traduit, dans la vie réelle, par des luttes redoutables, par des révolutions et des bouleversements. D'ailleurs, ne serait-ce pas renoncer à l'idée de vérité, que de tenir une opinion pour légitime, par cela seul qu'elle refuse de s'incliner devant les opinions contraires ?

A une époque d'individualisme succéda, dans le dernier tiers du XIX^e^ siecle, une réaction en faveur de l'unité, de la soumission des intelligences et des consciences à la vérité impersonnelle. Alors se présenta, comme l'expression par excellence de cette vérité, la science, dont la marche progressive et triomphante avait, plus que tout autre phénomène intellectuel, imposé aux esprits le respect et la soumission. En elle, et en elle seule, parut résider la condition nécessaire et suffisante de la certitude, de la cohérence mentale, de l'accord entre les intelligences et entre les cœurs. Nul doute que la proposition $2+2=4$ ne soit également admise par tous les hommes. Le jour où, en toute matière, l'humanité serait en possession de vérités pareilles à celle-là, la certitude individuelle ferait place, infailliblement, à une certitude commune, identique chez tous.

Cette thèse semblait défier la contradiction : l'évènement, pourtant, ne la confirma pas. Déjà, dans le domaine scientifique, et jusque dans les mathématiques, il n'est pas prouvé que le sentiment soit entièrement refoulé par ce qu'on appelle la vérité objective. Mais, dans l'ordre pratique, principalement, l'appel à la science ne suffit pas à mettre les hommes d'accord. Ce n'est pas seulement entre savants et ignorants, c'est entre savants cultivant la même science, élevés sur les mêmes bancs, pratiquant les mêmes méthodes, que l'entente, journellement, apparaît impossible, dès qu'il s'agit de questions morales, sociales, religieuses. Et, finalement, les hommes de science se retranchent, comme les autres, dans leur conviction, dans une certitude personnelle, qui a une autre source que l'évidence scientifique. Il est impossible de soutenir que l'âge actuel, si souvent appelé l'âge de la science, soit caractérisé par une harmonie parfaite et universelle des esprits et des volontés.

Force nous est donc de reconnaître que vérité et certitude sont

moins étroitement liées qu'il ne semble au premier abord. Chercher obstinément la certitude n'est pas toujours un bon moyen d'atteindre à la vérité. Le besoin de certitude est impatient, et il tend à un état d'âme absolu, inébranlable, ressenti comme personnel, même comme méritoire. Mais la vérité est, le plus souvent, très difficile à saisir. Elle ne peut être conquise que peu à peu, partiellement, provisoirement. En sorte qu'à vouloir, quand même, la certitude, on se condamne souvent à tenir pour connu et démontré ce qui, en réalité, ne l'est pas. Réciproquement, celui qui cherche, avant tout, la vérité, dont le caractère est de subsister par soi, et de s'imposer également à toutes les intelligences, est amené à refouler ses impressions et ses désirs individuels, et à se contenter d'une adhésion en quelque sorte abstraite et impersonnelle, toujours imparfaite et toujours modifiable, portant sur des objets très éloignés de ceux qui intéressent notre vie d'hommes ; et une telle adhésion ne ressemble guère à ce que nous appelons conviction et certitude.

Ce sont donc, en réalité, deux choses, et non pas une seule sous deux aspects, que la vérité et la certitude. Et la tâche s'impose au philosophe de rechercher en quoi consiste cette dualité, si elle est radicale et irréductible, ou si ces deux termes, en dépit de leurs différences, sont, en quelque manière, solidaires l'un de l'autre, et capables de s'unir harmonieusement.

II

Une solution du problème qui paraît résulter du travail critique auquel s'est livré l'esprit humain dans les temps modernes est le dualisme, dont Kant a donné une formule remarquablement claire et profonde. Selon cette manière de voir, certitude et vérité sont deux choses radicalement distinctes. Elles relèvent de deux facultés qui, dans l'homme, sont, en quelque sorte, juxtaposées, et qui, au fond, se meuvent dans deux mondes différents : l'intelligence et la volonté.

L'intelligence se rapporte au monde des phénomènes, aux objets qui nous sont donnés dans l'espace ou dans le temps. De ces objets elle détermine les relations constantes et universelles. Elle obtient ainsi un ensemble de propositions qui expriment le fonds permanent des choses données, et qui, par là même, s'imposent, sans contestation possible, à toutes les intelligences. Cet ensemble de propositions répond à ce que les hommes entendent par vérité.

Mais le monde dont cette vérité est l'essence n'épuise pas le réel et le possible. S'il donne à l'intelligence humaine un objet proportionné à sa puissance, il ne contente pas notre volonté, dont l'ambition

est de réaliser un ordre de choses d'un caractère moral, c'est-à-dire fondé sur le devoir et sur la liberté. Le monde de l'intelligence, qui implique des lois toutes mécaniques, géométriquement nécessaires, exclut le genre d'êtres que réclame la volonté. Celle-ci tournera donc ses regards vers un autre monde ; ou plutôt, comme elle ne trouve pas en soi la faculté de voir un monde suprasensible, elle tirera d'elle-même, sinon des intuitions, du moins des certitudes, touchant un monde qui n'est pas, mais qui doit être, qui mérite d'être, et qui sera, si la volonté elle-même est assez convaincue, assez énergique pour le réaliser. Dans cette création, point de vérité donnée, précédant et déterminant la certitude. Celle-ci est première, comme la volonté, dont elle est la forme parfaite. Elle est la cause du devoir, de la liberté, de Dieu, de l'ordre moral. Je veux, dit Kant, la liberté, donc je veux le devoir, l'existence de Dieu, l'immortalité. Peu m'importe que le monde des sens ne laisse à ces objets aucune place. Ma volonté ouvre ou crée pour moi un monde tout autre, que mes sens ne peuvent connaître, mais dont ils ne peuvent contester la réalité.

Ainsi paraît justifiée la juxtaposition, sans pénétration réciproque, de la certitude et de la vérité.

Système clair et commode, auquel, dans la pratique, on fait appel plus souvent qu'on ne pense ; mais qui présente, à y regarder de près, de graves difficultés.

Certes, il serait absurde de contester le caractère hautement moral de la philosophie de Kant. L'auteur de la *Critique de la Raison pratique* et de la *Métaphysique des Mœurs* enseigne très solidement le respect de la personne humaine et la subordination de l'instinct à la raison. Mais, en somme, comme l'a montré le Maître de Balliol, Edward Caird, Kant n'a pas tenu le dualisme pour le dernier mot de la philosophie. Toute séparation était, pour lui, le prélude d'une réunion, qu'il se réservait d'opérer en pénétrant plus avant dans la nature des choses.

Toutefois les recherches dont la *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (Critique du jugement) est le type sont abstruses ; et l'on s'en tient plus volontiers aux formules initiales et dualistes du système.

Or la notion du devoir comme impératif catégorique purement formel, c'est-à-dire vide de tout contenu, dépourvu de toute matière, est d'une application singulièrement dangereuse. Dans la vie réelle on ne peut se contenter d'un vouloir purement formel : il faut nécessairement vouloir quelque chose, il faut insérer quelque matière dans ce moule vide. Mais l'impératif catégorique demeure muet quand on l'interroge sur ce qu'il commande. On est donc amené a

chercher, non plus dans le monde de la volonté, mais dans l'autre, dans le monde visible, le seul que nous puissions connaître, la matière indispensable à la réalisation d'un acte réel. Cependant, les deux mondes, le physique et le moral, sont, par hypothèse, entièrement hétérogènes et indifférents l'un à l'autre. On aboutit, dès lors, à la conclusion suivante: n'importe quel acte, pourvu qu'il soit accompli sous l'idée du devoir, peut revêtir un caractère moral. Nulle moralité ou immoralité ne saurait être attribuée à un acte considéré de son côté visible; seule la forme de volonté dont nous l'affublons le rend louable ou condamnable moralement.

Soit, par exemple, une action que la morale vulgaire taxe de cruauté, telle que le massacre, à la guerre, des enfants, des femmes et des vieillards. Si cette cruauté est purement animale, elle est indifférente. Si elle est indisciplinée, elle est coupable, en tant que violation de la discipline. Et si elle a été ordonnée par l'autorité légitime, si c'est une cruauté disciplinée, *eine zuchtmässige Grausamkeit*, c'est un acte juste et méritoire. Le philosophe lui-même, le moraliste le plus sévère prononcera qu'il en est ainsi, parce qu'en morale c'est la certitude seule qui fait la vérité, et que la certitude, ici, a pour objet unique la forme de l'action, à l'exclusion de sa matière.

Telle est, en ce qui concerne la certitude, la conséquence funeste d'une séparation radicale de la certitude et de la vérité. La notion de vérité n'est pas moins gravement atteinte. Comme tous les modes d'existence qui se rapportent à la volonté sont, ici, éliminés du monde de la vérité objective, le monde visible où nous vivons, la nature, au sens ordinaire du mot, apparaît comme entièrement étrangère à la morale. La forme morale n'est plus qu'un vêtement de luxe, qui, à l'occasion, s'y superpose du dehors. Comme le monde de l'intelligence et des lois naturelles, dans cette doctrine dualiste, se suffit et est impénétrable au monde de la volonté, il serait absurde de demander à l'homme, en tant qu'il fait partie du monde visible, de pratiquer autre chose que l'obéissance aux lois qui gouvernent ce monde. On est, dès lors, amené à faire deux parts de la vie humaine. D'un côté, c'est une vie morale, qui est indifférente aux impulsions de la nature, ou, plutôt, qui les érige arbitrairement en actes moraux, sans considérer leur caractère intrinsèque. De l'autre, c'est une existence toute physique, à laquelle nulle qualification morale ne saurait être appliquée, et qui n'est pas moins légitime que la première. Si donc il arrive qu'un homme manque de la grâce nécessaire pour pénétrer dans le monde transcendant de la certitude et de l'impératif catégorique, il n'est plus qu'une brute, sans volonté, sans devoir et

sans dignité, instrument inerte et irresponsable des forces mécaniques. Et, comme l'effort moral ne peut guère être, en fait, qu'intermittent, l'homme se trouve condamné, en passant alternativement de l'empire du devoir dans celui de la nature, à osciller entre l'obéissance systématique à une loi toute formelle et le déchaînement sans frein de ses appétits et de ses instincts les plus grossiers. Fanatisme ou débridement de la nature : telle est l'alternative.

Ainsi la séparation radicale de la certitude et de la vérité est inadmissible. L'une et l'autre s'en trouve mutilée, et incapable de se réaliser suivant son essence. Le dualisme, d'ailleurs, froisse la tendance naturelle de l'esprit vers l'unité. En Allemagne, notamment, la recherche d'un point de vue d'où l'on puisse obtenir une conception synthétique de l'ensemble des choses est considérée, généralement, comme la marque même de l'esprit philosophique. C'est pourquoi, dans ce pays, nombreuses furent les tentatives de réduire à l'unité ces deux principes, que l'on ne peut disjoindre sans les compromettre l'un et l'autre.

Le mode de réduction le plus rigoureux consiste à ramener l'un des deux termes à l'autre : la certitude à la vérité, ou la vérité à la certitude ; c'est-à-dire, la volonté à l'intelligence, ou l'intelligence à la volonté.

L'évolution de la philosophie allemande, de Kant à Nietzsche, représente, d'une façon remarquable, ce double effort de réduction.

La philosophie de Hegel est, peut-être, le point culminant de la pensée, développée dans le premier de ces deux sens, le sens intellectualiste. Le concept de vérité et de rationalité y est élargi, comme à l'infini, au moyen d'une logique transcendante, de manière à pouvoir embrasser et absorber tout le réel et tout le possible. L'individuel, le libre, le contingent, le hasard même, n'y sont pas niés, mais sont considérés comme des instruments, qui disparaissent et retombent au néant lorsqu'ils ont une fois rempli leur rôle dans la réalisation de l'absolu.

La science, dans ce système, est la forme éminente de tout ce qui est. Non seulement tout relève de la science, mais elle-même est, au fond, l'être premier et le principe des choses. Et ainsi, posséder la science, c'est, en quelque sorte, tenir, dans l'univers, la place de Dieu même.

On retrouve, si je ne me trompe, quelque chose de cette conception de la vérité et de la science dans l'idée que représente l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin. Elle s'appelle Académie des Sciences : *Akademie der Wissenschaften*, et elle se flatte d'embrasser dans leur essence les

lettres et les arts aussi bien que les sciences proprement dites, la vie et l'action, aussi bien que la spéculation et la théorie: Hors de la science, rien de solide. Une institution telle que l'Académie française, par exemple, dont l'office est de travailler à la conservation et au perfectionnement de la langue, en se bornant à discerner, avec tact, le bon usage, l'usage des honnêtes gens, ne saurait avoir, à ses yeux, aucune valeur: seul l'avis des spécialistes peut faire loi, et il fait nécessairement loi. La distinction capitale que nous établissons entre: Sciences et Lettres, esprit de géométrie et esprit de finesse, est, ici, ramenée à une simple différence spécifique. Le genre science, *Wissenschaft*, est subdivisé en deux espèces: les sciences de la nature, ou sciences physiques et mathématiques, et les sciences de la culture, ou sciences philosophiques et historiques.

Que penser d'une telle réduction de la volonté à l'intelligence ?

Certes, tout, en un sens, peut être objet de science. L'esprit humain s'ingénie, précisément, à inventer des méthodes qui lui permettent de soumettre à l'investigation scientifique les objets mêmes qui, par leur nature, semblent s'y soustraire invinciblement. Mais une science jalouse, avant tout, de voir les choses telles qu'elles sont, et non telles qu'elle souhaite de se les représenter, doit se modeler sur la réalité, et non imposer à celle-ci ses propres règles. A s'ériger en modèle unique et nécessaire de tout ce qui est, à décréter que ses formules d'intelligibilité sont les principes mêmes de l'être, qu'entre le rationnel scientifique et le réel il n'y a aucune différence, et que c'est le premier qui est la mesure du second, la science se met, d'avance, dans l'impossibilité de saisir et d'expliquer fidèlement les parties ou aspects de la réalité qui ne rentreraient pas dans ses cadres.

Or, parmi les notions qui jouent un rôle dans notre vie d'hommes, se trouvent celles d'individualité, de libre arbitre, d'action réelle et efficace. Nous concevons les évènements humains comme liés, certes, les uns aux autres et comme dépendant de l'ensemble des phénomènes naturels, mais, en même temps, comme susceptibles de manifester des pensées, des efforts, des initiatives personnelles, et comme capables, à ce titre, d'une certaine valeur et d'une certaine influence. De cet élément du réel, le système intellectualiste ne laisse rien subsister. Il n'y voit qu'un phénomène brut, qu'il s'agit proprement d'expliquer; et sa méthode d'explication consiste à prouver que ce phénomène est une pure illusion. La science, tant celle de la culture que celle de la nature, réduit, dans ce système, l'individuel en universel, le contingent en nécessaire. L'individuel ne peut être, à ses yeux, qu'une apparence sans réalité. Le degré de rationalité, de perfection, de réalité d'un

être est en raison inverse de la part d'individuel qu'il contient ou semble contenir.

L'être véritable, ainsi mutilé par la science, pourrait dire à celle-ci ce que le Faust de Gœthe dit à l'Esprit de la Terre :

Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst,
Nicht mir !

'Tu égales l'esprit que tu comprends ; mais moi, tu ne m'égales pas.'

Et cependant la science, pour tenter d'embrasser l'être dans sa totalité, s'est, chez un Hegel, élargie et diversifiée de toutes ses forces. Cet élargissement même est, pour elle, une cause de faiblesse. En vain se travaille-t-elle pour maintenir, à titre égal, deux types de science : le type mathématico-physique et le type historique. Cette distinction est toute naturelle lorsque la science ne prétend pas voir les choses telles qu'elles sont en soi, et décline toute prétention à les régenter. La science est, alors, comme une langue familière dans laquelle on traduit un texte écrit en une langue étrangère. Si l'on rencontre des difficultés, on s'efforce d'assouplir sa propre langue, de manière à modeler la traduction sur le texte ; on ne modifie pas le texte, afin de le rendre plus aisé à traduire. Mais si la science est considérée comme une entité absolue, dont les lois s'imposent à la réalité, il en est tout autrement. Ne relevant que d'elle-même, elle vise uniquement à se donner la forme la plus logique, la plus cohérente possible. Or, l'idée fondamentale de la science, c'est la réduction de l'hétérogène à l'homogène, de l'autre au même. Que si l'on compare entre eux, à ce point de vue, le type mathématico-physique de la connaissance scientifique et le type historique, on ne pourra manquer de trouver le second beaucoup plus imparfait que le premier, bien moins conforme à l'idéal scientifique. L'histoire considère des faits qui, jamais, ne se reproduisent sans modification, des *ἅπαξ γιγνό-μενα* ; et tout au plus réussit-elle à établir, entre ces faits, quelques relations particulières de causalité, sans pouvoir prétendre à trouver ces relations générales que l'on appelle lois. Il suit de là qu'au point de vue d'une science absolue la forme historique de la science ne peut être considérée que comme provisoire, et que, seules, les sciences physico-mathématiques sont susceptibles de perfection. Les sciences historiques ne sauraient donc prétendre à conserver indéfiniment leurs caractères distinctifs : elles doivent, tôt ou tard, rentrer dans les sciences physiques.

Qu'est-ce à dire, sinon que la part de réalité que garantissait au monde moral l'irréductibilité supposée de l'histoire à la physique s'évanouit dans une philosophie qui développe jusqu'au bout la

doctrine de la science comme entité première et absolue. L'histoire comme science radicalement distincte, c'était l'affirmation de la réalité de l'esprit, au moins comme finalité, comme progrès possible vers l'idéal. La réductibilité de l'histoire à la physique, c'est la finalité déclarée illusoire, c'est la matière, avec son déterminisme purement mécanique, proclamée la seule réalité véritable qui existe dans l'univers.

Tel est le dernier mot de la philosophie qui se donne comme tâche de ramener la certitude à la vérité, la volonté à l'intelligence, la morale à la science, le subjectif à l'objectif. Elle aboutit à l'anéantissement pur et simple de tout ce qui gravite autour de ces notions : individualité, liberté, personnalité, esprit, conscience, âme, beauté, moralité : elle ne laisse subsister qu'un monde rigoureusement matériel.

Déjà Platon nous avertissait, dans son dialogue *Le Philèbe*, de l'impossibilité de nous contenter des principes de la physique pour expliquer convenablement le monde réel. 'Il ne suffit pas, dit-il, pour comprendre notre univers, d'y voir de l'infini et du fini, c'est-à-dire de la matière et du nombre · il faut, en outre, y reconnaître l'existence d'une cause qui préside à son arrangement. Et cette cause doit être intelligente et sage, donc vivante et douée d'une âme. C'est pourquoi tu affirmeras avec confiance que, dans la nature de Jupiter, en tant que cause, réside une âme royale.'

En d'autres termes, la vérité, pour posséder l'excellence qu'avec raison nous lui attribuons, ne doit pas être conçue comme une chose, comme une réalité purement objective, où viendrait se perdre toute vie et toute conscience. Le subjectif, lui aussi, est principe. La vérité veut être saisie, comprise, affirmée par un esprit vivant, qui s'efforce de régler son action sur celle de l'être premier lui-même. Connaître, c'est s'unir, de cœur et de pensée, au créateur.

Il est donc vain de chercher à surmonter le dualisme de l'intelligence et de la volonté en ramenant la volonté à l'intelligence. Mais peut-être réussirait-on mieux à lever l'antinomie en tentant une réduction de la vérité à la certitude, de l'intelligence à la volonté. Cette voie, elle aussi, a été suivie par d'éminents philosophes, en particulier par des philosophes allemands. Tel Fichte, pour qui la volonté est la racine, non seulement du moi, mais du non-moi, non seulement de l'effort, mais de la perception. Tel Schopenhauer, qui voit dans le monde comme représentation une illusion et une entrave, dont le monde comme volonté, qui en est le principe, tend à s'affranchir. Tel Nietzsche, qui cherche, dans une volonté toute-puissante et supérieure à toute loi, la forme idéale de l'existence.

Cette doctrine peut être entendue en un sens large, la volonté étant mise en relief parce qu'elle est l'élément le plus intime, le plus caractéristique de notre vie consciente. C'est alors, d'une manière générale, l'activité intérieure, *die Innerlichkeit*, comme disent les philosophes allemands, qui est conçue comme possédant seule en propre la valeur et l'efficace. D'elle seule découlent, selon cette philosophie, et la certitude, et l'être, et la vérité même. L'objectif n'existe pas en soi: il est la forme dont l'intelligence revêt le subjectif, pour se construire un miroir où son activité se réfléchisse sur elle-même, de manière à exister, non seulement en soi, mais pour soi. Il se réduit à un système de symboles, qui, pour acquérir leur signification véritable, doivent être repensés par une intelligence vivante, et retraduits, par elle, en vie, en action, en volonté. La certitude est, en ce sens, la mère de la vérité. Celle-ci n'est autre chose que la formule intellectuelle de la résolution qu'a prise la volonté de s'affirmer absolument elle-même.

Doctrine profonde, certes, et propre à maintenir, constamment tendu, le ressort de la volonté. La vérité, chez un Fichte, n'est pas un fruit, pendant à l'arbre de la science, tout prêt à être cueilli. Il nous faut, en quelque sorte, la créer en nous par un effort personnel. Ce n'est qu'en voulant que nous pouvons penser, et la règle même de nos pensées est un acte de volonté. *Im Anfang war die Tat.*

Que vaut cette doctrine ?

A vrai dire, elle ne fait pas profession de mépriser les idées fixes et déterminées par où l'intelligence cherche à comprendre le côté objectif, uniforme et stable de l'univers. Fichte lui-même écrivait: *Die Formel ist die grosste Wohltat für den Menschen* : 'La formule est, pour l'homme, le plus grand des bienfaits '. Mais toute expression déterminée de la vérité est, dans ce système, un simple stade, que l'esprit s'efforce de dépasser, pour tendre à considérer la vérité, immédiatement, dans sa source profonde et toujours jaillissante. La vérité n'est proprement elle-même qu'au sein de la volonté libre où elle se crée. Lorsque le Méphistophélès de Gœthe, proposant un pacte à Faust, lui demande un engagement écrit et signé, celui-ci répond :

> *Auch was Geschriebnes forderst du, Pedant ?*
> *Hast du noch keinen Mann, nicht Mannes-Wort gekannt ?*
> . . . .
> *Das Wort erstirbt schon in der Feder.*

'Quoi ? tu réclames, pédant, quelque chose d'écrit ? N'as-tu donc

jamais eu affaire à un homme, à une parole d'homme! . . . La parole expire dès qu'elle passe dans la plume.' Cette thèse de Faust n'est que l'application de la doctrine de l'intériorité. L'expression visible, tangible, définie, de l'acte volontaire y est conçue comme n'ayant de valeur qu'aux yeux des pédants et des gens sans foi. Un esprit supérieur dédaigne et déchire les engagements écrits qu'il a lui-même signés : il entend que sa parole suffise.

Prétention, certes, très haute ! Pascal l'eût jugée trop haute pour un homme, car il est, disait-il, dangereux pour les hommes de vouloir faire les anges : ils risquent de tomber au-dessous de l'humanité. La formule écrite est claire, durable, fixe, susceptible d'être entendue semblablement par tout le monde. Mais la décision intime de la volonté a beau être très énergique, très sincère, très claire même, au regard du sujet qui l'a prise : elle ne pourrait présenter ces mêmes caractères aux yeux des autres que si les hommes étaient capables de communiquer entre eux directement, d'esprit à esprit. Cette communication mystique étant, dans notre monde, irréalisable, les hommes à qui l'on interdit de prendre au sérieux les engagements écrits sont incapables de mesurer la signification et la valeur de la parole qui leur est donnée. L'engagement que prend un homme qui refuse de se lier équivaut, dans la pratique, au mépris de tout engagement.

On alléguera, il est vrai, la valeur suprême de la sincérité. Mais il y a deux manières d'être sincère. L'homme qui parle et agit conformément à son caprice, à sa passion, à sa volonté arbitraire, se dit, se croit sincère, mais ne l'est pas effectivement, parce qu'il a négligé de se demander si cette volonté superficielle était conforme à la loi universelle qui, dans le for de sa conscience, s'impose à lui. Il n'y a pas de sincérité effective sans un effort pour se mettre d'accord avec son meilleur moi, avec celui qui s'incline devant la vérité.

La doctrine de l'intériorité comme principe unique de la pensée et de l'action a beau se travailler et s'élargir par les raisonnements les plus subtils : elle ne peut parvenir à s'assimiler la vérité. Celle-ci possède une détermination, une fixité, un caractère fini et achevé, une existence propre, qui ne peuvent se rencontrer, ni dans les symboles par lesquels l'intelligence essaie de se représenter l'action de la volonté, ni dans cette volonté elle-même.

La vérité que cette doctrine nous offre n'est donc pas celle que les hommes adorent. Cette volonté infiniment reculée et intérieure, qui en serait, à ce qu'on nous dit, la source, est quelque chose d'aussi obscur que profond. C'est un je ne sais quoi d'essentiellement mystérieux, indéfinissable, inconnaissable. Entre cette volonté et les formules par lesquelles nous tentons de nous la représenter, point

de commune mesure. En quoi pourrait bien consister la ressemblance d'un portrait dont l'original n'aurait ni forme, ni couleur ?

Dès lors, dans la pratique, la manière dont se traduira la vie intérieure de l'esprit est indifférente. Les œuvres ne sont rien, la foi est tout. Une maxime est bonne et vraie si elle est embrassée avec conviction, si la volonté y reconnaît sa propre tendance. Toutes les règles du vrai, du bon et du beau que la raison classique s'est appliquée à établir sont vaines. Ces règles, selon la philosophie de l'intériorité, ne sont autre chose que la substitution de la lettre à l'esprit, de l'inertie à la liberté, de la mort à la vie. Seule, la création originale, puisant son principe dans la volonté absolue, est féconde et belle. Toutes les œuvres originales et exemptes de modèle, si étranges soient-elles, sont vraies et dignes d'être imposées à l'admiration des hommes ; mais toute œuvre à la production de laquelle a contribué l'observation d'une règle est, par là même, sans vie et sans profondeur.

Ainsi se trouve mutilé, diminué, avili, le concept de vérité, dans la doctrine qui ramène l'intelligence à la volonté, en faisant, de la première, le principe des formes fixes et objectives, et, de la seconde, le principe de la vie intérieure. Mais il y a lieu de se demander si cette doctrine est bien un terme, où l'effort de réduction du philosophe puisse s'arrêter.

En réalité, la volonté, dans ce système, n'est pas conçue d'une façon stricte. Elle est opposée à l'intelligence, conçue comme la forme de l'ordre statique et immobile ; mais elle enferme en elle, confusément, une certaine tendance ou loi de développement, qui la détermine à se mouvoir et à s'objectiver d'une certaine manière. La volonté de Fichte est grosse d'une logique transcendentale et d'un progrès rythmé, qui lui donneront un corps. Et c'est de ce mélange mal défini de volonté et d'intelligence que résulte l'étrange propriété, inhérente à la liberté fichtéenne, de se réaliser et de se développer nécessairement d'une certaine manière. Mais la réduction de l'intellectuel au volontaire n'est opérée qu'incomplètement si la volonté que l'on prend pour principe est encore, en quelque manière, intelligence. Le goût naturel de l'homme pour la clarté et la simplicité, la tendance qu'ont généralement les doctrines à dégager, de plus en plus nettement, leur principe original, ont amené la philosophie de l'intériorité à prendre une forme plus simple et plus nette, que Fichte lui-même, à vrai dire, n'eût point admise.

La volonté, dans la doctrine de l'intériorité, porte en elle une loi de développement qui, d'elle, fait naître l'intelligence, et qui, en fait, est encore quelque chose d'intellectuel. Une volonté pure doit

être exempte de cet élément étranger. Elle ne doit, rigoureusement, vouloir qu'elle-même, elle doit s'ériger, elle seule, en être absolu et suprême, et elle doit concevoir tous les autres êtres comme des instruments de son activité propre. Or, ainsi émancipée et libre de devenir, le plus largement possible, ce qu'elle est virtuellement, elle ne peut se donner qu'un objet: la puissance. Le vrai système volontariste, c'est celui qui ramène et l'intelligence et la volonté dite morale à la volonté tournée toute vers elle-même, c'est-à-dire vers la force, et vers la force pure et simple.

C'est ici le dernier mot du système qui identifie la vérité avec la certitude. Contre cette doctrine il n'y a plus d'argument qui porte. Une certitude qui n'admet d'autre mesure de la valeur que la force est, par définition, hors des atteintes de la raison. Elle pourrait prendre pour devise le célèbre vers de La Fontaine:

'La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure.'

Comment réfuter un homme qui déclare: 'Je ne crois qu'à la force, et je suis le plus fort'?

Mais en vain cet homme tenterait-il, une fois parvenu à ce point de vue, de restituer un sens quelconque au mot de vérité. En vain se représenterait-il la force comme devant, d'elle-même, engendrer, non seulement un ordre physique, mais un ordre moral: la paix, l'organisation, la production, la civilisation. Tout ce développement est d'avance impuissant à réaliser l'idée de vérité, parce qu'il n'est, en définitive, que la multiplication de la force, et qu'entre force et vérité il y a une différence de nature. La vérité est vraie, même si elle en est méconnue, bafouée, prostituée. Le droit qu'elle porte en elle demeure, même s'il n'a pas en mains la force nécessaire pour se faire respecter. Loin de supposer la force et de ne pouvoir subsister que par elle, la culture qui a pour objet le vrai et le beau se dresse en face de la force, et ne consent à lui faire une place dans son domaine que dans la mesure où la force s'est apprivoisée et pliée à servir le droit.

Si donc la doctrine de la force défie la réfutation, c'est qu'elle a tout détruit sur son passage. *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* Que reste-t-il de ce que le monde appelle civilisation, mœurs, bonté, humanité, quand une fois l'homme s'est livré tout entier aux forces élémentaires, qui détruisent indifféremment les feuilles mortes et les vies humaines, les pierres informes et les monuments les plus sacrés de l'histoire et de l'art?

Que vaut, dès lors, cette certitude, toute ramassée sur elle-même, et qui se croit irréductible parce qu'invinciblement elle ne croit qu'à la force? Elle se réduit, en somme, à un insondable orgueil; c'est

comme un défi jeté à la raison et à la vérité. Il est impossible que l'homme se renonce au point d'abdiquer devant la force, si énorme soit-elle ?

III

En résumé, ni la séparation de la certitude et de la vérité, ni la réduction de l'une à l'autre, ne paraissent admissibles. Qu'est-ce à dire ? Ce problème serait-il de ceux que l'on résout plus facilement en les ignorant qu'en les étudiant ?

Peut-être ne nous resterait-il d'autre issue que de nous avouer vaincus dans notre effort pour comprendre, et de nous en remettre, pour trancher la question, au bon sens qui préside à la pratique, si nous avions tenté toutes les voies qui s'offrent à nous. Mais en est-il ainsi ?

C'est principalement en consultant la philosophie allemande que nous avons, jusqu'ici, traité notre sujet. Or cette philosophie, chez ses principaux représentants, chez Kant comme chez Hegel, chez Fichte comme chez Nietzsche, offre un trait fort remarquable, qui la différencie de la plupart des autres. Elle élimine le sentiment, ou, du moins, elle le réduit à un rôle subordonné. Ce que Kant intercale entre l'entendement et la volonté, sous le nom de jugement (*Urteils-kraft*), c'est encore un système de catégories, un appareil intellectuel. Sans doute, Fichte tient la philosophie de Rousseau pour belle et salutaire, mais à condition que l'on assigne à la volonté le rôle que celui-ci donnait au sentiment. Nietzsche fait profession de mépriser la sensibilité, la pitié, l'humanité, qui, selon lui, énervent la volonté. Qu'arriverait-il, quant au problème qui nous occupe, si, à l'exemple du commun des hommes, et conformément aux traditions classiques, nous faisions au sentiment une place, aux côtés de la volonté et de l'intelligence, dans la production de la certitude et dans l'appréciation de la vérité ?

Une doctrine fort répandue en ce moment, et soutenue par d'éminents penseurs, notamment par des philosophes anglais et américains, nous paraît chercher dans le sentiment le principe commun de la certitude et de la vérité. C'est la doctrine dite Pragmatisme. Selon cette philosophie, la raison ultime qui nous fait tenir une maxime pour vraie, c'est que cette maxime, si elle est mise en pratique, *works satisfactorily*, nous donne satisfaction, suscite des évènements qui nous agréent, qui remplissent notre attente.

La satisfaction éprouvée est, nous disent les pragmatistes, le principe de la certitude, parce qu'elle nous donne confiance en la maxime que nous avons mise à l'épreuve. C'est ainsi que les bons offices d'un homme nous induisent à avoir foi en lui, nous rendent certain qu'il est

notre ami. Cette satisfaction est, en même temps, le principe de la vérité elle-même; car, si l'on cherche ce qu'il y a de commun à toutes les propositions, de genres si divers, que nous qualifions de vraies, on ne trouve autre chose, sinon la propriété de tenir la promesse qu'elles enveloppent, et de procurer un contentement à notre esprit. Les vérités physiques sont des vérités, parce qu'en les prenant pour guides dans nos rapports avec le monde extérieur nous nous trouvons en accord avec ce monde. Les vérités mathématiques sont des vérités, parce qu'en les démontrant nous avons le sentiment d'un déploiement harmonieux et libre de notre intelligence.

Cette théorie a un grand mérite. Elle se place d'emblée dans le monde des réalités. Il faut avouer que l'intelligence, à elle seule, n'atteint qu'à des abstractions. Et la volonté, prise à part, n'est qu'une force sans loi, affirmant sa résolution de s'imposer. Le sentiment, c'est le réel lui-même, tel qu'il se présente d'abord, tel qu'il est donné avant toute élaboration artificielle. Aussi la philosophie qui cherche dans le sentiment le principe de la certitude et de la vérité a-t-elle pu prendre le nom de *Radical Empiricism*, empirisme radical.

Et, puisque le sentiment est, en quelque sorte, le réel même, il ne peut y avoir que profit à étudier la certitude et la vérité au point de vue du sentiment. On parviendra ainsi à y réintégrer l'âme et la vie, que l'intellectualisme ou le volontarisme allemands s'évertuent à en éliminer.

Ce système, toutefois, résout trop sommairement la difficulté. Qu'est-ce, au juste, que ce sentiment de satisfaction, qui, selon les pragmatistes, doit être le principe unique des notions de vérité et de certitude?

Pris en lui-même, le sentiment n'est qu'un fait, incontestable, certes, au point de vue empirique, et plus certainement réel que tous les systèmes des philosophes, mais, pourtant, impuissant à fonder, en droit, la certitude et la vérité.

Si je cherche à définir avec précision le genre de satisfaction qu'il convient d'ériger en principe fondamental, je fais éclater le système. En effet, si je dis: Est vraie toute proposition qui ne trompe pas notre attente, n'est-ce pas comme si je disais: Est vraie toute proposition qui énonce fidèlement une loi de la nature, qui est conforme à la vérité, telle que la conçoit notre entendement? Et si je dis: Je me déclare certain lorsque la satisfaction que j'éprouve réside dans la partie la plus haute de mon être, ne supposé-je pas l'intervention d'une volonté, qui choisit une certaine forme d'existence, et qui est satisfaite quand elle atteint son but?

Imprécision ou cercle vicieux, le pragmatisme a grand peine à éviter ce double écueil.

Il faut reconnaître que la volonté et l'intelligence sont bien, elles-mêmes, des principes, qu'elles doivent être considérées comme subsistant par soi, et non comme de simples modifications du sentiment. L'intelligence cherche la vérité comme quelque chose qui est, et qui n'est que s'il possède un caractère d'éternité. La volonté, elle, n'est point quelque chose de donné: c'est une puissance qui ne se réalise qu'en créant, et qui, si elle cessait d'agir, cesserait également d'être. La volonté et l'intelligence sont, en ce sens, des principes premiers et irréductibles, radicalement distincts l'un de l'autre.

Et pourtant, chacune de ces deux facultés, pour se développer convenablement, a besoin de l'autre. La certitude, où tend la volonté, ne sera qu'obstination et fanatisme si elle n'est déterminée par la possession de la vérité. Et la vérité objet de l'intelligence ne serait qu'une chose sans vie et sans intérêt, un fait brut, une nécessité aveugle et morne, si elle n'était l'action, la vie d'une volonté excellente. Dieu, dit Aristote, est vie éternelle, ζωὴ ἀΐδιος.

Mais comment ces deux principes hétérogènes pourront-ils participer l'un de l'autre ? A mesure que la volonté se laisse déterminer par l'intelligence, n'abdique-t-elle pas la liberté qui est son essence ? Et à mesure que l'intelligence, pour faire à la volonté sa place, accepte l'idée d'une vérité créée, ne se trahit-elle pas elle-même ? Intelligence et volonté pourraient, à ce compte, se redire l'une à l'autre le joli vers d'Ovide :

Nec sine te nec tecum vivere possum.

Cette antinomie est-elle insoluble ? Elle s'évanouira, ce semble, si, au lieu de ne reconnaître d'autres réalités primordiales que l'intelligence et la volonté, on admet également, et au même titre, la réalité et le rôle du sentiment.

Seules en face l'une de l'autre, intelligence et volonté ne peuvent tenter de se mêler et de se pénétrer, sans se diminuer et se mutiler l'une l'autre. Certes, la force et la science savent s'unir ; mais que reste-t-il de la volonté dans la force brute, et comment réduire au mécanisme scientifique la vie de l'intelligence ? Or, si l'on admet que l'intelligence et la volonté se relient l'une à l'autre par l'intermédiaire du sentiment, on conçoit qu'elles puissent s'enrichir et se développer par leurs rapports mutuels sans être infidèles à leurs principes respectifs. Le sentiment transforme les idées abstraites en mobiles et en intérêts, et ceux-ci influent sur la volonté sans en compromettre le caractère

personnel et vivant. Et le sentiment, en donnant un corps et une essence communicable aux déterminations internes de la volonté, fournit à l'intelligence, sans la contrarier, les points d'appui et les fins qui lui sont nécessaires pour éviter le dilettantisme et la sophistique.

Et ainsi, la vie, l'âme, le sentiment étant intercalés, comme un principe original et premier, entre la certitude et la vérité, celles-ci se rejoignent sans se combattre. La vérité suscite dans la volonté la certitude, parce que, loin d'être séparée de la volonté, elle reçoit d'elle, par l'intermédiaire du sentiment, la vie et l'orientation, sans lesquelles elle ne serait qu'un chaos de possibilités abstraites. Et la certitude est autre chose que le fanatisme et l'aveuglement d'une volonté orgueilleuse, parce qu'elle ne repose pas sur elle-même, mais trouve, dans la vérité traduite en sentiment, la matière appropriée dont elle a besoin pour se réaliser dans toute son ampleur.

Volonté et intelligence, à elles seules, seraient incapables d'agir l'une sur l'autre. Mais chacune des deux agit sur le sentiment, et en reçoit l'influence; donc, à travers le sentiment, elles communiquent. Toute certitude effective, dès lors, participe de la vérité, et toute vérité concrète participe de la certitude.

Il est intéressant de considérer la signification de cette doctrine au regard, soit des sciences, soit de la vie pratique.

Volontiers on se représente les sciences comme des expressions, de moins en moins inadéquates, d'une vérité qui est là, hors de nous, toute faite, immuable, et qu'il ne s'agit que de découvrir, comme on déterre un trésor caché. Et, vue du dehors, la science paraît répondre à cette définition. Elle commence par accumuler des faits, c'est-à-dire des données conçues comme purement objectives; puis elle s'applique à réduire ces faits en formules mathématiques, c'est-à-dire en quantités exactement transformables les unes dans les autres. Et la mathématique, à son tour, paraît se résoudre dans la logique, c'est-à-dire dans l'art de faire produire à une proposition donnée toutes les conséquences qu'elle comporte.

Il faut reconnaître que tel est bien l'aspect de la science qui se considère comme faite, et qui se transmet d'intelligence à intelligence, par l'enseignement. Mais, chez les génies qui la créent, la science met en jeu d'autres principes. Les faits proprement scientifiques ne sont ni ne peuvent être donnés, au sens précis du mot. Il faut que le savant les construise, en combinant ingénieusement des intuitions, qui, en réalité, ne peuvent jamais être pures de tout mélange conceptuel, avec des principes de choix et d'élaboration, que l'esprit doit

chercher en lui-même. Le savant s'efforce à saisir le travail créateur de la nature ; par conséquent il cherche s'il y a, dans la nature, de la pensée, de la vie, de la création.

Réussit-il jamais complètement à ramener les données de l'expérience à des quantités, les phénomènes de la nature à des éléments mathématiques ? Cela reste douteux. Mais, cette réduction fût-elle possible, il y aurait lieu de se demander si les mathématiques elles-mêmes ont bien pour objet une chose inerte, qu'il suffise d'analyser pour la connaître. Le géomètre qui fait vraiment avancer la science s'inspire, en fait, de sentiments esthétiques en même temps que de considérations logiques. Il cherche à traduire en formules des harmonies vivantes, qui jaillissent du fond de son âme : *ἀρμονίη ἀφανὴς φανερῆς κρείττων* :[1] la vérité que voit son intelligence est, en même temps, une certitude, qu'embrasse librement sa volonté.

Enfin la logique elle-même, à laquelle certains philosophes voudraient ramener les mathématiques, repose sur des postulats dont on ne peut s'expliquer les termes et la formation qu'en les rapportant à l'action d'une volonté qui affirme son existence, et qui la maintient à travers toutes les oppositions qu'elle rencontre.

Ainsi la forme propre de la science, certes, est aussi rigoureusement intellectuelle que possible ; mais la vérité que la science cherche à connaître n'est pas exclusivement scientifique. Cette vérité est l'être même, et l'observation de la manière dont se fait la science montre que l'être est, à la fois, réalité donnée et puissance vivante de création. La science constate et formule le résultat de la création universelle, en tant que ce résultat présente un certain caractère de fixité, d'uniformité, d'unité.

La vie pratique, de son côté, n'est pas moins éclairée que la philosophie de la science par une juste appréciation des rapports de la certitude et de la vérité. Ni l'idée du devoir, ni celle d'une valeur inhérente aux œuvres qui en sont la matière, ne peuvent être abandonnées. Mais il faut qu'entre ces deux termes une relation puisse être conçue. Il faut que ma conviction porte sur une vérité, et il faut que la vérité qui m'est proposée me touche et convienne à ma volonté.

Or, ces conditions sont réalisables si la volonté et l'intelligence sont reliées entre elles par le sentiment, et si ces trois puissances forment comme une trinité, où le tout est à la fois un et multiple, chacun étant, en même temps, et lui-même et les autres. Et la morale peut, sans danger de fanatisme, exalter de plus en plus le rôle de la volonté, de la conviction, de l'idée de devoir, dans la conduite humaine.

[1] Héraclite.

La volonté n'est plus un despote égoïste et brutal, si son action peut et doit se doubler de sentiment et d'intelligence. La philosophie justifie, à cet égard, le sens commun, suivant lequel il est absurde, pour réaliser l'idéal humain, de fouler aux pieds l'humanité.

La doctrine à laquelle nous avons été conduit a, en particulier, cet avantage, de fournir un fondement solide à une vertu que l'on célèbre à l'envi, mais que l'on ne parvient guère à justifier philosophiquement : la tolérance. Si la morale était une science, au même titre que la physique, comment pourrait-elle admettre la tolérance ? Tolérerions-nous que l'on niât la loi de la chute des corps ? Et si la morale était exclusivement affaire de conviction personnelle, comment pourrait-on exiger d'un homme qui est absolument convaincu qu'il respecte les convictions opposées à la sienne ? Prétendrait-on donc l'obliger à nier le principe de contradiction ?

Mais si toute certitude profonde, étant jointe à un sentiment et à une idée, tient, par là même, en quelque mesure, au réel et à la vérité, et si toute vérité, notamment toute vérité pratique, a pour caractère de s'offrir à l'adhésion de la volonté par l'attrait du sentiment, il est visiblement injuste et inefficace de traiter de malhonnête homme et de persécuter quiconque pense autrement que nous. D'abord, il n'est pas vraisemblable que dans sa conviction il n'y ait pas quelque part de vérité. Ensuite, la méthode à suivre pour convaincre un contradicteur doit nécessairement tenir compte de la puissance originale qui relie la volonté à l'intelligence, c'est-à-dire du sentiment. *Μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι παίδευσιν παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ἀρέσκοντος*, 'on ne saurait rien apprendre d'un homme pour qui on a de l'antipathie,' disait Xénophon. Le cœur a son rôle, comme l'intelligence et la volonté, dans toute éducation, morale ou intellectuelle, qui veut pénétrer l'homme, et non se borner à l'affubler d'un certain costume. Si les hommes considèrent que le cœur, et non pas seulement la volonté ou l'intelligence, est une partie essentielle et très noble de notre nature, ils ne se contenteront pas de se tolérer, ils chercheront sincèrement à s'unir et à collaborer pour réaliser, le plus largement et le plus hautement possible, l'œuvre qui leur est propre, l'œuvre humaine. Et, en demeurant hommes, ils ne trahiront pas la cause de l'idéal.

Ὡς χαρίεν ἐσθ' ἄνθρωπος, ὅταν ἄνθρωπος ᾖ,[1]

'Quelle chose aimable que l'homme, quand il est vraiment homme !

[1] Ménandre.

OBITUARY NOTICES

THOMAS HODGKIN

1831–1913.

A MONTH before the meeting of the International Historical Congress in London, to which he had looked forward with keen interest and in which he had been appointed to preside over the mediaeval section, Thomas Hodgkin suddenly ended his long and strenuous career. Though well past fourscore years of age, he had kept up all his multifarious interests in learning, affairs, philanthropy, and religion with such keenness that it was with a real shock of surprise that his friends heard of his death. I have no claim of special intimacy, either with the man or with the subjects with which he specially delighted to deal, but I knew enough of both to feel at first hand a hearty sympathy with his character and standpoint, and there is perhaps some fitness that one who was called upon to take Hodgkin's place in presiding over the mediaeval section of the Congress should attempt to lay before the British Academy such tribute as he can pay to one of the most distinguished of its original members. In what follows I have ventured upon a slight expansion of the words which I read to the Congress when it met together under the shadow of Hodgkin's recent death.

Thomas Hodgkin was born on July 29, 1831, at Bruce Grove, Tottenham. He came on both sides of good Quaker stock, and his father, John Hodgkin, could trace his descent back as far as the history of the Society of Friends extended.[1] A lawyer by profession, John Hodgkin threw his whole heart into the ministrations of the Society of Friends, and his son was from birth inspired by conditions singularly uniform and constant. Moreover, Thomas Hodgkin's marriage with Lucy Anne Fox of Falmouth brought him into relation with another group of distinguished Quaker houses, so that there were few leading members of the society that were not connected with him by ties of consanguinity, affinity, or friendship. From this environment came that inheritance of strenuous endeavour, that

[1] See the pedigree of Hodgkin in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., vol. ix, p. 88, prepared by Mr. J. C. Hodgkin. I must acknowledge my debt to Dr. Denby's memoir in *Ib.* pp. 75–80.

tradition of culture, religion, philanthropy, public service, and affairs, which were all through his life the chief factors in shaping his career, the guiding principles that inspired all his private and public conduct. He owed little to schools and universities, and nearly everything to himself. But environment and conditions were eminently favourable for the development of his serene, prosperous, genial, and vigorous career. After adequate schooling at Bruce Grove School at Tottenham, he attended classes at University College, London, and graduated B.A. in London University, with honours in classics before he was twenty-one. After some dalliance with the law in Lincoln's Inn, he adopted a business career, and learnt the profession of banking at Pontefract and Whitehaven. In 1859 he settled down at Newcastle-upon-Tyne as a partner in the new banking firm of Hodgkin, Barnett, Pease & Spence, of which he remained a partner until 1902, when it was absorbed in one of the great joint stock banks. In 1861 he married. For some thirty-five years in all he made his home at Newcastle. After 1894 he withdrew into the country and found more leisure from the daily task. But all his interests were aroused, all his chief work was planned when he was still engaged many hours a day at the bank which gave him prosperity and position. Thus, like Grote and Seebohm, he became a member of that remarkable group of banker historians of whose achievement English scholarship may well be proud.

It was only very gradually that Hodgkin began to devote the greater part of his fruitful leisure to the study of history. If we turn over the careful bibliography of his work prepared by Mr. Robert Blair,[1] we shall find that he began to write seriously soon after his settlement in Newcastle. His earlier occasional writings were, however, mainly literary, poetical, or theological, and largely contributed to organs controlled by the Society of Friends. He was nearly fifty when the first instalment of *Italy and her Invaders* was published, and he was well over sixty before his retirement from business set him free to devote his main energies to this study. But history was never his sole, perhaps never even his chief, pre-occupation, over and above his daily task. A devoted member of the Society of Friends, he took a leading part in all the religious and philanthropic activities of that communion.[2] He was all through his life a constant and indefatigable preacher in a church that recognizes no settled ministry, and something of the fervour of the prophet and

[1] See the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., vol. ix, pp. 81–7.

[2] This aspect of his work is well illustrated in the sympathetic notices of Hodgkin in *The Friend*, March 7 and 14, 1913.

the lucidity of the expositor came from these ministrations to give colour and personality to his literary work. Many of his occasional writings expound the principles of the Society of Friends or glorify its heroes. He wrote the life of George Fox, the founder of the society, and he wrote also of that Inner Light to which Fox's followers look for their chief spiritual guidance. When nearly eighty he undertook a sort of missionary journey to Australia to bind together the scattered communities of Friends in the vast solitudes of a new continent.

Hodgkin was foremost in every good work at Newcastle, and developed his rare gifts of speech and writing in the public service of the community in which he lived. He was a straightforward, independent but decided politician. His gifts as a stimulating popular lecturer made him welcome in many literary and historical gatherings, especially in the north of England. He was for sixteen years one of the secretaries, and afterwards a vice-president, of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and remained till the last a constant contributor to its organ, *Archaeologia Aeliana.* He was for a generation closely connected with the administration of the Armstrong College, the University College of Newcastle, and secured in it a more adequate representation of historical science than is even yet allowed in the original foundations of Durham University of which Armstrong College now forms an important part. He was zealous for local history, urging strongly the need of systematic excavation along the line of the great Roman wall, and initiating a scheme for compiling a county history of Northumberland on a comprehensive scale. He was, too, an indefatigable traveller, and much of the charm of his historical works is due to the keen eye which saw and the ready pen which described the historic scenes in which he delighted to move. He was also a man of wide culture, delighting in literature and poetry, and reading and writing on the history of all periods with equal zest. His personality was one of singular strength, simplicity, and attractiveness. Holding decided views, and never afraid of expressing them, he was always kindly, considerate, courteous, and sympathetic. The charm of his manner, the sincerity of his devotion to the public weal and to scholarship, won him the admiration and affection of all brought into close contact with him. And beneath the fervour of the prophet and preacher, underlying the enthusiasm of the scholar for his science, there always lay the well-balanced judgement and shrewd practical wisdom of the experienced man of affairs. Altogether there was in Hodgkin a rare combination of qualities diligently and loyally cultivated throughout a long life of overflowing energy and ceaseless, though serene, endeavour.

Our main concern is with Hodgkin the historical scholar, who, in the scanty leisure of twenty years of a busy banker's life, surveyed in the solid eight volumes of *Italy and her Invaders* the whole course of the history of the Peninsula and of the tribes which laid violent hands upon it during the five centuries which elapsed between the first coming of the Goths and the coronation of Charles, the Frankish king, as Roman Emperor. Yet we cannot judge the scholar rightly did we not appreciate the varied nature of his life's work and the fundamental principles which animated it. The temperament, which responded to so many of the appeals that his environment made upon him, demanded in his historical work the same broad sweep of vision, the same keen perception of moral and spiritual forces, that animated his whole intelligence. Under such conditions it would be unreasonable to expect any elaboration of technical equipment, any such minute interrogations of the sources as alone can enlarge the bounds of knowledge, any such detailed familiarity with all the recent literature dealing with five memorable centuries, as might perhaps be demanded of the more professional and more specialized historian. But how much do we get to compensate us for all this! We have a scholarship that is always adequate; a presentation that is always clear, balanced, and coherent; a style that always carries the reader along and sometimes rises to a high level of sustained excellence; an eye for the essentials, the big things of history; a gift for historic synthesis that falls to the lot of few; a narrative always based on first-hand study of the best sources; and an insight into personality and character that is the note of the real historian. The same qualities come out even more clearly in such brilliantly successful popularizations of his great work as are his lives of Theodoric and Charles the Great, or his *Dynasty of Theodosius*. They are equally apparent in his *Political History of England up to 1066*, a remarkably bold and interesting attempt at solving the almost impossible problem of making a coherent narrative out of the scrappy and doubtful material that makes Anglo-Saxon history the despair of all save the sceptics, who deny everything, and the poets who reconstruct airy fabrics out of their own imaginations! And it may be regarded as a particularly noteworthy achievement of a man of seventy-five, who, so far as his published writings show, had seldom before specially devoted himself to the study of old English history! In all that Hodgkin wrote we may expect to find good old-fashioned narrative history of the best sort, scholarly but not too technical, literary yet precise, eloquent and elevated, stimulating and hortatory, wise in its judgements, redeemed from the excessive stateliness and stiffness of much historical narrative

of the last generation by reason of the broad humanity, the engaging personality and the living sympathy of the author. We do not go to him for criticism of sources, for the history of institutions, or administration, or for the economic and social standpoint of modern *Culturgeschichte*. But what we get is the best of its kind, and it is a kind that is becoming rarer, and, as I venture to think, a kind that will remain indispensable if history is to continue to go beyond the small circle of specialists and make its appeal to the intelligence and sympathies of the great cultivated public, which the modern professional historian is perhaps in some danger of forgetting. With him passes away one of the last of the leading historical writers of his generation.

T. F. TOUT.

SHADWORTH HOLLWAY HODGSON

1832–1913

On June 13, 1913, the British Academy lost one of its first Fellows, and English philosophy one of its most distinguished and original thinkers. Shadworth Hollway Hodgson was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, on December 25, 1832, and was educated at Rugby and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Living for over half a century the quiet contemplative life of the scholar in the very heart of the busy metropolis, he has shown with sufficient conclusiveness that whilst the ceaseless turmoil of commercial enterprise is all around the work of reflective thought may yet be done. At the back of his reserved and severely intellectual nature there was, too, a heart of genuine tenderness and of deep feeling. To that even his devotion to his favourite pursuit bears testimony. He held no post as a university teacher, nor did he ever seek one. His call to the task of speculative inquiry came in another way. Thinking of Beatrice as objectively fulfilling in the scheme of the universe the function she had fulfilled and was fulfilling in his own conscious experience, Dante was led to regard her as the symbol and the channel of philosophy, just as for him Virgil was the type or the symbol of human virtue. Hodgson himself would certainly have recoiled from a comparison in any particular of his own life with that of one of the greatest poets of all time, but to others the mediaeval ideal can scarcely fail to be suggested by his exemplification of it. Married in 1855 to the daughter of the Rev. E. B. Everard, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, he had, after a brief period of three years, to face the most terrible sorrow that can befall a man, the death of wife and child. Withdrawing then almost entirely from general society, he consecrated himself with singular zeal and earnestness to the quest of philosophic truth, and made it the sole purpose of his solitary existence. 'Truth', he told the students of Edinburgh some twenty years later, 'is like Shakespeare's Portia, listening to no suitor till he has proved his sincerity by selecting the leaden casket inscribed with the words, *Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath.* That', he added, 'is the proper temper of true love, and that is the temper in which we must approach philosophy.'

A series of works, all bound in white buckram, and written in a style characteristically distinctive of the author, remains as the fruit of his lonely toil. *Time and Space: A Metaphysical Essay* appeared in 1865; *The Theory of Practice* (dedicated 'mortuis meis'), 2 vols., in 1870; *The Philosophy of Reflexion*, 2 vols., in 1878; and lastly, in 1898, the four volumes of *The Metaphysic of Experience* which contain the fullest and the most mature presentation of his philosophy. The Aristotelian Society was founded, largely through his instrumentality, in 1880. He was its first President, and continued in that office until 1894. Each year he opened the session with a presidential address, and these addresses, fourteen in all, formed, as he tells us, 'a sort of outline or programme' of his last great book, whilst they still retain an interest and a value of their own. And after he ceased to be President he contributed to the Society many important papers, was a regular attendant at its meetings, and joined always in its debates, taking home with him usually a body of friends to his rooms in Conduit Street, where discussion was prolonged into the hour of midnight. He was one of the band of supporters that Croom Robertson gathered round him on the institution of *Mind* in 1876, and the first number included an article from his pen. For it and for other journals he was a frequent writer. In the *Proceedings of the British Academy* there are three papers of his, the last on 'Some Cardinal Principles in Knowledge' having been read not many months before he died. His life-work was done, and is left in completeness for the judgement of posterity.

Hodgson seldom referred in print to the conditions that determined his own intellectual development, but in one instance he does mention a circumstance that is not without biographical interest. To Shairp, one of his teachers, he was indebted, he tells us, for many things, and not least for the impetus to approach the writings of Wordsworth and Coleridge, the two inaugurators of the nineteenth-century era, at least in England. Of the two, the 'wizard twilight Coleridge knew' appealed to him with greater effect than the 'healing power' of Wordsworth. From Coleridge he learnt the great lesson of the intimate union of the intellectual and the emotional elements in human nature. Coleridge seemed to him to *know* what religion was,—to know it by actual experience. Coleridge taught him that the emotions, and especially the religious emotions, are as deeply inwoven in the structure and the mechanism of consciousness as any feature of sense or reason, that they carry us into the very heart of things, the hidden springs of being. This conviction did not lead him, however, as it led Coleridge, to the elaboration of a theological

philosophy. It did not do so, because he realized, what Coleridge failed to realize, the essential difference between actual religious experience and theological dogma. If religion be defined by its characteristic mark of *faith*, then to Hodgson it seemed there could be no sure anchorage for it but the Infinite; to rest upon the Infinite was for it, in that case, a vital necessity. But dogmatic theology attempts to turn faith into knowledge, attempts to demonstrate faith, instead of simply saying, *Try it.* And in this way the object of faith is conceived not as infinite, but as a substance complete in itself, and therefore as finite. When once this step is taken fetters are laid upon two of the freest things in the universe, religious faith and philosophical speculation. A finite ideal fetters the one, a foregone conclusion fetters the other. Philosophy must indeed recognize the natural relations of man with infinity, but the recognition is imperative just because the facts of religion are facts of experience, and it is the business of philosophy to analyse and rationally interpret the facts of experience so that they become luminous and intelligible to human thought. In short, the very considerations that induced Coleridge to venture upon the construction of a speculative theology, and to offer it as a system of philosophy, were the considerations which weighed with Hodgson in renouncing all such efforts at *a priori* construction, and to insist that experience without leading-strings is the thing to trust to.

Philosophic method, then, as Hodgson conceived it, consisted in analysing the content of consciousness or experience, without assumptions either as to its nature or as to its mode of origin. It appeared to him that in so describing the method of philosophy he was following a path which could be contrasted in a decided manner with Kant's transcendental method on the one hand and with the empirical method on the other. The characteristic feature of the transcendental method had been, he urged, to postulate the existence of causal agency in the subject,—an agency or activity whose function it was to synthesize the data of sense into objects of experience. But to take in this way the existence of an active ego for granted, to explain experience by reference to an agency of this sort, lying behind or beyond it, was to base one's whole philosophy on the assumption of the very thing which it was required to prove. If consciousness be itself a synthetic agency, then we must look to analysis to bring that fact to light. It cannot, however, be rightly assumed to be so prior to the analysis, because the idea of agency, the idea of active power at all, is part of experience, and the object of that idea is known to us in no other way than as an object of one department of experience. The characteristic feature of

empirical methods had been, he maintained again, to postulate the existence of things and their properties, of persons and their functions, and to look upon experience as a product due to the action or influence of such supposed things upon a supposed individual mind. But here, once more, there was assumed beforehand a whole theory of reality, the justification of which, if it is true, philosophy is required to furnish. Common sense does, no doubt, by an art so old and familiar that it has become habitual, take for granted a multiplicity of rounded-off objects, but it is the business of philosophy to analyse experience as it is actually given, not to reason on the basis of the objects or events of common-sense thinking. The common-sense distinctions of subject and object, of self and not-self, of substance and power, of agent and agency, and the like, are unwarranted as initial assumptions in philosophy. They denaturalize it, because they make it arbitrary, dependent on the ideas or categories which may happen to commend themselves as ultimate to particular thinkers, and on the definitions of those ideas or categories which they may choose to give.

If, now, the method of philosophy be the analysis of experience without assumptions, it follows that questions of genesis or history cannot be primary. We must first decide what a content of consciousness is known as, before we are entitled to ask how it comes to be, or what the conditions are that give rise to it. In this respect philosophy is, in Hodgson's view, sharply differentiated from psychology. Psychology treats the phenomena of consciousness after the manner in which the other special sciences treat their specific subject-matter. It presupposes, that is to say, an individual mind or stream of mental processes and external existent entities which are the causes or conditions of the occurrence of these processes, and it proceeds to trace the way in which an individual mind gradually becomes aware of an objective environment and of its own existence as a finite conscious subject. But for the subjective analysis of experience without assumptions, consciousness must be taken simply as a *knowing*, whilst consciousness as an existent will be for it one object amongst others that are known. Moreover, this distinction between knowing and the known, between consciousness and its object, is one which must not be made at the outset. The first thing we are called upon to do is to determine precisely what the distinction really is and what exactly it involves as to the general nature of that which is revealed in knowledge.

With admirable thoroughness and precision Hodgson applied the method he had thus prescribed and vindicated to the various fields of

philosophical inquiry. In an early chapter of *The Metaphysic of Experience* he analyses, for example, with elaborate care what he calls an 'empirical present moment of consciousness', taking as an instance the hearing of a sound. A result of fundamental importance is soon obtained from the analysis,—this, namely, that every such empirical moment involves, on the one hand, a determinate content or quality experienced, and, on the other hand, a process of experiencing, implying change of or within our experience generally. These two, content and process—or, adhering to the concrete instance, the sound heard and the hearing of it—are not differentiated in the simplest forms of experience; and, although as consciousness advances, they come to be distinguished, yet in truth they are differences of aspect and not separable factors or elements. Every specific process-content of consciousness has these two aspects—a knowing and a known, or a perceiving and a percept. Without the one there cannot be the other. But, argued Hodgson, the content perceived is not itself the object of the perceiving; rather is it the nature or quality, the *whatness*, of the perception. And the process of perceiving is the existence or occurrence, the *thatness*, of this content in consciousness. These aspects are, however, the indispensable experiential basis and foundation of the distinction between subject and object. Consciousness is, in short, a self-objectifying process. The principle thus formulated lies at the root of Hodgson's theory of knowledge, and there can be no question of the extreme ingenuity of the explanation he has to offer of the fact, as he takes it to be, of objectification. We are to conceive of the process of consciousness as a continually advancing stream, as moving always towards the future, whilst consciousness in its aspect as content known is as constantly receding into the past. No sooner do I hear a sound than this sound fades away, and is apprehended only in the weaker form of a memory-image. In virtue, now, of its receding into the past, the content known comes to *stand over against* the process of knowing which is advancing into the future. There is inevitably a distance or an interval, so to speak, between the content experienced and the occurrence of the experiencing; and, on account of this distance or interval, the content is converted into an object, which appears to us to exist independently of the process of apprehending. All perceiving is in fact retrospective or reflective; and because it is retrospective or reflective, aware of part after part of its content *as past*, it objectifies its content, throws it out, as it were, as material to be discriminated.

It follows immediately, and Hodgson was never weary of insisting upon the point, that consciousness as a knowing is the only

evidence we have, not only of consciousness itself in all its modes, but of the nature and existence of everything else. Whilst it is ungrounded assumption to suppose that all existence must of necessity consist of consciousness, yet the contents of knowledge do consist of consciousness, their *esse* is *percipi.* Indeed, in one sense of the term—and the primary sense—reality or existence means perceivability. Perceivability is the *sine qua non* basis, the general idea, of existence; existents, whether consisting of consciousness or not, must be thought of (if at all) as at least possibly perceivable. For to think of reality or existence as not revealable in consciousness involves a contradiction. Existence or reality implies as its correlative or counterpart consciousness or knowing In other words, we can admit no realm of the Unknowable, however indisputable it is that the things to us unknown are innumerable.

But perceivability is not the only meaning of reality or existence. Besides the *whatness* of a content there is its *thatness,* and besides its place in the context of experience there is the fact of its coming to be there. It is true that, in analysing experience, it is necessary in the first instance to abstract from the question how it arises. But so soon as that point in the analysis which discloses the content of consciousness as an existent is reached, the question how it comes has to be faced. As a happening, as an event, each phase of consciousness indicates its dependence upon conditions; and since any phase of consciousness is a particular or limited existence, the conditions must be sought outside of and beyond itself. Those conditions will, however, explain only the fact of the occurrence or existence of a state of consciousness here and now; they will not explain the quality or nature of its content. For example, ether waves impinging on a retina connected with a brain can in no way cause the qualities of light or colours to be *what* they are as sensations; these qualities are *sui generis,* and so far as they are concerned the notion of cause has no relevance. Ether waves can, at the most, cause the occurring of the sensations in question when and where they do occur. In fact, Hodgson was prepared to lay down, as a universal proposition, that the occurrence only, and not the quality, of effects of any kind can be strictly attributed to the causes which are said to produce them: And as thus restricted the conception of cause becomes the conception of what he was in the habit of calling real condition.

An investigation of the real conditions upon which the occurrence of conscious states depends led Hodgson to reject the conclusion of idealism as unwarranted, and to affirm the reality of matter, as an

existent reality distinct from and independent of the knowledge or perception of it. His reasons were briefly these. In the first place, analysis of consciousness as a perceiving, or as a knowing, or as a thinking, yields no suggestion that consciousness itself is an agent. The sense of strain or effort, which is sometimes held to be evidence of agency in consciousness, is, taken by itself, a mere quality of the process-content, just as colours or sounds are. There is, then, no reason for supposing that consciousness itself gives rise to, or is a real condition of, the occurrence of its own states; nor, indeed, for supposing that consciousness apart from its states is an existent at all. In the second place, the conception of matter as a real existent does yield the thought of agency as involved in it. For what we mean by matter as a real existent is an occupancy of space, and this implies cohesion of parts (in any portion of space) *ad intra*, and exclusion of parts (of other portions) *ad extra*. Now cohesion between parts *ad intra* is a mode of force, and exclusion of parts belonging to other portions *ad extra* is, under certain circumstances, a condition of force coming into play. And in the third place, we have positive evidence that for its genesis, as an existent, consciousness is dependent upon the agency of material entities. Consciousness and the bodily organism appear to be in immediate proximity, and the latter to be the immediate real condition of the former. As expressing this relation of consciousness to the mechanism which proximately conditions it, consciousness may be called an epiphenomenon, although it must never be forgotten that its ultimate nature or qualities as such stand altogether outside any possibility of being accounted for by any cause or real condition whatsoever. Admittedly we know of matter only as a percept; however independent of consciousness it may in truth be, we could know it in no other way. But common sense infers the real existence of matter on the basis of what we know, and Hodgson was at great pains to show that this common-sense inference is justified. Originally we obtain our perception of matter from the combination of the two senses, sight and touch. But philosophic analysis enables us to dissociate the secondary qualities, such as colour, from the attributes of real matter, and to see that they in any case must form part of consciousness and of consciousness only. The question accordingly resolves itself into this: Are those properties which we perceive, or which are perceivable, by touch alone also properties of a reality which is not consciousness? The decisive consideration in favour of an affirmative answer Hodgson found to be that one and the same tactual perception cannot exist both in the object said to be touched and in the bodily organism said to be touching

it. We are constrained, therefore, he insisted, to the conclusion that the immediate perceptions of touch and pressure are at the same time perceptions of, or are indicative of, hardness and resistance in the material object. They are, as he expressed it, in point of kind a replica of these. Whilst, then, consciousness or perceiving is the *causa cognoscendi* of matter and its real existence, matter in its real existence is the *causa existendi* of consciousness.

That, however, is not philosophy's final word. Along the path he had been pursuing, Hodgson was convinced he could force his way to yet a higher vantage-ground. The evidence for the real existence of matter was evidence also, he urged, for the real existence of the Supra-material or the Unseen. And it was so, because the conception of matter as coherent space occupancy compels us to look upon matter as having had a beginning in time, and as having a minimum and a maximum limit of extension in space. Consequently we are driven, on speculative grounds, to view the world of real matter as dependent upon some continually operative and eternally real condition or conditions, different from itself, and beyond the range of our theoretical knowledge, yet not on that account to be dismissed from our recognition as unknowable. Common-sense reflexion has habitually traced back the existence and continuance of the material and visible world to an Infinite and Eternal Power, and here, once more, the philosophy of reflexion justifies the reflexion of common sense. We ourselves, indeed, are parts of the material and visible world, inasmuch as we are not merely individual streams of consciousness, but living conscious beings, whose active powers are derived from our material organisms, which powers as operative in us are what we designate reason and volition. In reason and volition, or in what we call conscious action, the agency of material nature becomes capable, partially and to some extent, of directing its own course, and acquires the facility of free choice. By means of the cerebral process of volition, the conscious agent remoulds the material offered by the other cerebral processes, and re-issues it in the shape of acts of choice, each stamped, as it were, with his own image and superscription. To choose in accordance with the dictates of conscience is felt by conscious agents to be an obligation which they cannot evade; the character of preferability which belongs to some contents of consciousness in comparison with others is inherent in the phenomena of consciousness themselves. And the practical reason, in thus telling us how we ourselves *ought to act*, implicitly tells us something of how the Infinite Existent *does act*, seeing that its action is continued in our own. Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. Bound up, then, with the moral nature of all volition is the

idea of the unseen world as a region of existent consciousness, similar to ours in its essence, although equally infinite and eternal with the unseen world itself. The thought of Personality, which at its best includes such actions only as are prompted by the highest and worthiest emotions, is the thought of the best and noblest reality that is familiar to us, and we take it as a true though inadequate expression for the thought of the supreme reality in the infinite and eternal universe. We have, it has to be admitted, no speculative knowledge of God as a person, and, by the very necessity of the case, we cannot have, for speculatively we have no means of combining the conception of personality with that of infinity. But we are none the less entitled to claim for the thought of God as a Person all the certainty which attaches to reason in its practical aspect—a certainty which although distinct in kind from the certainty of knowledge is in no way inferior.

Such in brief and meagre outline is Hodgson's metaphysic of experience, obtained by an analysis of what he found to be comprised within experience itself. Whether, as a theory of the universe, its parts form a consistent and coherent whole, it will be for a more searching criticism than he lived to see to determine. At various crucial points, no doubt, its strength requires to be tested. Was Hodgson right in regarding the contents of consciousness as themselves made up of consciousness, and as themselves existent entities? If consciousness be, as he maintained, a self-objectifying process, is not agency after all *ipso facto* included in it? Supposing that all we know in the strict sense is consciousness, is the inference he would make to the real existence of matter a valid inference? Does he succeed in keeping true to his conception of real conditioning as accounting for the occurrence merely and not for the content of an event when he comes to deal with the relation between our moral ideas and the Infinite Reality? These and other issues inevitably present themselves to us as we follow his guidance along the road he mapped out and traversed. But, whatever the verdict on such matters may turn out to be, the fact will remain that we have here the result of a great and sustained effort to face the problems of philosophy, and to deal with them in the spirit of a man of science, in the truest sense of that word.

G. DAWES HICKS.

ROBINSON ELLIS

1834–1913

Robinson Ellis was born at Barming in Kent. His father was a landowner with large interests in the hop trade, and at one time a man of considerable fortune. His mother, whose family name was Robinson, is referred to in Keats's letters as a friend of Fanny Brawne. He was educated at Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and subsequently at Rugby. He gained a Balliol Scholarship and went to Oxford in 1852. In 1854 he obtained a First Class in Moderations; in 1855 the Chancellor's Prize for Latin Verse and the Ireland Scholarship; in 1856 a First Class in Litterae Humaniores; in 1858 the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship and a Fellowship at Trinity. He was given rooms in Trinity on the Common Room staircase, looking out on the Bursary Gardens, which he tenanted for fifty-five years.

Mr. Raper, whose memory goes back to the time when Ellis was a young Fellow, says that he was then chiefly interested in the literary aspect of the classics. He was considered to be a very good lecturer, and was especially skilful as a translator. He was fond of lecturing on Virgil, and used to illustrate the author by apt quotations from English literature. In later life Ellis's interest in literature waned, but he always remained a consummate master of English. He had the gift of choosing the right word and expressing his meaning with the utmost exactitude. He was an admirable letter-writer, and his testimonials were a work of art.

Before any attempt is made to describe the work of Robinson Ellis, it is necessary to mention his life-long infirmity. He was very short-sighted, and refused to wear glasses, which, he said, gave him headache. Also, his eyes were very weak, and he could only read for short periods. At one time he consulted a number of oculists, but did not obtain any permanent relief. Artificial light was always bad for him, and he generally employed a reader in the evenings. He seldom, if ever, saw any one in the street, but he never failed to recognize a voice. His bad sight must always be borne in mind. There is no doubt that he sometimes made errors in his collations, but it is marvellous that he was able to do so much. Also, his absent-mindedness and his tendency to indulge in subtle interpretations were largely due to the fact that he saw so little of the world.

Ellis became famous in connexion with his work upon Catullus. His interest in the author dates from 1859, when he formed the plan

of writing a commentary. He soon, however, became engrossed by a study of the text, and he resolved to produce a critical edition. He seems to have derived his stimulus from Lachmann's investigation into the arrangement of the archetype. Also, he was struck by the fact that no Oxford scholar had as yet edited Catullus. In 1862 he collated the Paris MS. (*G*), and in 1863 six Italian MSS. Also, he collated at Oxford the Bodleian MS. (*O*), the use of which marked a new era in the criticism of Catullus. In 1866 he published a small edition, in which he spoke of the larger work which was shortly to appear. In the preface to this he chiefly dealt with the distribution of the poems in strophes, and in his text prefixed to them a σχῆμα κατ' ἀριθμόν. He published a number of conjectures, some of which exhibit that combination of recondite learning and subtle fancy in which he afterwards excelled. The only MS. which he quotes is Lachmann's *Datanus*.

The larger edition, which appeared in 1867, gave a full collation of *O*. The high merit of this MS. was first seen by Bährens. Ellis had said that it was a fourteenth-century MS., and therefore, if not the oldest MS., next in antiquity to *G* (written in 1375): he did not, however, claim any special importance for it, and spoke highly of some late fifteenth-century MSS. The fact is that, although in the Preface to his *Noctes Manilianae* he dwells upon the great importance of age in a MS., in practice he had a tenderness for late MSS., and was reluctant to surrender them as valueless. Bährens pointed out the great value of *O* in his *Analecta Catulliana* (1874), and himself collated the MS. in May 1876. In the same year he criticized Ellis, in his own edition of Catullus, with some asperity, saying—

'partim neglegentia quadam, partim compendiorum ignoratione, partim aliorum codicum lectiones cum *O* confundens effecit ut fere nulla editionis pagina falsis de *O* testimoniis liber sit.'

Ellis was the gentlest of men, and generally replied to such attacks with studied urbanity. On this occasion he allows that Bährens is *vir sagax crisi codicum*, but with great terseness describes the charge of inexactitude as an 'impudent falsehood'. He did not in later life dispute Bährens's estimate of *O*, and in the Oxford Classical Texts Series based the criticism of Catullus upon three MSS., viz. *G*, *O*, and *R* (a MS. subsequently discovered by Prof. Gardner Hale).

The study of Catullus absorbed Ellis for some years after the appearance of his edition. In 1871 he published a remarkable *tour de force* in the shape of a translation, which reproduced in English the metres of the original poems. His famous commentary, embodying the results of seventeen years' unremitting labour, appeared in 1876. A second edition of the text was published in 1878, and a second edition of the commentary in 1889.

Ellis had been on terms of friendship with H. A. J. Munro, the *vir incomparabilis*, as he calls him, since 1863, and his work upon Catullus established his right to a place beside his Cambridge friend as a leading authority upon the Latin Poets. In 1870 he was appointed Professor of Latin at University College, London, a post which he held for ten years. He did not, however, give up his rooms in Trinity, and was frequently in Oxford. His views at this time may be gathered from a letter which in 1877, when the University Commission was sitting, he wrote to the Commissioners, and from the evidence which he subsequently gave. At a time when most persons were pressing for reforms in administration, he came forward to advocate the claims of research. The reputation of Oxford on the Continent was to him the matter of chief moment and the provision of endowment for workers in the Bodleian Library the most crying need. He said, 'During the last thirty years all, or nearly all, the principal contributions to an enlarged knowledge of Greek and Latin authors have been based on an investigation of MSS. of a minute and laborious kind unknown before. It has been my own aim as a scholar to show that research in this department of Philology is not confined to the Continent, and that Englishmen are able to appreciate the treasures which lurk in their national collections or in the private libraries of individuals.'

The first work which he published after his return to Oxford was his edition of the *Ibis* (1881). His choice of this difficult and obscure poem was due to the accident that he had come across a curious dictionary of mythology, made by Conrad de Mure of Zurich in 1273, in which there are a number of references to the *Ibis*. He proceeded to look for new MSS. and discovered several, two of which belong to the twelfth century. In one of these, and also in a later MS., he found Scholia written in minute characters which he could not read without a magnifying glass. It is to be feared that his eyes must have been sorely tried by the strain to which they were then subjected. Also, he made large use of Tzetzes' scholia to Lycophron. The *Ibis* is on the whole his most esoteric work. It is written wholly in Latin and the notes are full of recondite learning. Obscure legends which repel most readers by their incoherence and aridity were to him a subject of real and lively interest.

In 1883 he was appointed Reader in Latin. At this time he plunged deeply into the most untrodden by-ways of scholarship. Among his publications may be mentioned a volume in the Anecdota Series, containing glosses upon Sidonius (1885); an edition of Avianus (1887); of Orientius (1888): also articles upon Maximianus, an author often found in MSS. with Avianus. He said of these two

writers: 'To both of them I feel grateful for leading me away from the beaten paths of philology to the comparatively neglected literature of the Decline, in a word to that cycle of writers to whom Prof. Freeman has recently called (and not, I trust, vainly) our attention.' The reference which he makes to Freeman is interesting, as showing the influence which led him to his choice of subjects.

Although he never returned to the beaten path, he ceased to wander in this uninviting region. He was attracted by the difficulties of the *Aetna*, a poem which had been edited by Munro. The *Aetna* led him on to the *Opuscula Vergiliana*. Also, he found a fitting subject for his powers of exegesis in the obscure *Astronomicon* of Manilius. In 1887 he examined in Rome several MSS. of the *Aetna*, but without much result: he found, however, in the Corsini Library a valuable MS. of the *Culex*. His first paper on Manilius appeared in 1886. This was followed in 1890 by a number of emendations published in the *Classical Review*. In 1891 his *Noctes Manilianae* appeared. This work ranks with the *Ibis* as one of his most abstruse productions, but it has done much to revive the study of Manilius in this country and elsewhere. In the *Noctes* he referred to a Madrid MS. of the author, which he had not then collated. He went to Madrid in 1892 and afterwards published his collation of the MS. in the *Classical Review*. He did not collate the same MS. for the *Silvae* of Statius, which it also contains, out of respect for the prior rights of Dr. M. Krohn, who had already made a collation and was preparing an edition. His delicacy in this matter was highly characteristic, and was all the more laudable since he was greatly interested in the *Silvae*. It led, however, to one unfortunate result, viz. that he failed to appreciate the full value of the new MS., which is one of the chief authorities for Manilius, and the source from which all other copies of the *Silvae* now known to scholars were drawn. In all probability it was written for Poggio in 1417 by a very ignorant Swiss scribe, to whom he refers in his letters. It was once bound up with another MS. in the same collection which contains other works discovered by Poggio, viz. Asconius and Valerius Flaccus, and appears to have been written by Poggio himself.

Ellis now proceeded to edit a prose author, Velleius Paterculus (1898). The work was discovered in 1515 by Beatus Rhenanus, who had what he terms a 'hasty and unsatisfactory copy' made by a friend. The original MS. is now lost. The *editio princeps*, published by Rhenanus in 1520, was founded on this transcript, but also contains some variants which his amanuensis Burer obtained by a fresh collation of the MS. Bentley couples Velleius with another author based upon a single MS., and says that 'the faults of the scribes are

found so numerous and the defects so beyond all redress that, notwithstanding the learnedest and acutest critics for two whole centuries, these books are still, and are likely to continue, a mere heap of ruins'. Orelli in 1834 discovered at Bale a transcript of the lost MS., made by Amerbach in 1516. Ellis recollated this, and by comparing the readings with Burer's variants endeavoured to get behind the *editio princeps*.

His work upon the *Aetna* has been already mentioned. He published several articles on this poem in the *Journal of Philology*, also a first revision of the text in Postgate's *Corpus* (1896). His edition appeared in 1901. It is difficult to call any of his works popular, especially as the *Aetna* is full of obscurities, but the method of treatment is less severe than usual. Thus, it contains a translation which is a model of terse and scholarly English. Also, unlike his other books, its tendency is polemical. He says, 'It is of importance at this particular juncture to reassert with more than usual emphasis the existence of the trained critical faculty: a faculty which is competent to reject the impossible in language, syntax, or metre, however strongly it may be supported by early manuscript tradition, and however plausibly it may be shown to be quite explicable. There is a growing school of critics, not only in Germany but in England, the central point of whose creed is virtually to deny this.' This attack was chiefly directed against Sudhaus, who considered possible such infractions of metre as *crĕber* (l. 107) or *seu fortē flexere caput* (l. 289).

Ellis had long been interested in the minor poems attributed to Virgil. Thus he contributed a series of articles upon them to the *American Journal of Philology*, and had revised the *Ciris* for Postgate's *Corpus*. Also, a number of his emendations were printed in Haigh's duodecimo edition (1893). His labours were concluded by the *Appendix Vergiliana* in the O. C. T. Series (1907), which contains a very elaborate *Apparatus Criticus*.

It is impossible to mention his scattered contributions to learning. Some of them appeared in various journals, while others were delivered as Professorial lectures in the Hall of Corpus or in the New Schools. He generally gave very short notice of his lectures, and consequently the audience was small. Sometimes the treatment was in the main literary: thus in his lecture on 'Catullus in the fourteenth century' he gave a delightful and exhaustive account of the references to Catullus made by various writers at the beginning of the Renaissance. Sometimes he chose a very out-of-the-way subject, e.g. 'The Prosody of Mico the Levite'. He was accustomed to read a few pages himself, and then handed his paper to a friend, referring to the weakness of his

eyes. It is to be remarked that he not infrequently wrote upon Greek authors, e.g. the fragments of the Greek Comic Poets, the fragments of Sophocles, Herondas, and the Oxyrhynchus fragments of Callimachus.

When lecturing to undergraduates upon books, he generally chose the *Silvae* of Statius, Lucan, Propertius, or Catullus. He lectured once a year upon Latin Palaeography, using a set of facsimiles selected by himself. This was probably the lecture which he most enjoyed. He also took a class in Latin Verse, to which the best undergraduate scholars went with eagerness and profit. He was himself a beautiful composer, and specimens of his skill are to be found in the *Anthologia Oxoniensis*, which he edited together with Mr. A. D. Godley. His verses were not so ambitious as those of Munro, but were exquisitely classical. As an example of his original compositions we may take his *Genethliacon Ferruccii*, written in 1877, in which he congratulated Ferrucci, Keeper of the Laurentian Library, upon reaching his eightieth birthday. The closing lines are:—

O salve domus erudita, longis
Custos bibliotheca fida saeclis
Priscorum: tua si Politiano
Non iam limina nec patent Marullis,
At cano venerabilis magistro
Orbi pandis opes, et hospitali
Tantum suscipis in sinu quod usquam est
Doctorum. Mea non levis catervae
Sese gloria miscuit, Catullo
Quod solum potui ferentis, aevi
Sordes ne sinerem. Valete cartae
Et felix tholus: hanc seni salutem
Et multos numerate post Decembres.

Ellis, in addition to his bad sight, had other infirmities. He was often very lame and walked with difficulty, leaning on the arm of a companion. He lived a very simple life, and the only indulgence which he allowed himself was that of listening to music. His dress was eccentric. He wore an old tall hat, set rather on the back of his head, he was never seen out without an overcoat, and his boots were very large. As Vespasiano said of Niccolò Niccoli, *a vederlo così antico come era, era una gentilezza.* He was very absent-minded, and innumerable stories are told of strange responses, which were probably quite innocent, though some found in them a vein of ironic humour. He had much that was childlike in his character, though his opinions on practical matters were often very acute.

His relations with undergraduates call for special comment. At first sight he would not have seemed likely to attract them, but as

a matter of fact few Professors have had so many warm friends among their pupils. The fact was that no one felt shy with one who was so simple, so confiding, and so infirm. He was a faithful friend, and most compassionate to those whom he thought neglected or unfortunate. Although he was always frugal, and in later life became penurious, he practised the virtue of hospitality. He even gave dinner-parties from time to time, at which he was an amiable though absent-minded host. But the real mark of intimacy was when he asked a young friend to a meat-tea in his rooms, or to go with him for a walk round the Parks.

He was exceedingly courteous to foreign scholars, and delighted to receive them. Professor Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, who visited Oxford in 1880, has recently said of him: 'Of all the classical men whom I met during that summer Robinson Ellis gave me the most cordial welcome, showed the deepest interest in my project, and proved to be the most conspicuous and steadfast contributor to the work that has absorbed so much of my time and energy.'

He was at all times deeply interested in the progress of Sir James Murray's great English Dictionary. He was accustomed to supply quotations from his own reading and also undertook research in various authors, especially in the sixteenth-century translators from Greek and Latin, in order to determine the exact sense of the words by comparison with the original. Sir James Murray writes, 'He spent many hours in his own library and in the Bodleian, identifying passages from Holland's *Livy*, Plutarch's *Morals*, and dozens of other works, and comparing the English with the original Latin or Greek. He helped often also by informing me of the sense-development of the Latin word, and of the first date of a late Latin sense, e.g. from Christian Latin, which has become the primary sense in English. I can say without invidious comparison that no one in Oxford, and only one outside of it, has taken so much practical interest in the Dictionary, or shown so much regard for those engaged in it.'

It is necessary to make a brief reference to a subject which sometimes caused pain to his best friends, and gave rise to misunderstanding among those who did not know the rigid asceticism of his life. It cannot be denied that he showed a want of delicacy, or indeed a certain insensibility, at times both in his choice of subjects and in his annotations on passages in the Latin poets. It must, however, be remembered that the world in which he moved was that of the early Humanists, and, if judged by their standard, he would seem fairly reticent. Thus in the Preface to his Catullus he sharply criticized Alessandro Guarino for the impropriety of his notes.

His attitude towards religion was enigmatic. Some called him a Pagan, while others traced in him a leaning towards the Roman Catholic Church. In his younger days he had passed through a period of Newmanism, and traces of this phase survived at a later date. He was very fond of hearing Latin chants, and once attended the ceremonies of Holy Week in Seville. The late H. D. Grissell, one of the Pope's Chamberlains, was his attached friend. It would, however, appear probable that his interest in Catholicism was mainly aesthetic. He was also attracted by elaborate ritual within the English Church, and in the early eighties used to attend not infrequently the sermons preached by his colleague Dr. Gore, now Bishop of Oxford, at St. Barnabas.

He took little interest in politics, whether academical or national, but generally voted on the advanced side. This was due more to instinct than to conviction. Thus on one occasion, when plied with arguments which he could not answer, he would not promise his vote, but said: 'Quite true! But then, you see, I have been a lifelong Liberal.'

Of late years he aged rapidly. His sight became worse and suddenly failed some two years ago. Also, his lameness increased. He clung to his work with tenacity, and endeavoured to give his lectures, even upon Latin Palaeography, with the help of an assistant. It was pathetic to see him in the Bodleian, as of old, with books before him which he could not read, or to hear him say that it was necessary for him to exercise his eyes. At last he could struggle on no longer, and a deputy was appointed. His fatal illness followed almost immediately. He underwent an operation in the Acland Home for a painful complaint of long standing, and died shortly afterwards from exhaustion and pulmonary trouble.

The name of Robinson Ellis will live in the annals of classical learning. He was a most exact and finished scholar, who combined literary gifts with immense erudition gathered from wide reading. He delighted to burrow in glossaries and scholia and had a profound knowledge of mythological and literary allusions. In the exuberance of his fancy and the brilliancy of his emendations he resembled that wayward genius, Simon Bosius. He showed wonderful *flair* in his quest for MSS., though he did not always see the value of the material which he amassed. But perhaps the greatest service which he rendered to British scholarship was the persistency with which he preached on all occasions the cardinal truth that the study of MSS. is indispensable for any one who aspires to do original work.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER

1819-1914

The death of Professor Campbell Fraser in his ninety-sixth year severs the last link which connected our British philosophy of to-day with its own origins in the thirties and forties of the previous century —with Hamilton's attack on the Philosophy of the Unconditioned, Mill's early essays and the first edition of the *Logic*, and the trenchant idealism of Ferrier. Within the spacious limits of his life Professor Fraser saw the rise and decline of Hamilton's influence, and watched the older English empiricism of Mill take on the larger outlines of Spencerian evolutionism; he had already been teaching philosophy for twenty years when the first writings of Stirling, Green, and Caird heralded the wave of Kantio-Hegelian idealism that swept over our universities in the second half of the nineteenth century; and after the floodtide of that movement in the nineties, the most recent phases of contemporary thought—pragmatism, realism, Bergsonism—still found him an interested reader and critic. Through all these changes of speculative atmosphere and philosophical idioms he held on his own way, taking little part as an active partisan in the more technical controversies of the schools, but pondering unceasingly the central mysteries of our being and communicating to many students the spirit of his own reverent quest. The *Philosophy of Theism*, in which he endeavoured to sum up the results of his lifelong meditation, has much of the breadth and simplicity of statement which distinguish a personal deliverance from an academic argument.

Alexander Campbell Fraser was the eldest son of the Rev. Hugh Fraser, minister of the parish of Ardchattan in Argyllshire, and of Maria Campbell, daughter of the neighbouring laird of Barcaldine and Glenure. The manse of Ardchattan lies on the northern shore of Loch Etive, and there Fraser was born on September 3, 1819, in the last year of the reign of George III. He was fond of saying in the last years of his life that he had lived under six British sovereigns. He was the eldest of a family of twelve, ten of whom were sons, and the home life, as he records in his autobiography, was one of Spartan frugality. His mother, who had been educated in England and was closely connected with the Clapham set of Evangelicals, inspired the

boy with a lifelong sentiment for the Anglican Church, of which his youngest son afterwards became a clergyman. His early education was got at the parish school and from a private tutor till he was sent in 1833, at the boyish age then common in Scotland, to the University of Glasgow. Local sentiment and historic feeling were strongly developed in Fraser, and the first chapter of the *Biographia Philosophica* gives charming glimpses, all too short, of the old-world life in that isolated region of Argyllshire in the twenties of last century —'its Campbell lairds of Lochnell, Ardchattan, and Barcaldine; at home with their families for nine months in the year, travelling in winter to Edinburgh to share for three months the social gaieties of the Metropolis—a three days' journey or more in the family coach —all of them long ago travellers in the sable car that carries us all to Hades; uniting Highland pride with much Highland hospitality; still in sympathy with their clansmen, the simple peasants in whom the grace and chivalry of the Gael thus survived, unspoiled by the Saxon stranger, all of them accepting the claims of rank with child-like deference. The circulation of news and the means of locomotion were slow; the packman of Wordsworth's "Excursion" did duty for the local newspaper which now enlightens Lorne; an occasional "Courant" or London "Morning Herald", with tidings of the world beyond the mountains, passed from the house of the laird to neighbouring houses; visits by the postboy on two and latterly on three days each week were not seldom interrupted by storms. In summer and in winter the rudely furnished bi-weekly steamer from Oban was the only public communication with the civilization of the Lowlands. At home the picturesque garb of the Gael, on the very old and on the young, was a familiar sight; while the coloured coat and embroidered vest, instead of gloomy black, brightened the five o'clock dinner parties of the lairds, advancing afterwards to six, according to the fashion of the South. On Sundays the lairds and the peasantry for many miles round gathered, with their families, in the parish church, then happily one visible centre of the whole parochial community; supplemented at summer "Sacraments" by hundreds from other parishes, to be addressed in Gaelic by fervid preachers, in church and in the open air, till the day was far spent.' Fraser himself, it is somewhat curious to note, although a Celt both on the father's and the mother's side, never acquired 'the Gaelic'.

He used to recount among his early memories the arrival of the news of the death of George IV in that remote Highland parish. He was construing Caesar in the little schoolhouse when his father came over from the manse with the news, and the black-bordered *Courant* of the

day made a deep impression on his childish imagination. But three years earlier in the pages of the same newspaper the struggle of Greece with Turkey in 1827 and the victory of Navarino had already awakened him to contemporary history, an interest which remained keen with him through life. In other directions the intellectual pabulum accessible to the lad was somewhat severely limited. Novels were tabooed in the household, 'those of "Waverley" being pre-eminent for bad report. My worthy schoolmaster repeatedly warned me against Sir Walter, with an ominous foreboding of his future destiny on account of "the books of lies which the devil had tempted him to produce"'. Books of history, travel, and popular astronomy were, however, permitted, and the astronomical manuals (the autobiography hints with a gentle irony) were apt to raise disturbing questions 'which relaxed the faith of childhood in a way that the novels of Scott and Bulwer could never have done'. The theological works which were then the favourite reading in Lorne—books like Jonathan Edwards's *Sermons*, Boston's *Fourfold State*, and the volumes of the Puritan divines—made little appeal to him. But a *Vision of Heaven and Hell* with pictures, appended to an old copy of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, was a thing of terror to his childish fancy. 'It was there that I first encountered the name of Hobbes, who was found by the seer, in his imaginary journey through the place of torment, expiating his guilt for having written the "Leviathan".'

At the University of Glasgow, Fraser was in the same class with Hutchinson Stirling, afterwards well known as the author of *The Secret of Hegel*, and the pioneer of Hegelian thought in this country. But Glasgow did not suit young Fraser's health, and after a single session there his parents sent him to Edinburgh, with which his name was destined to be so long associated. The brilliant days of the *Edinburgh Review* and of Dugald Stewart's teaching at the University, as well as the glamour of Sir Walter, were in 1835 already things of the past; and philosophy in particular, as Fraser notes in his reminiscences, 'was at a lower ebb in Scotland than at any time since the advent of Francis Hutcheson from Ireland to Glasgow, rather more than a century before'. Sir William Hamilton, however, had laid the foundation of his European reputation a few years previously by his learned and brilliant articles in the *Edinburgh Review* on the 'Philosophy of the Unconditioned' and the 'Philosophy of Perception'; and his appointment to the Edinburgh Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in 1836 marked a new epoch in Scottish Philosophy. Fraser attended the class of Logic in Dr. John Ritchie's last year of office, and was present at Hamilton's

inaugural lecture, on which occasion John Wilson (the stalwart 'Christopher North', who had been preferred to Hamilton sixteen years before for the Chair of Moral Philosophy) acted as enthusiastic doorkeeper for the large audience that assembled to welcome the famous metaphysician. In Hamilton's second session, Fraser attended his more advanced lectures on metaphysics and became a member of the 'Metaphysical Society' organized by a group of Hamilton's enthusiastic pupils. David Masson, John Cairns, afterwards Principal of the United Presbyterian College, and Macdougall, who afterwards succeeded Wilson as Professor of Moral Philosophy, were among the first members of this society, which was described by Principal Cairns, in a memoir of one of the members who died young, as 'the romance —the poetry—of speculation and friendship'. Hamilton was also in the habit of inviting his best students to his house in the evenings for philosophical discussion, and Ferrier, then an advocate at the Scottish Bar, used to attend and take a prominent part in debate. To the end of his life Fraser recalled these gatherings with pleasure, and spoke with warmth of the kindness and encouragement he received from his distinguished predecessor.

After completing his Arts course Fraser passed through the classes of the Theological Faculty in preparation for the ministry of the Scotch Church. Dr. Chalmers was at that time the great luminary in the Edinburgh Divinity Hall. David Masson and Alexander Bain, both of whom (to quote an apt phrase of the former's) wandered afterwards in untheological wildernesses, attended the Divinity class about the same time as Fraser, and both have borne eloquent testimony to the impression produced upon their minds by the massive personality of Chalmers; but Fraser, while acknowledging the moral greatness and force of the man, did not come under his intellectual influence. Chalmers's analysis was not keen enough to content one who was by temperament a thinker and to whom philosophy was to be the business of his life. The young man found his teacher rhetorical rather than satisfying when real difficulties had to be faced. A striking chapter in the autobiography describes the metaphysical ponderings of these years, during which the 'Excursion', Coleridge's 'Aids to Reflection', Newman's sermons, and the liberal theology of Hooker, Chillingworth, and the Cambridge Platonists did more for the young student than the prelections of his official teachers. A prize essay on 'Toleration', written towards the close of his divinity course, was a subject, he tells us, 'in harmony with my strongly-felt revulsion from the lack of charity apparent in the ecclesiastical controversies which then disturbed Scotland'. Scotland was, in fact, upon the eve of the Disruption, and

although he felt at heart, as he says, that 'war about non-intrusion under the shadow of an unsettled final problem seemed like Nero diverting himself while Rome was burning', Fraser's circumstances inevitably involved him in the controversy and its consequences. When the Disruption took place, in 1843, his father left the manse of Ardchattan, and his teacher, Chalmers, became the great Free Church leader. Fraser followed their example, and was ordained in 1844 as junior minister of the Free Church of Scotland at Cramond in the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh. His friend, Cairns, describes him at this time as 'doing parish work with the spirit of a Berkeley evangelized'. But his strong native bent and all his tastes adapted him rather to the life of the scholar and thinker; and, as it happened, the ecclesiastical jealousies of the time opened up to him the career he coveted. Resenting the tests then imposed on University Professors, and distrusting apparently the philosophical teaching obtainable at an Erastian university, the authorities of the Free Church added Chairs of Logic and of Moral Philosophy to the curriculum of their theological college, and Fraser was appointed to the former Chair in 1846. There he taught for ten years, till the death of Sir William Hamilton threw open the University Professorship of Logic and Metaphysics.

From the very beginning of his career as a philosophical teacher, he appears to have exercised the power, so marked in later years at the University of Edinburgh, of communicating an impulse to his best students and rousing them to think for themselves. It is apparent from an introductory lecture of this time, extracts from which appear in his first published volume, that, from the beginning, he deliberately set this before himself as the true purpose of the philosophical classroom—not the communication of knowledge or instruction in a dogmatic system, but the awakening of the mind. He is prepared to be content, he says, with what many may call meagre attainments and partial knowledge, provided he may hope 'to see created among us here a vortex of thought, or at least a small eddy on the great stream of human intellectual activity'. The almost immediate foundation of a 'New College Metaphysical and Ethical Society' testified to the success which attended his efforts. Indeed, according to Dr. Taylor Innes, himself one of Hamilton's prizemen in his later years, 'the centre of youthful and philosophic enthusiasm in Edinburgh' at that time was, not so much in the university classroom, as amongst 'the students who clustered in the Free Church College round Professor Fraser, then in the glow of his speculative youth'.[1] The Society numbered

[1] *Memoir of John Veitch*, by Mary R. L. Bryce, p. 38.

among its members many who afterwards themselves occupied chairs of philosophy or theology, such as John Veitch (who was one of Fraser's students in his first year), A. B. Bruce, James Macgregor, William Knight, and Henry Laurie of Melbourne. When Fraser succeeded to Hamilton's chair, the Society migrated with him to the University.

During the ten years of his New College professoriate, Fraser became known to wider circles as editor of the *North British Review*. This able periodical was founded in 1844 under Free Church auspices; Professor McEwen, in his biography of Cairns, asserts that it 'originated in the silence of the *Edinburgh Review* as to the Disruption'. The avowed aim of its promoters, however, was to found a review which should be religious in tone, without being either denominational in its appeal or theological in its contents, and their programme was on the whole not unworthily realized. For ten or fifteen years, in the fifties and sixties of last century, the *North British Review* was a distinct force in the world of thought and letters. Fraser's first published article, a paper on Leibniz, appeared in its pages in 1846, and was followed at intervals by a number of others. When he assumed the editorship in 1850, Fraser consistently pursued a broad-minded policy, and proved himself singularly successful in attracting distinguished contributors from England as well as from Scotland. The names of Whewell, Whately, Kingsley, Freeman, Spencer, W. R. Greg, Nassau Senior, Brewster, Caird, Masson, and Dr. John Brown show how widely he cast his net. The editorship was the means of bringing him into pleasant relations with most of the leading thinkers and writers of the time. When in London in 1850 looking for contributors, and combining literary negotiations with his marriage tour, he had his first meeting with Thomas Carlyle in his house at Chelsea, where he spent an evening along with his future colleague, David Masson. 'I seem to see', he afterwards wrote, 'in a lurid fire-lit chamber, the weird-like figure of the sage, now and again replenishing the fire, while discharging merciless denunciation of the political and religious views of his generation and the unreality of its literature—all for the benefit of a young and inexperienced editor; the turgid monologue now and then relieved by occasional coruscations of Mrs. Carlyle's ready wit.' During this London visit he also saw John Stuart Mill for the first time. Unfortunately, in the end, Fraser's catholicity wore out the patience of Principal Cunningham of the New College and some of the narrower ecclesiastical supporters of the *Review*, and the editorship passed into other hands. After Fraser severed his connexion with it, the *Review* had a somewhat chequered history, ending its

career in the seventies as the organ of Lord Acton and the English Catholics.

Hamilton died in May 1856, and the struggle for the Chair which he had made famous formed something of an episode in the domestic history of Scottish philosophy. Ferrier, then Professor at St. Andrews, was almost certainly at that time the most distinguished representative of metaphysics in Scotland. Eleven years older than Fraser, and the author of an important metaphysical work, he seemed marked out for the succession alike by the boldness of his speculations and the brilliance of his literary gifts. But Ferrier had sought out other masters than Reid and Stewart. He was understood to have drunk deep at German sources and, in his forcible style, he had spoken very contemptuously of the Scottish philosophers whom Hamilton had edited and expounded. Orthodox suspicions were aroused, and Dr. John Cairns (who had the offer of the Chair himself, as he had had that of Moral Philosophy on Wilson's death four years previously) came forward with an 'Examination of Ferrier's Theory of Knowing and Being', which was largely instrumental in deciding the issue. Cairns was himself a metaphysician of considerable power, and his pamphlet undoubtedly touched real weaknesses in Ferrier's system; but it also exaggerated its supposed theological tendencies, and thus fanned the prejudices of the electors. Denominational influences were also brought to bear upon the Town Councillors, with whom the patronage of the Chair then rested. A lively war of pamphlets ensued, waged both in prose and verse. Professor Aytoun mingled (or was believed to have mingled) in the fray with a skit in verse, 'A Diverting History of John Cairns'. More serious combatants entered the lists on Ferrier's behalf; but Cairns returned to the charge with a second pamphlet, 'The Scottish Philosophy, a Vindication and a Reply,' and on July 15 Fraser was elected by a majority of three to the Chair which he was to dignify for thirty-five years. After the election Ferrier delivered his soul in a 'statement' called 'Scottish Philosophy, the Old and the New', in which he vehemently repudiated the supposed Hegelian origin of his philosophy—claiming that it is 'Scottish to the very core, national in every fibre and articulation of its frame'—and denounced the procedure of the Town Council, inasmuch as, 'after the recent abolition of theological tests, they have arbitrarily imposed a philosophical test of the most exclusive character. It is well to know that a candidate for a philosophical chair in the University of Edinburgh need not now be a believer in Christ or a member of the Established Church, but he must be a believer in Dr. Reid and a pledged disciple of the Hamiltonian system

of philosophy.' It is pleasant to know that this somewhat envenomed controversy did not affect the friendly relations which continued to subsist between the two candidates. Ferrier died as long ago as 1864, and at the distance of nearly sixty years from the controversy there is ground for the view that, if Fraser did not possess his rival's literary brilliance and incisive statement, there was more of human breadth and more staying power in his thinking than in the somewhat meagre results of Ferrier's demonstrative method. But the more immediate sequel of the appointment was not without its surface aspects of humour. His 'idealism' had been one of the main counts against Ferrier, and Fraser soon afterwards laid the foundations of his wider reputation by his sympathetic exposition of the English idealism of Berkeley, which became central in his academic teaching for at least a quarter of a century.

The thirty-five years of Fraser's university professoriate passed serenely, filled with congenial work and brightened by pleasant intercourse with his colleagues and other friends. In 1850 he had married Miss Dyce, the daughter of an old Aberdeenshire family, and his wife's bright and animated personality helped to make their house one of the centres of academic and literary society in Edinburgh. Her unwearied kindness made her an excellent hostess, and by her management and tact she shielded her husband from the minor worries of life, and enabled him to devote himself unreservedly to his university work and to philosophical authorship. The long vacations then enjoyed by the Scottish Universities usually made possible a visit, soon after the close of the winter session, to London or Oxford or to friends in other parts of England, and the later autumn months were mostly spent with his growing family at some manse or farm-house in Yarrow or in his native Argyllshire. The pastoral ballad-haunted beauty of Yarrow was further endeared to him by its Wordsworthian associations. Wordsworth had been a great influence in his life, and in three successive years the autumn holiday was spent at Grasmere in the heart of the poet's country.

In these long summers, freed from academic duty, Fraser was able to turn to continuous literary work, in the course of which his own thought gradually matured. Up till the date of his University appointment, his only publication had been six 'Essays in Philosophy', collected from the *North British Review* and issued in support of his candidature for the Chair. In his second session he expanded an introductory lecture under the title 'Rational Philosophy in History and in System', but he was deeply impressed by Bacon's warning of the danger that lies in the 'over-early and peremptory reduction of

knowledge into acts and methods'. As he put it in the preface to his first volume, 'the perfection of philosophical opinion and any well-grounded assurance of certainty in those high matters are the results only of cautious, long-continued and patient reflection.' Accordingly we find him in no hurry to commit himself to a finished system. During the first ten years of his professorship, his literary output amounted only to four or five articles in the *North British Review* and *Macmillan's Magazine*. Two of these, however, dealing freshly with Berkeley and opening up new aspects of his thought, led to an invitation from the Clarendon Press to edit a Collected Edition of the works of that philosopher. Fraser set about the task *con amore*, and was soon fortunate enough to unearth a real philosophical treasure in the shape of the Commonplace Book kept by Berkeley during the early years at Trinity College, Dublin, when his new theory of the material world was first shaping itself in his mind. Its vivid, unstudied, and sometimes unguarded phrases are of extraordinary interest for the light they throw on the motives of his thought and the progress of his ideas. Enriched with this and other unpublished matter, and accompanied by a 'Life and Letters' on which an infinity of loving pains had been bestowed, the edition appeared early in 1871. The Life was the first adequate presentation of Berkeley's fascinating personality and romantic career, and the editor's philosophical prefaces and annotations to the different works contained a fresh interpretation of Berkeley's spiritual idealism which, by emphasizing its deeper aspects and giving it a new setting in relation to modern problems and difficulties, made it a real factor in the philosophical movement of the later nineteenth century. The edition as a whole was a monument of scholarly care and sympathetic exposition. It had occupied Fraser for five years, and it made his name a household word wherever English philosophy is studied; and in spite of the larger range and more independent grasp of some of his later work, it was probably to the end as the editor and interpreter of Berkeley that he was most widely known. A volume of *Selections from Berkeley*, largely used in the universities, was published in 1874, and in 1881 Fraser contributed to Blackwood's Philosophical Classics for English readers a charming sketch of Berkeley's life and thought, in which he was able to make use of fresh documents for the Life, and, in the concluding chapter, to outline more firmly his own philosophical position. The subject pursued him as late as 1901, in which year he brought out for the Clarendon Press a new and re-arranged edition of the Collected Works with a biographical and critical Introduction.

Honours now crowded upon Fraser. The honorary LL.D. of

Glasgow University and, later, the D.C.L. of Oxford and the D.Litt. of Trinity College, Dublin—the universities one of which nursed Berkeley's youth and the other sheltered his age—were a recognition of the services he had rendered to literature and philosophy by his edition. In 1882 he was elected a member of the Athenaeum Club, an honour which was grateful to him on account of the pleasant *pied à terre* which it afforded him during his annual visits to London. Meanwhile his work on Berkeley had naturally led him back to a closer study of Locke, as the fountain-head of English philosophy. In spite of much that is defective in Locke's statements, Fraser was attracted by his robust common sense, his honest acknowledgement of the limitations of human insight, and his ultimate reliance on the certainties of moral experience; and he lived much in his company during the eighties and early nineties. In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on Locke, in a volume on Locke, companion to his Berkeley, in Blackwood's series, and finally in an elaborate edition of the *Essay* with prolegomena and notes, published by the Clarendon Press in 1894, he gave to the world the results of his study, endeavouring, as in the case of Berkeley, to interpret Locke's thought sympathetically, according to the author's own intention and the spirit of the whole, instead of treating him merely as the first stage in the development of English and French sensationalism. Fraser's treatment thus formed a valuable and much-needed complement to T. H. Green's polemical handling of the same subject in his 'Introduction to Hume'.

In 1891 Fraser resigned his Chair. During the long period of his professorship he had taken an active part in the business and administration of the University. Three years after his appointment he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and he discharged the duties of that office for more than thirty years, while from 1877 onwards he was also the representative of the Senatus on the University Court, the governing body of the University. In both capacities the meditative philosopher proved himself an excellent man of business. But his chief work was in the classroom with his students, and here, by common consent of those most capable of judging, Professor Fraser left the reputation of a great teacher. He was a great teacher not exactly in the sense of a dominating personality—for I do not think that he made much impression on the average undergraduate, apt to be indifferent to philosophy—still less as a man with a dogmatic message which he impressed upon his pupils, but because he possessed a singular power of awakening and stimulating the philosophic instinct in his best students. Doubts

and questions were presented to them rather than solutions, but ways were pointed out along which solutions might be found. The mystery of the world was emphasized, but faith in an intellectual and moral harmony was kept alive; and so there was created in the old classroom an intellectual eagerness combined with elevated feeling which seemed to make it an ideal home of the philosophical spirit. Like Socrates, Professor Fraser was fond of declaring himself 'a seeker', and it was because his students divined in him a fellow-seeker that he was so good a guide to their opening minds. I cannot do better than quote from the warm address presented to him by his old honours students on the occasion of his academic jubilee in 1906. 'You never sought', the signatories say, 'to impose upon our minds a dogmatic system of belief, but with a deeper trust in the eventual harmony of the results of all serious and independent thinking, sought to stimulate us to a constant individual effort in the pursuit of truth. And while yourself a scholar whose work upon the classics of English philosophy has achieved a world-wide reputation, you never failed to set before us a higher ideal of philosophical study than that of mere scholarship and research—the ideal which we saw exemplified in your own work as a thinker and teacher, of ever-renewed and unwearying meditation on the questions that are most ultimate and fundamental in the spiritual life of humanity.' It was the natural consequence of such an influence that the Edinburgh class of Logic and Metaphysics became a training-ground of philosophical thinkers who went out to fill Chairs in most of the universities of the English-speaking world. No fewer than seven of Fraser's pupils have held Chairs of Philosophy in the Scottish Universities, while nine others have become Professors in the Universities of Australia, India, Canada, and the United States. The Chair of Green in Oxford and that of Sidgwick in Cambridge were both filled by philosophers of his training. In the kindred study of theology, at least six Principals and six Professors received from him their first impulse to philosophic thought.

In anticipation of his retirement, Professor Fraser had installed himself a year before at Gorton House, near Hawthornden, looking across the wooded ravine of the Esk to Roslin Chapel and the line of the Pentland Hills. In this pleasant country retreat he lived and worked for eighteen years, till the death of his wife in 1907, soon after which he returned to Edinburgh, where his last years were spent. The Gorton year was usually diversified by a round of visits in England, where a son and a daughter were now settled, and by a shorter visit to the shores of Loch Etive or to the Border country; and as the house was within easy reach of Edinburgh by afternoon train, old

friends and associates often found their way thither. He was seventy-two when he retired, but the main harvest of his own thought was still to be garnered. The edition of Locke's *Essay*, already referred to, was the firstfruits of his leisure, and his appointment as Gifford Lecturer brought him back to his lecture-desk in his old university during the winters of 1894-5 and 1895-6. This Lectureship, with its demand for twenty lectures on 'Natural Theology', that is to say, on the central subjects of philosophical interest, supplied him with just the stimulus he needed; and in his two courses on 'The Philosophy of Theism', he was able, for the first time, to give independent and constructive expression to the slowly-matured convictions of a lifetime. Fraser was fond of describing his position as a *via media* between the agnosticism which would limit man's knowledge to the ascertained uniformities of physical science and the too daring gnosticism (as he called it by way of contrast) of Hegelian idealism, which seemed to him to claim a species of omniscience which would banish all mystery from the universe. Deeply impressed as he was by the mysteriousness of existence, and himself not without an infusion of the sceptical temperament—which showed itself in his keen delight in the writings of Hume—he insisted strongly on the element of faith which must lie at the basis of all our conclusions. His own standpoint was that of a theism based upon moral faith. Taking his stand, like Kant, upon the moral experience of mankind, he insisted that our reliance on the constancy of physical law itself rests ultimately on a faith in the moral trustworthiness of the universe. In other words, the work of science no less than the moral life itself presupposes a species of moral trust which is the only alternative to universal scepticism. Such a *via media*, he contended, was the only reasonable human attitude. The Gifford Lectures were an impressive handling of the philosophical problem from this point of view. They were followed in 1898 by a little volume on Thomas Reid, the father of Scottish Philosophy, in which an excellent portrait is given of the man and his work, and in 1901 by the new edition of Berkeley's Works, already referred to. In 1904 Fraser published, under the title *Biographia Philosophica*, an autobiographical retrospect, in which personal reminiscence is charmingly combined with a meditative restatement of his philosophical results. In an article in the *Hibbert Journal* for January 1907, characteristically entitled 'Our Final Venture', he returned once more to present in short compass his fundamental position—'final faith in Omnipotent Goodness, immanent in the heart of the real universe in its whole organic evolution'. Even then his career of authorship was not closed. In 1908 he

contributed to Constable's series of 'Philosophers Ancient and Modern' a little volume on *Berkeley and Spiritual Realism*, in which there is at least as much of his own maturer way of putting things as of his favourite philosopher; and still later he was occupied in revising his *Selections from Berkeley* for a sixth edition. In the preface, it may be noted, he again uses the term, Spiritual Realism, to describe his own position—'a Realism that is fundamentally Spiritual, although after a native rather than a German fashion'. When he penned this preface, in October 1910, he had already entered on his ninety-second year.

During all these years Professor Fraser maintained an active interest in his old university. At the beginning and the end of each session it was his custom to appear at the opening and the closing meetings of the philosophical classes, and the venerable figure in the scarlet gown of the Oxford D.C.L. was a notable feature on the platform at graduations and other academic celebrations. In 1906, on the fiftieth anniversary of his inaugural lecture as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, he was publicly presented with a congratulatory address by the Senatus Academicus and a similar tribute from his old honours students. Three years later, on the attainment of his ninetieth birthday, a feelingly-worded letter from a number of his old colleagues, friends, and pupils, expressive of their gratitude and affection, gave him much pleasure. During the last three or four years, while he became physically feebler, his mental faculties remained unimpaired and his bodily senses were as keen as those of a young man. Till within a few months of his death, he was able to drive out every fine day—often far into the country—and up to the very last he welcomed a talk with old friends in the afternoon. In May of last year, when M. Bergson was delivering his Gifford Lectures in Edinburgh, the old man called upon him and talked interestingly of the days of Cousin and Hamilton and of the close relations that have existed between French and Scottish philosophy. In the autumn of the year, without any bodily ailment or even discomfort, he continued gradually to lose strength. When the end came, it came unexpectedly: he breathed his last almost imperceptibly on the morning of December 2, 1914.

Born four years after Waterloo, he passed away amid the clash of an even more stupendous conflict. During the last months he read, or more frequently listened to, the daily records of the war. He followed its progress, its horrors and its glories, with a full appreciation of the tremendous issues at stake; yet there was observable a subtle touch of aloofness, the detachment of one

on whom the burden of these things and of the future was no longer laid. The sunset of his long life had come, and his face was turned toward the outstretched past. When his thoughts occasionally wandered, during the weakness of the last few days, the listeners could perceive that they carried him back to his familiar lecture-desk or to the hills and waters of the western land whence he came.

It was a life planned on a large scale, full of important achievement, singularly rounded and complete.

A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON.